AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

in Roman Transliteration by Sumitra M. Katre

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IN MEMORIAM

Girija Krishna

Uma Shankar

Contents

Abbreviations

ab.	above
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
bel.	below
caus.	causative
cf.	compare
cmpd.	compound
comp.	comparative
dat.	dative
denom.	denominative
desid.	desiderative
du.	dual
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ib.	*ibidem*, in the same work
id.	*idem*, having the same meaning
imper.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
inst.	instrumental
interj.	interjection
interr.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
ipf.	imperfect
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
n.pr.	*nomen proprium*, proper name
num.	numeral
opt.	optative
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl./plur.	plural
pluperf.	pluperfect

pp.	past participle (passive)
pron.	pronoun
pronom.	pronominal
q.v.	*quod vide*, which see
redup.	reduplicative
sb./subst.	substantive
sg./sing.	singular
st.	stem
superl.	superlative
s.v.	*sub verbo*, under the word as quoted
tr.	transitive
t.t(t).	technical term(s)
vb.	verb

Referenced Texts

Aṣṭ.	Aṣṭādhyāyī
AV	Atharvaveda
Kāś.	Kāśikā
MBh.	Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
RV	Ṛgveda
SK	Siddhānta-Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita
SV	Sāmaveda
TS	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
Un.	Uṇādi
VS	Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā

References Within Aṣṭādhyāyī

DhP	Dhātu-pāṭha
GP	Gaṇa-pāṭha
MS	Māheśvara-sū-tra-s
PS	Praty-ā-hār-a-sū-tra-s
ŚS	Śiva-sū-tra-s
vārt.	vārttika

A Note on the System of Transliteration

and typographical conventions used in the text

System of Transliteration

Vowels:	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r̥	r̥̄	l̥	l̥3
	e	ai	o	au	ṁ	ḥ	Xk	Xp		
Consonants:	k[1]	kh	g	gh	ṅ	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	t	th	d	dh	n
	p	ph	b	bh	m					
Semi-Vowels:	y	r	l	v						
Spirants:	ś	ṣ	s	h						
Vedic:	ḷ	ḷh	kṣ	jñ						

Typographical Conventions

Accentuation

Un-marked vowels represent anudātta vowels. The acute accent marks the udātta and the grave accent marks the svarita vowel. Capital letters indicate the IT markers. Vowels underlined by a single line indicate that they are used for pronunciation of morphemes of which they are *not* integral parts, e.g., nu̲M stands for an infixed nasal /n/ only. An expression in small capitals indicates that it is an artificial technical term.

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[1]Syllabics of the Nāgarī script omitted in the transliteration, e.g., k (for syllabic ka̲).

Compounds

Division of compound expressions into their component units is generally indicated by a hyphen, separating them when no saṁdhi operation is involved, but by the double hyphen otherwise.

Cross references

When three Arabic numerals are given, they stand respectively for adhy-āy-a, pād-a and sū-tra numbers in that order, e.g., 3.1.1. When two alone are given they stand for the pād-a and sū-tra numbers within *the adhy-āy-a which is referred to in the immediately preceding three-*figure reference. Similarly, the single number refers to the sū-tra within the pād-a, and adhy-āy-a referred to in the previous two-figure reference.

Markers

The so-called 'IT-markers' are indicated by capital letters. The exceptions are [ch], [jh], [ṭh] and [ḍh] which (though forming part of the IT-class when they occur at the head of affixes) have not been indicated by capital letters since they are not subject to 1.3.9 (being replaced not by $\emptyset$ as in *all* other instances but by *special* morphemes by 7.1.2-7 and 7.3.50-51). Otherwise, by definition they are definitely IT-markers.

Foreword

Besides the capable editing and formatting by Douglas Fix, I would like to acknowledge the work of the following in producing the print-ready copy of the book: Jonathan Carson, Alan Grimes, Nedra McCloud, Earl Roy, Gail Roy, and Becky Woodruff. Funding was provided by a grant from Dr. E. Douglas Mitchell for Indo-European studies, and by the University Work-Study program. We are grateful to the office of the Executive Vice President and Provost, Gerhard J. Fonken, for computer time.

Winfred P. Lehmann

Preface

Although there have been three renderings of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī in modern European languages, they have been particularly addressed to those whose primary interest is in Sanskrit language and literature. The first of these was in German, published during 1839-40 under the title *Pāṇini's acht Bücher grammatischer Regeln* in two volumes by Otto Böhtlingk, consisting of sūtra-s and scholia, German comments on the sūtra-s and various indexes. A new edition in 1887 entitled *Pāṇini's Grammatik* with a German translation and various indexes became the standard reference work on Pāṇini, and was reissued in 1964. Two English translations appeared in 1882, *Pāṇini's Eight Books of Grammatical Sutra-s* by W. Goonatileke and *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, edited and translated into English by Srisa Chandra Vasu in 1891. Louis Renou's *La grammaire de Pāṇini traduite du sanskrit avec des extraits des commentaires indigènes* in French appeared in three fascicles during 1948-54 from Paris, and a revised edition in two volumes, with the Sanskrit text of the sūtras, appeared in 1966. In all these translations, the sūtra-text is given in Devanāgarī characters. Renou used Roman transliteration for the illustrative examples in his French commentary. The need for an edition which gives the text of the sūtras as well as illustrative material in transliteration appears necessary in the interest of those who are not primarily interested in Sanskrit language and literature, but mainly concerned with it in relation to their work in linguistics.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit grammar in the last quarter of the 18th century and the pronouncement of Sir William Jones, at the inauguration of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, positing a relationship between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe, that led in the early 19th century to the development of Comparative Philology and its ultimate transformation into modern Linguistics. The influence of Pāṇini and the Indian schools of grammarians can be gained from the number of scholars who have expressed their appreciation as well as criticism of this tradition, a selection of whose contributions have been presented by J.F. Staal in *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (MIT Press, 1972). Recently a great number of studies on this subject have appeared both in India and abroad in the shape of monographs,

research papers and doctoral dissertations. A very comprehensive survey of research on Pāṇini has been published by George Cardona (Mouton: 1976). In view of the importance which Pāṇini's work has for the development of modern Comparative Philology and Linguistics a new edition using Roman Transliteration both for the sūtra-s and the examples used in illustrating them is not out of place. Indeed it has the further advantage that the roman typography with its several faces and upper and lower case letters representing individual phonemes obviates the cumbrous use of Devanāgarī writing which is syllabic. Moreover, the metalinguistic features of Pāṇini's rule-formation can be clearly perceived visually by metalinguistic use of roman, italic, small capitals and capitals and even indicate the use of vowels which Pāṇini sometimes uses for ease of enunciation in presenting morphemes where those vowels are not integral parts of the morphemes themselves.

While no attempt has been made in this presentation at giving a critical edition of the accompanying Dhātupāṭha and Gaṇapāṭha, care has been taken to compare the items as included in several editions and contributory studies. A comparative study of Dhātupāṭha-s as well as Gaṇapāṭha-s formed themes for doctoral dissertations presented to the Poona University, the first having been published by that University in 1957. The text of Aṣṭ. itself has come down with very few alterations since Patañjali's time, and while Kāśikā presents a slightly inflated text, Siddhānta-kaumudī in general preserves the text as given in Mahābhāṣya. The oral transmission of the text from time immemorial has preserved much of the original Vedic and post-Vedic literature, particularly the sūtra-literature. Patañjali indicates in his work that during his time people learned the Vedic texts without prior study of grammar (MBh. I 5, 8-10) and considered the study of grammar as not purposeful, which probably led to the gradual loss of much of Mahābhāṣya itself which was later subsumed by the efforts of savants like Bhartṛhari. We have on the other hand such significant remarks in the Kāśikā [*ā kumāra-ṁ yaśaḥ pāṇine-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's fame has reached the young'] which are supported by the observations of the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing (691-92) such as: "Children begin to learn the Sū-tra when they are eight years old, and can repeat it in eight months' time" (Staal, p. 12), while "Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary (i.e., Vṛt-ti-sūtra or Kāśikā) and understand it after five years" (ibid., p. 14) and with reference to MBh (referred to as Cūrṇi of Patañjali) "Advanced scholars learn this in three years" (ibid., p. 15). Probably the lost tradition which Patañjali mentions was revived after Bhartṛhari's restoration of the MBh.

The advantages of presenting the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration are obvious. Instead of the syllabic orthography we have the single phoneme character of the individual roman alphabet (except for the aspirate consonants kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) and the process of deriving the surface forms from underlying deep structures appears more elegant. Secondly for those not interested in pursuing special studies in Sanskrit literature, it has the advantage of a universal script which is commonly used in all modern linguistic studies.

Many of the metalinguistic features of Aṣṭ. have found their place in modern linguistics, such as the concept of ∅, the markers with specific functions, etc. The influence of Pāṇini can also be seen in the founding of several systems of grammar following Aṣṭ. in India, and similar systems developed for Pāli, fully influenced by Pāṇini's model, such as Kaccāyana-vy-ā-kar-aṇa and those of Moggallāna and Aggavaṁsa. For other Middle Indo-Aryan languages there are similar treatises composed in Sanskrit. The chief feature of these works is the tacit assumption that Sanskrit is the basis from which the Prakrit languages have sprung, and taking Māhārāṣṭrī as the most favored Prakrit, since it was the medium of poetic compositions, a set of correspondences has been set up to explain the phonology and morphology of these MIA dialects. Indeed, long before comparative philology developed during the 19th century, the concept of a family of languages, derived from a common parent, apparently formed the bedrock on which these grammars were based, though no reconstructions appear to have been attempted. Indeed the tradition of Aṣṭ. was so strong that even grammars of some of the Dravidian languages were composed on its pattern, such as Tolkappiam for Tamil, Līlātilakam for Malayalam, Āndhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi for Telugu and Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa and Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa for Kannaḍa. The latest work in this tradition is the Keraḷa-Pāṇinīyam of Rajarajavarman (1863-1918) in the recent past.

This work was undertaken while I was Director of Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona as part of Pāṇinian Studies, included in its Building Centenary Series. However, the actual work was carried out during my stay in Austin at the University of Texas where I had been invited first as a Visiting Professor in 1966 in the Department of Linguistics and then in 1970 at the recently created Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures. My thanks are due to Professors W.P. Lehmann and Edgar C. Polomé for inviting me to Austin, and for their constant encouragement. The present work has

been made possible by a grant-in-aid by the American Council of Learned Societies for the year 1978-79 (ACLS NEH GIA '79) while I was serving as a Distinguished Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at California State University, Fullerton. My thanks are also due to Professor V.I. Subramoniam, Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Tanjore, and the guiding spirit of the Dravidian Linguistic Association in Trivandrum, for inviting me to visit India under their joint auspices during 1982 to enable me to revise this work and make it ready for publication. I must also express my thanks to Professors M.B. Emeneau and George Cardona for sponsoring my work to ACLS for a grant. In conclusion, I also express my grateful thanks to Douglas L. Fix and the staff of the Linguistics Research Center for formatting the complicated text so carefully and to the University of Texas Press for including this work in its Linguistic Series.

S.M. Katre
September 6, 1985

Introduction

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini is the earliest extant descriptive grammar of Sanskrit as currently spoken during his time (*c.* 6th cent. B.C.) and occasionally referred to by him as [Bhāṣā], in the north-west region of India (now Pakistan). His extraordinary perception of linguistic facts covered, however, a wider region, since he not only refers to the earlier stage of the language as occurring in Vedic literature, but also spreads over the northern and eastern parts of India whose regional variants he also notices in his majestic sweep. However, it is certainly not the first grammar composed about Sanskrit. Pāṇini mentions ten predecessors [Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarmaṇa, Bharadvāja, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana], none of whose works have survived to our days. Of these earlier grammarians two are specifically referred to in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Āpiśali is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his vārttika 2 on 4.1.14 [*pūrva-sūtra-nir-deśo=vā=āpiśala-m adh-ī-te* 'studies the grammar of Āpiśali'] while Patañjali refers to grammars promulgated by Pāṇini, Āpiśali and Kāśakr̥tsna [*pāṇini-nā pr-o-k-ta-m = pāṇin-īya-m, āpiśalá-m kāśakr̥tsná-m* MBh. I 12,5-6] and cites a verse line [*nāma ca dhā-tu-ja-m āh-a nir-uk-t-e vy-ā-kar-aṇ-e śakaṭa-sya ca toka-m* MBh. II 138,14-16] in which Śākaṭāyana is mentioned as holding the view that all nominal stems are derived from verbal stems. It is thus probable that during the times of both Kātyāyana and Patañjali their grammars were still available for study and were not overwhelmed by Pāṇini's own work. A few traces of their work are to be found in commentarial literature on the systems of Sanskrit grammar.

The title of Pāṇini's grammar as Aṣṭādhyāyī occurs initially in the Mahābhāṣya (e.g., on 6.3.109). It is derived from the underlying string *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ sam-ā-hr̥-t-āḥ/aṣṭā-nām adhy-āy-ā-n-āṁ sam-ā-har-a-ḥ = aṣṭan+adhy-āy-a+ṄīP* (2.1.52; 4.1.21) = *aṣṭa∅+adhy-āy-∅+ī́* (8.2.7; 6.4.148) and denotes 'a collection of eight chapters'. By Pāṇini's rule 5.1.58 (*saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ* [1]*saṁ-jñā-*[2]*saṁ-gha-*[3]*sūtra=*[4]*adhy-ay-ane-ṣu*) the expression áṣṭa-ka-m (= *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ pari-mā-ṇa-m a-sya = aṣṭan+kaN = áṣṭa∅-ka-m*) also denotes, among other things, a work consisting of eight chapters. Pāṇini evidently refers here to already existing

works of that nature, but commentators have cited *áṣṭa-ka-m pāṇin-īya-m* as an illustration of this rule, and consequently it is also known alternatively by this title. It is possible that Pāṇini might have Āpiśali's grammar in view when formulating this rule, since according to later tradition Āpiśali is said to have composed his grammar also in eight chapters.

The name Pāṇini itself is a patronymic derived from Pāṇin-a (6.4.165; 4.1.95: *pāṇina-sya apatya-m = pāṇina+iÑ = pāṇinØ+i*) indicating a son of Pāṇin-a. However, Kāśikā has both *pāṇiny-upa-jña-m* (2.4.21)/*pāṇin-o-pa-jña-m* (6.2.114) *a-kāl-ak-aṁ vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m.* If both names apply to Pāṇini, then Pāṇin-a as applied to him indicates a yuvan (4.1.163-4) descendant of Paṇ-in. This makes him a grandson of Paṇ-in, but he has sometimes been called Paṇi-put-ra also. Among other synonyms we have Dākṣī-put-rá and Śālāturīya which latter name presupposes that Śalātura was his ancestral abode (4.3.94).

The text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is preceded by a repertory or catalogue of phonemes divided into 14 strings or sūtra-s, commonly designated Praty-ā-hār-a-sūt-ra- (PS), Śiva-sūt-ra (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūt-ra (MS) and followed by two lexicons enumerating the verbal stems (Dhā-tu-pāṭh-a) and groups of nominal stems which undergo particular grammatical operations (Gaṇa-pāṭh-a). While the text of Aṣṭ. has remained almost unchanged since Patañjali's time, the same cannot be said of the Dhātupāṭha or Gaṇapāṭha.

In view of the sū-tra style of the work, which, within a little less than 4000 algebraic statements, gives a complete description of the language, the work became the central piece of exegetical works, and in the history of linguistic texts, it occupies the premier position in that nearly a thousand treatises have been produced during the two millennia since it was composed by Pāṇini. The earliest are the vārtt-ika-s, chiefly of Kātyāyana (*c.* 4th c. B.C.) who supplements the rules of Pāṇini, often criticizing them. His vārtt-ika-s have been further commented upon, along with the sū-tra-s by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya 'Great Commentary' with great finesse. These three sages, forming a formidable triumvirate, represent the high mark of Pāṇinian tradition. Unfortunately neither of these two works covers the whole text of Aṣṭ. Almost a thousand years later we have the full text commented upon in the Kāśi-kā of Vāmana and Jayāditya (*c.* 7th cent. A.D.) with ample illustrations under each rule and a full citation of the gaṇa-s under particular rules dealing with them. Kāśikā itself became the focal point of two

other early commentaries by Jinendrabiddhi (Nyāsa or Kāśikā-vi-var-aṇa-pañj-ik-ā) and Haradatta (Padamañjar-ī). Since the Aṣṭ. was meant to be transmitted verbally, the sū-tra style imposed severe restrictions on the structure of the work, where even the saving of a mora was considered meritorious. In order to preserve the mathematic structure of aphoristic rules topical arrangement had to be sacrificed to effect economy, resulting in a very recondite work, necessitating a lot of exegesis and running from section to section to generate the surface forms from the strings of underlying deep structure. So in course of time a rearrangement was effected by such works as Pra-kri-yā-kau-mud-ī and Siddh=ānta-Kau-mud-ī which later became extremely popular at the expense of Kāśikā as a standard text in both traditional and university schools.

The eight chapters of Aṣṭ. are subdivided into quarter chapters (pāda-s) each of which contains a certain number of sū-tra-s. The first sūtra of the first quarter of the first chapter begins with the definition of the technical term *vṛ́d-dhi* [*vṛ́d-dhi-r āT=aiC*] wherein the technical term precedes the definition against the general pattern seen in the following sūtra [*aT=eṄ guṇa-ḥ*] and Patañjali explains this as Pāṇini's wish for auspiciousness that he uses this word first. According to tradition, indicated by Patañjali, such auspicious expressions should be used at the beginning, middle and end of a work so that those studying the text may be successful in their endeavors. Here Pāṇini uses this auspicious word at the beginning of his text. This is just another proof that the repertory of phonemes in ŚS is not an integral part of Pāṇini's text, but is based on it, since all the sigla he uses for explaining the grammatical operations are based on it. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya begins with *atha śabda=anu=śās-ana-m* which he tries to explain himself. According to Kaiyaṭa this expression is Patañjali's own which he comments on. Most original sūtra works generally begin with the word *atha* followed by a word which describes the text which ensues. The word therefore cannot have been the title of Pāṇini's own work.

Pāṇini's description of Sanskrit as it was spoken during his time is based on three fundamental units: (1) nominal stems (*prāti-pad-ika-*), (2) verbal stems (*dhā-tu-*) and (3) affixes (*praty-ay-a-*) introduced after the first two to generate additional stems as well as finished words [*pada-s*], with a set of rules to generate the surface forms from their deep structures, and a set of rules on government to generate sentences as units of communication. The Dhātu-pāṭh-a catalogues all available verbal stems

divided into ten specific classes, while the Gaṇa-pāṭh-a records groups of nominal stems which undergo specific grammatical operations given in the rules. There is, thus, no lexicon of nominal stems, since their number is without any limit and depends upon actual usage. Since the object of grammar, according to the statements of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, is specified as explaining the usage current among the speakers of the language and is not prescriptive, such a listing of nominal stems appears to be incapable of completion. Patañjali cites here the case of the divine Bṛhas-pati and Indra, who, through continuous recitation of individual lexemes, could not come to an end, even in a thousand divine years! To achieve, therefore, a possible manner in which one can attempt a description which can cover the whole range of the language, Pāṇini has attempted to arrange his sūtra-s under two major headings: [*ut-sarg-a-*] a general rule which encompasses the largest number of linguistic items, and [*apa-vād-a-*] an exception which covers a smaller group not subject to the general rule.

In order to effect economy of expressions in the sū-tra style Pāṇini has devised a special metalinguistic language. In the first place, on the basis of the Praty-ā-hār-a Sū-tra-s a number of sigla have been used to denote the group of phonemes which are subject to a specific grammatical operation. The model provided by these introductory sū-tra-s has been followed in the Aṣṭ. by having a number of markers with specific indications. These markers are either phonemes occurring at the end or beginning of a morpheme or accent markers [*udātta, anudātta* or *svarita*] or a nasalized vowel (*anu-nās-ika*). Next in order come the technical terms which are two-fold: current words, but with technical definitions, as in the case of *vṛd-dhi, guṇa,* or artificial ones like TI, GHU, BHA.

In the formulation of rules special use is made of three declensional groups of affixes: ablative for indicating the right context, locative for the left context and genitive for the substituendum. Special use of the locative is made to indicate (a) the subordinate word [*upa-pada-*] in a compound expression derived from a verbal stem and (b) also to indicate the meaning of an expression, particularly with reference to those of verbal stems. This is followed regularly in the meanings assigned to verbal stems in the Dhātu-pāṭha which, as originally compiled, did not contain the meanings.

Since the structure of Aṣṭ. is primarily intended to be a text which is to be transmitted orally, the maximum brevity has been aimed at in for-

mulating the sū-tra-s. No verbal finite forms are employed. The interpretation of the sū-tra by a proper sentence demands the filling of ellipsis in the sū-tra. So a process of *anu-vṛt-ti* is required to fill in these gaps and the rules are arranged in such a way that this becomes possible from preceding rules. A consequence of this is that topical arrangement has been sacrificed to ensure maximum economy. A collection of rules which are governed by a single rule is indicated by the forming of these governing rules with a svarita accent. Their extent depends upon particular contexts. For instance the governing rule in 3.1.1 covers the whole of chapters 3 to 5. Within such extended governing rules there could be other smaller governing rules. Individual expressions from one rule which should be carried on the following rule or rules are also expected to be enunciated with this accent. This was proper as long as the texts were transmitted orally from teacher to pupil in an unbroken line of descent. But this seems to have been broken at some time, since by the time Kāśikā came to be composed, this accentual system was no longer current. Hence the general maxim *prati-jñā-svar-it-āḥ pāṇin-īy-āḥ* whereby the commentaries alone are our source of where this accent would have been in the original text. Patañjali has already indicated in his MBh. that when there is doubt about the interpretation of a sū-tra, recourse has to be had to an explication: *vy-ā-khyā-na-to vi-śeṣ-a-prati-pat-ti-ḥ, na hi saṁ-deh-āt=a-lakṣ-aṇa-m.* This is particularly necessary in distinguishing between the ablative and genitive singular forms ending in °*-as* [*ṄasI/Ṅas*] when the context does not indicate which is intended. Thus to a large extent the interpretation of each sū-tra depends largely on the great commentaries beginning with MBh.

Pāṇini has the largest section dealing with all classes of affixes in the three chapters 3-5. They may be classified as follows: (1) Those which generate verbal stems from simplicia (3.1.5-30). (2) Those which generate verbal themes: class-markers (3.1.67ff.) and markers of the Future (Sigmatic and non-Sigmatic), Aorist, Perfect. With reference to the class markers, the verbal system is divided into two major groups: sārva-dhātu-ka- (Present System) where the theme is generated with these markers before the l-substitutes, and ārdha-dhātu-ka where the theme is generated without the class-markers. The l-substitutes are introduced after verbal themes (3.4.78). (3) Declensional affixes which are introduced after nominal stems (4.1.2), masculine, feminine or neuter. (4) Feminine affixes generating feminine nominal stems from other

nominal stems (4.1.3-81). (5) Primary nominal affixes [*kṛt* 3.1.93-3.4.117] and secondary nominal affixes [*taddhita* 4.1.76-5.4.160]. Since a nominal stem includes not only one which is not subject to derivation but also those ending in primary and secondary nominal stems as well as the class of compounds generated by a combination of the preceding, there is a section which deals with such composition (2.1.3-3.38). Governing rules in the generation of sentences are contained in 1.4.23-55, while the use of the declensional affixes in this connection is covered in 2.3.1-71.

Since a sentence is generated by the three sets of primary units enumerated by Pāṇini as nominal stems, verbal stems and a system of affixes which interact at the deep structure level, the morpho-phoṇemic rules which bring out the surface forms are dealt with under the general governing rule (*saṁ-hi-tā-y-ām* 6.1.72-157; 3.114-139) and consonantal saṁdhi is dealt with in chapter 8. These changes involve (1) the replacement of the first phoneme before another phoneme, (2) the replacement of both phonemes by either the first or the second one or of the second phoneme after the first. In some cases there is replacement by zero in the pada-final position. Several morphemic changes which occur in either nominal or verbal stems before affixes involve either a zero-replacement of a phoneme in the original stem or the addition of a phoneme. This addition may be at the stem-final or stem-initial position or may take place prior to the last syllable beginning with a vowel. Pāṇini uses the markers Ṭ for initial augment, K of final augment and M for an augment which is inserted before the final syllable beginning with a vowel. For zero-replacement he has four technical terms: *lopa* as a general term and *luK, Ślu* and *luP* for such replacement of an affix.

The metalinguistic use of accents has particular relevance to the indication of the voice of a verbal stem. In the Dhātupāṭha they are given with one of these accents to indicate the voice associated with each stem: the [*anudātta*] accent indicates the Ātmanepada or middle voice, while the [*svarita*] accent indicates both voices, the Ātmanepada being used when the result of the action is intended for the subject; similarly the marker Ṅ indicates Ātmanepada while Ñ indicates both voices as in the case of the svarita accent. Pāṇini's language is characterized by accents which are suprasegmental phonemes. In later days this seems to have been lost, even at the time of Patañjali. Later grammatical systems have little to say about accents. Pāṇini's rule 6.1.158 definitely shows that each pada or finished word had its own accent which he tries to describe in chapter 6. In the illustrations given in this work due care has been

taken to show the pada accent even when sentences are given as illustrations, and sentence accent is indicated only in the section which deals with sentences specifically in the Aṣṭ.

The general rule for accentuation of affixes is stated under 3.1.3; however, in many polysyllabic affixes it may fall on the penultimate syllable, and this is indicated by the marker R (6.1.217); if it falls on the final syllable of the affix, marker C is employed (6.1.163). On the other hand, if the affix generates an accent on the syllable preceding it, marker L is used (6.1.193). Similarly, if the affix does not bear any accent, marker P is used (3.1.4). In the case of secondary nominal forms ending in an affix marked with Ñ or N the accent falls on the initial syllable of the secondary nominal stem, while it falls on the final syllable if the affix contains marker K (6.1.197,165).

Morpho-phonemic changes in the surface forms of stems generated by secondary affixes are indicated by use of markers Ñ or Ṇ, to indicate that the initial syllable of the surface nominal form is replaced by a vr̥ddhi vowel (7.2.117-8). By a general rule the guṇa replacement of stem-final vowels iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) is ruled in for verbal stems before sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes (7.3.84) or stems ending in the final increment p*u*K or having a penultimate light vowel (7.3.86) with modifications mentioned in 1.1.5 and 1.2.1-26. So by such metalinguistic usage Pāṇini generates the surface forms with a minimum use of statements.

Pāṇini's methodology may be illustrated by his generalization of the declensional and verbal inflexional affixes. By 4.1.2 he has the following archetypal affixes for the nominal declension:

Nominative	1	2	3
Vocative	sU	au	Jas
Accusative	am	auṬ	Śas
Instrumental	Ṭā	bhyām	bhis
Dative	Ṅe	bhyām	bhyas
Ablative	ṄasI	bhyām	bhyas
Genitive	Ṅas	os	ām
Locative	Ṅi	os	suP

These are introduced without any change after all nominal stems ending in consonants for masculine and feminine classes. When neuter stems are involved he has three rules indicating that nom.-acc. singular forms replace both sU and am by [∅/am] while nom.-acc. dual affixes are replaced by [Śī] and the plural affixes Jas and Śas are replaced by [Śi]. These three allomorphs then cover the whole range of neuter stems. Ex-

cept for normal saṁdhi rules there is no change in the basic nominal stem forms. Next in order come both masc., fem. and neut. stems ending in semi-vowels. In the case of masc. forms, the stem undergoes a guṇa replacement of its final vowel before the affix Jas and those with marker Ṅ (except[Ṅi]), while the instr. sing. [Ṭā] is replaced by [nā]. In the case of neut. stems an infixed increment [n] is inserted in the stems before affixes with initial vowels. Similarly in the case of neut. stems ending in [a] the infixed element is inserted before strong affixes beginning with a vowel [Śi]. For all stems, masc., fem., and neut. the genitive plural [ām] gets an initial increment [nu̱Ṭ] before which the preceding vowel is replaced by the long one. Thus there is an allomorph for the stem as well as the affix.

These archetypical affixes are introduced without any change after nominal stems ending in consonants, whether masculine or feminine. In the case of neuter stems allomorphs of some affixes are introduced: [Śī] for nom.-acc. dual and [Śi] for nom.-acc. plural. The only changes are due to normal saṁdhi rules: *kr̥-t-* m./n. 'doer', *mr̥d-* f. 'earth': m. *kr̥t+sU = kr̥t+∅* (6.1.68)= *kr̥-t; mr̥d+sU = mr̥d+∅ = mr̥d; kr̥-t+bhyas = kr̥=d=bhyas* (8.4.53); *mr̥d+sUP = mr̥t-sU* (8.4.55); n. *kr̥-t+au = kr̥-t+Śī = kr̥-t-ī; kr̥-t+Śi, kr̥-n-t-+i* (7.1.72) where both the nominal stem as well as the affix have alloforms. Elsewhere, in all cases, whether stems end in vowels or consonants, neuters follow the same pattern as the masculines. Thus *kr̥-t-ā, kr̥-t-e, mr̥d-ā, mr̥d-e* from instrumental onwards for masc., fem. as well as neut. stems.

A more complicated situation occurs in the case of nominal stems ending in short [i, u] which form a special class designated by Pāṇini with the technical term GHI (1.4.7). Changes occur both in the stem as well as the affix in specific cases: for the masc. and fem. stems, guṇa replacement of final vowel takes place before nom. plural affix and those affixes with marker Ṅ (except Ṅi) [cf. 7.3.108; 7.3.111]: *hari+Jas = hare+as = haray-aḥ (6.1.78); hari+Ṅe = hare+e = haray-e (6.1.78), hare+Ṅas(I) = har-e+as = har-e-s (6.1.110); dhenu+Jas = dhenó+as = dhenav-aḥ; dhenu+Ṅe/Ṅas(I) = dheno+e/Ṅas(I) dhenav-e, dhen-o-s.* Before [Ṅi] of the loc. sing. the stem-final is replaced by short [a] (7.3.119) and [Ṅi] is replaced by [auṬ 7.3.118]: *hari+Ṅi = har-a+au = har-au* (6.1.88), *dhenu+Ṅi = dhen-a+au = dhen-au.* In the case of stems ending in short sonant vowel [r̥], there is first a replacement of the stem-final by [an*a*Ṅ 7.1.94] before the nominative sing. affix [sU], and by guṇa before the loc. sing. affix [Ṅi] and before strong affixes (7.3.110):

kar-tṛ+sU = kar-tan+sU = kar-tan+∅ (6.1.68)= *kar-ta∅* (8.2.7)= *kar-tā, kar-tṛ+au(Ṭ) = kar+tar+au(Ṭ) = kar-tār-au* (6.4.11), *kar-tār-as, kar=tār-am, kar-tṛ+Ṅi = kar-tar-i.* In all these three types the following allomorphs of affixes are introduced: for [Ṭā] the allomorph [nā] and for gen. plural [ām] an initial increment [nuṬ = nām], before which the short vowel final is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.3). In the case of neuter nouns ending in vowels the substitute morpheme Śĭ generates an infixed increment in the stem and also before affixes beginning with a vowel (7.1.73): *vāri+Śi = vāri+nuM+i = vārī-ṇ-i* (6.4.8); *vāri+Ṭā = vari+ṇā* (7.3.120), *vāri+Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi = vari-ṇ-e/as/i, vāri+ām = vāri+ṇ-ām = vārī+ṇ-ām.* The nom.-acc. sing. affixes sU and am are both replaced by ∅ (7.1.23): *vāri+sU/am = vāri+∅ = vāri.*

Next in order are feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū] for which Pāṇini has the technical term [strī 1.4.3] in which class feminine stems ending in short [i, u] are also included when affixes with marker Ṅ are introduced after them (1.4.6). In the case of stems ending in long [ā] the nominative and accusative dual affixes are replaced by [Śī 7.1.18]: *ramā+au(Ṭ) = ramā+Śī = ramā+ī = ram-e* (6.1.87). Stem-final [ā] is replaced by [e] before affixes [Ṭā, os 7.3.105]: *ramā+Ṭā = rame+ā = ram-ay-ā; ramā+os = ram-e+os = ram-ay-oḥ.* This same phoneme also replaces stem-final [ā] before the vocative singular affix sU: *ramā+sU(voc.) = rame+∅* (6.1.69) where ∅ replaces the voc. sing. affix. This operates also on stems ending in short vowels [a, i, and u]: *hari+sU = hare+∅; dhenu+sU = dheno+∅; deva+sU = deva+∅.* Affixes marked with Ṅ as IT receive an initial increment [yāṬ] after such stems (7.3.113): *mālā+Ṅe/Ṅas(I) = mālā+yā-e/mālā+yā-as = mālā-yai* (6.1.88)/ *mālā-yās* (6.1.101). The affix [Ṅi] is replaced by [ām]: *mālā+yā-Ṅi = mālā+yā-am = mālā-yām.*

In the case of stems ending in long [ī, ū], by 7.3.107 the vocative sing. affix operates a replacement of the long by the short vowel: *nadī+sU = nadi+∅* (6.1.68)= *nadi; vadhū+sU = vadhu+∅ = vadhu.* Affixes with marker Ṅ acquire an initial increment [āṬ] after these stems: *nadī+Ṅe = nadī+āṬ-e = nadī+ai* (6.1.89-90)= *nady-ai; nadī+Ṅas(I) = nadī+ā-as = nady-ās; nadī+Ṅi = nadī+ā+ām* (7.3.116). Since before these affixes feminine stems ending in short [i, u] are also designated by the technical term [nadī], we have the alternative surface forms: *dhenu+Ṅe = dhenav-e/dhenv-ai; dhenu+Ṅas(I) = dhen-o-s/dhenv-ās; dhenu+Ṅi = dhen-au/dhenv-ām; matay-e/maty-ai; mates/maty-ās; mat-au/maty-ām.*

Among the most complicated system, involving the maximum number of allomorphic changes come nominal stems ending in short [a], despite the fact that this class constitutes the largest number of lexemes in the Sanskrit language, and most studies start with the declension of this class, even in the rearranged works like Prakriyā-kaumudī and Siddhānta-kaumudī. Allormorphs of the stem as well as of the affixes are more in evidence here. These nominal stems comprise substantives and adjectives as one class and pronominal stems as another class. In the case of nominal stems we have, first, a replacement of stem-final vowel by [e] before plural affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants (7.3.103): *deva+bhyas = deve-bhyas; deva+sUP = deve-ṣu* (8.3.79); second, a replacement by the long vowel [ā] before affixes beginning with [yaÑ: y, bh 7.3.102]: *deva+Ṅe = deva+ya* (7.1.13)= *devā-ya; deva+bhyām = devā-bhyām*; thirdly, replacement by [e] before affix [os]: *deva+os = deve+os = devay-os*. The allomorphs for affixes are: [ina] for [Ṭā], [āt] for [ṄasI], [sya] for [Ṅas] by 7.1.12: *deva+Ṭā = deva+ina = dev-e-na; deva+ṄasI = deva+āt = dev-ā-t; deva+Ṅas = deva-sya*. Like other stems ending in short vowels, [a] is also replaced by the long vowel before the affix [°-n-ām]: *deva+ām = deva+nuṬ-ām* (7.1.14)= *devā-nām*. The allomorph for the instr. plur. affix [bhis] is [ais]: *deva+bhis = deva+ais = dev-ai-s*.

Pronominal stems ending in [a] differ to some extent from the above. The nominative plural affix [Jas] is replaced by [Śī 7.1.17]: *sarva+Jas = sarva+ī = sarv-e*; with the preceding class of nominal stems ending in short vowels, the final phoneme of [Śas], after the stem-final and affix initial are replaced by the long vowel corresponding to the first (6.1.102-3), is replaced by [n]: *deva+Śas = dev-ā-(s→n) = dev-ā-n*; similarly for the masculine stems in short vowels: *har-ī-n, sūn-ū-n, pit-r̥̄-n, sarv-ā-n*. [Ṅe] is replaced by [smai]: *sarva+Ṅe = sarva+smai*; [ṄasI] and [Ṅi] are replaced respectively by [smāt, smin]: *sarva+ṄasI = sarva-smāt; sarva+Ṅi = sarva+smin*. [ām] gets an initial increment [suṬ]: *sarva+ām = sarva+suṬ-ām = sarve-ṣām* (7.3.103, 8.3.59). In like manner pronominal stems ending in long [ā] differ from the corresponding nominal stems by having allomorphs for some of the declensional affixes: those marked with Ṅ as IT get an initial increment [syāṬ] while the stem-final is replaced by short [a]: *sarvā+Ṅe = sarva+syā-e = sarva-syai; sarvā+Ṅas(I) = sarva+syā-as = sarva-syās; sarvā-Ṅi = sarva+syā+ām; sarvā+ām = sarvā+s-ām* (7.3.103). In the case of the first and second personal pronouns there are the largest number of al-

lomorphs before the declensional affixes, some of which also undergo replacement. [asm-ad-] has the following allomorphs: sing. [aha-] before nom. sing. (7.2.94), [mahya-] before dative sing., [mama] before genitive sing., [ma] before sing. affixes, [āva] before dual affixes, [vaya] before nom. plur. (7.3.92-97). The affixes replaced are: [Ṅe] and nom-acc. affixes by [am 7.1.28]. Before the acc. affixes stem-final vowel is replaced by the long one (7.2.87). The acc. plur. [Śas] is replaced by [n]: *asm-ad+Śas* = *asm-aa+Śas* (7.2.102)= *asm-ā+n* (6.1.97)= *asm-ā-n*. Dative plur. [bhyas] is replaced by [abhyam 7.1.30] while the corresponding ablative plural is replaced by [at 7.1.31]: *asm-ad+bhyas* = *asm-a-a+bhyam* = *asm-a-bhyam* (6.1.97), *asm-ad+bhyas* = *asm-a-a+at* = *asm-a+at* = *asm-a-t* (6.1.97). [ṄasI] is replaced by [at] also: *asm-ad+ṄasI* = *ma-ad+ṄasI* = *ma-aa+at* = *m-a-t*. The pronominal substitute genitive plur. [s-ām] is replaced by [ākam]: *asm-ad+sām* = *asm-aa+ākam* = *asm-a+ākam* = *asm-ākam*.

While the archetypal affixes remain constant after stems ending in consonants, we have morpho-phonemic changes in the stems themselves in the case of some special types such as those ending in [°-n] where before strong affixes, the penultimate vowel is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.8): *rāj-an+sU* = *rāj-an+∅* (6.1.668)= *rāj-ā∅* (8.2.7); *rāj-ān-au, rāj-ān-aḥ, rāj-ān-am*. Before affixes beginning with a vowel, stems ending in [°-an-] replace the penultimate vowel by ∅ (6.4.134): *rāj-an+Śas/Ṭā* = *raj-∅ñ-as/-a, rāj-an+bhyām/bhis* = *raj-a∅-bhyām/-bhis* (8.2.7), giving three sets of allomorphs: *rāj-ān-, rāj-an, rāj-∅ñ-*. Stems generated by affixes containing a marker indicated by the siglum uK (U, R̥, L̥) receive an infixed increment [nuM] before strong affixes [suṬ, Śi 1.1.42-43]: *mah+atU* = *mah-at+sU/au/Jas/am* = *mah-ānt+∅* (6.1.68) *mahān∅* (8.2.23), *mah-ānt-au*. *mah-ānt-aḥ/mah-ānt-am* (6.4.10); *dhī+matUP* = *dhī-mat+sU/au/Jas* = *dhī-mānt+∅* = *dhi-mān∅* = *dhī-mān, dhī-mant-au, dhī-mant-aḥ, dhī-mant-am; gam+ŚatR̥* = *gam+ŚaP+at-* = *gacch-a-at-* (7.3.77)= *gacch-a-t* (6.1.97)*+sU* = *gacch-ant+∅* (6.1.68)= *gacch-an∅* (8.2.23) *gacch-ant-au*.

In the case of stems generated by affixes [tr̥C, tr̥N], the penultimate vowel is replaced by the long one before strong affixes [Śi, sUṬ 1.1.42-43, 6.4.11]: *kr̥+tr̥C/tr̥N* = *kar-tŕ̥-/kár-tr̥+sU/au/as/am* = *kar-tān+sU* (7.1.94)= *kar-tān+∅* = *kar-tā∅* = *kar-tā; kar-tār+au/Jas, am* (7.3.110)= *kar-tār-au, kar-tār-as, kar-tār-am*. Stems ending in [°in-] have the penultimate vowel replaced by the long one before nom. sing. affix [sU]: *daṇḍ-in+sU* = *daṇḍ-īn=∅* (6.1.68), *daṇḍ-ī∅* (8.2.7) contra *daṇḍ-in-au, daṇḍ-in-ā*.

Stems ending in [°-s] exhibit a similar change before strong affixes (6.4.10): *pr-e-yas(UN)+sU/au/Jas/am* = *pr-e-ya-n-s+sU* = *pre-yans+∅* (6.1.68)= *pr-e-yān∅* (8.2.23), *pr-eyāṁs-au*, etc. *sarp-is+Śi* = *sarpi-n-s-i* = *sarpīṁs-i* (8.3.24,58; 6.4.8). A more complicated situation is to be seen in the case of perfect participles ending in the affix [KvasU (3.2.107)]: *vid+KvasU* = *vid-vas-* which has three allomorphs: *vid-vā-n-s* (= *vid-vāṁs-* 8.3.24) before strong affixes, *vid-vas-* before affixes beginning with consonants and *vid-uṣ-* before initial vowel of affixes: *vid-vān, vid-vāṁs-au, vid-vāṁs-as; vid-uṣ-aḥ, vid-uṣ-ā; vidvad-bhyām, vid-vad-bhiḥ* (8.2.72).

Separate rules indicate the allomorphs of some pronominal stems like [id-am-, ad-as, et-ad-, tad-, tyad-] etc., cf. 7.2.102ff.

It is particularly with reference to the declensional affixes as set down by Pāṇini as archetypal which minimizes the set of rules for deriving the allomorphs from them with the least effort. The table below shows the basic forms with their allomorphs:

Nom. sing.	sU
	∅ after consonantal stems, feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū, ā] (6.1.68)
	[am] after neuter stems ending in [a] (7.1.24) and first and second personal pronouns (7.1.25)
Voc. sing.	sU → ∅ after stems ending in short vowels and monophthongs [e, o] (6.1.69)
Nom-voc. acc. dual	[au(Ṭ)]
	[Śī] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.18) and all neuter stems (7.1.19)
	[am] after first and second personal pronouns (7.1.28)
Nom. voc. plur.	[Jas]
	[Śī] after pronominal stems (7.1.17)
	[Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20)
	[auŚ] after [aṣṭan-] (7.1.21)
	[∅] after numerals designated by the technical term [ṣaṭ 1.1.24] (7.1.22)
	[am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns (7.1.28)
Acc. sing.	[am]
	∅ after neuter stems (7.1.23)

	[am] after neut. stems ending in [a] (7.1.24)
Acc. plur.	[Śas]
	long vowel+n (6.1.103)
	[Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20)
	[auŚ] after [aṣṭan] (7.1.21)
	[am] after 1st and 2nd pers. prons. (7.1.28)
Instr. sing.	[Ṭā]
	[nā] after masc. stems defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7: ending in short i, u) (7.3.120)
	[ina] after masc. and neut. stems ending in short [a] (7.1.12)
Inst. dat.-abl. dual	[bhyām]
Inst. plur.	[bhis]
	[ais] after stems ending in short [a], masc. as well as neut. (7.1.9)
Dat. sing.	[Ṅe]
	[ya] after stems ending in [a] (7.1.13)
	[smai] after masc. pronominal stems (7.1.14)
	[syāṬ+Ṅe] after fem. pron. stems (7.3.114)
	[am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.28)
	[āṬ+Ṅe] after fem. stems in both short and long [ī, ū] (7.3.112)
	[yāṭ+Ṅe] after fem. stems ending in long [ā] (7.3.113)
Dat. plur.	[bhyas]
	[abhyam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. (7.1.30)
Abl. sing.	[ṄasI]
	[āt] after stems in short [a] (7.1.12)
	[at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. stems (7.1.32)
	[āṬ+ṄasI] after fem. stems in short and long [ī, ū: nadī 1.4.3ff.] (7.3.112)
	[yāṬ+ṄasI] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.113)
Abl. plur.	[bhyas]
	[at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.31)

Gen. sing.	[Ṅas]
	[sya] after stems in [a] (7.1.12)
	[syāṬ+Ṅas] after pronominal stems (7.3.114)
	[āṬ+Ṅas] after fem. stems in short or long [i, u] (7.3.112)
	[yāṬ+Ṅas] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.3.113)
Gen. dual	[os]
Gen. plur.	[ām]
	[nu̱Ṭ+ām] after stems ending in short vowels and fem. stems in [i, u, long and short, and ā] (7.1.54)
	[su̱Ṭ+ām] after pron. stems (7.1.52)
	[ākam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.33)
Loc. sing.	[Ṅi]
	[ām] after fem. stems in [ā, ī, ū] (7.3.116) and after fem. stems in short [i, u] (7.3.117)
	[auT] after stems denoted by the technical term GHI (1.4.7) (7.3.118)
	[āṬ+ām] after stems denoted by the technical term [nadī 1.4.3ff] (7.3.112)
	[yāṬ+ām] after fem. stems in long [ā] (7.3.113)

Since Pāṇini deals with both nominal and verbal stems and the affixes introduced after them to generate the surface forms a great deal of attention has been paid to the nature of these pre-affixal stems in order to minimize the statements necessary for morpho-phonemic changes. The pre-affixal stem is designated by the technical term [aṅga- 1.4.13]. A very large part of the Aṣṭ. is devoted to this section, the governing rule 6.4.1 carrying over to the end of the seventh chapter (7.4.97). Morpho-phonemic changes in the pre-affixal stem are all dealt with fully in this section. While the technical term [pada] denotes a finished word ending in either the [sUP] or [tiṄ] triplets (1.4.14) its role is extended to an [aṅga] before affixes beginning with Kya-° [= KyaṄ, KyaC, KyaṢ] (1.4.15) or before an affix with marker S as IT (1.4.16) and also before affixes beginning with [Śas] (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.4.1.151). Changes occurring to a [pada] are covered by the governing rule 8.1.16 extending up to 8.3.54. Similarly changes occurring to the right of a [pada] are covered by governing rule 8.1.17 extending up to 8.1.68. A

third situation arises as an exception to the [pada] status defined by 1.4.17 when the affix introduced after it begins with a vowel or semi-vowel [y] and is covered by the technical term [BHA 1.4.18]. It also covers the affixes with initial [t] or [s] having the sense of affix [matUP 1.4.19]. Governing rule 6.4.129 extending up to the end of the chapter covers the changes occurring in this type of stem. By distinguishing the stem in this three-fold manner Pāṇini minimizes the application of some of his replacement rules which would otherwise generate unacceptable forms. Thus from *marut-* 'wind' we have [pada-s] such as *marut+Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi* = *marut-ā/-e/-as/-i* where 8.2.39 is inapplicable because here the stem in not a [pada] but [BHA]. On the other hand such exceptional forms which occur in the Veda like *ayas=maya-* (1.4.20) contra classical *ayo-maya-* (6.1.114) are exceptions to this classification. In the case of *ṛk-vat-ā* derived from the underlying deep structure *ṛc+vatUP+Ṭā*, by its status as a [pada] the palatal stop [c] is replaced by the velar stop [k 8.2.30], but by its status as a [BHA] it is not replaced by the corresponding voiced phoneme (by 8.2.39). The [pada] status of *rāj-an-* before affixes beginning with a consonant other than [y-] makes 8.2.7 applicable to generate the surface form from *rāj-an+bhyām/bhis/bhyas* : *rāj-a∅=bhyām/bhis/bhyas*. By the ordering of rules in such a manner that rules stated after 8.2.1 are considered not to have taken effect if the situation generated by its application becomes subject to the operation of any rule in the earlier section of the Aṣṭ: thus in *rāj-a∅+bhyām/bhyas* the rules [sUP-i ca 7.3.102] and [bahu-vac-an-e jhaLy eT 7.3.103] cannot operate, as at the time of their operation 8.2.7 is considered invalid, and the condition that the stem should end in short [a] is not satisfied.

Pāṇini's treatment of the conjugation of verbal stems also indicates the insights which he combines with the need for brevity. He classifies the system into ten main categories of tenses and moods and has the technical term [l] to designate them. In order to indicate each of these ten he has the following t.tt.: lAṬ for Present Indicative, lIṬ for Perfect, lUṬ for non-sigmatic Future, lṚṬ for sigmatic Future, lEṬ for (Vedic) Subjunctive forming one group with marker [Ṭ] as IT, and lAṄ Imperfect, lIṄ Optative, lUṄ Aorist and lṚṄ the Conditional, forming a second group with marker [Ṅ] as IT. The verbal stems have three constructions: active [kar-tar-i], passive [kar-maṇ-i] and impersonal [bhāv-e] but two voices: active [para-smai-pada] and middle [āt-man-e-pada]. The passive and impersonal constructions are effected by introducing the

Ātmanepada affixes after a special theme with the marker [yaK 3.1.67]. Verbal stems, in their active construction, can have either Parasmaipada or Ātmanepada affixes introduced after them. Some take exclusively Parasmaipada while others take Ātmanepada affixes. The group of stems which take the latter are marked with an anudātta or [Ṅ] as an IT in the Dhātupāṭha. A number of stems take optionally one of them, the first being used when the fruit of the action is intended for other than the subject, while the second is used when it is intended for the subject and they are indicated in the Dhp. by svarita accent or [Ñ] as IT. Those which take the Parasmaipada are remaining stems in the active construction: cf. 1.3.12,72,78.

When an l-member is introduced after a verbal stem one of two things may happen: if the construction is active, the verbal stem receives its class-marker before the l-substitutes replace the l-member; if the construction is either passive or impersonal, the corresponding marker [yaK] is introduced before the l-substitutes. In the active construction there are nine classes of verbal stems, each having its particular marker [vi-kar-aṇa-]: These are according to their classificatory number [ŚaP] for [bhū-] class, $\emptyset^1$ [Śap→luK] for [ad-] class, $\emptyset^2$ [Ślu] for [hu-] class, [ŚyaN] for [div-] class, [Śnu] for [su-] class, [Śa] for [tud-] class, [ŚnaM] for [rudh-] class, [u] for [tan-] class and [Śnā] for [krī-] class as given in the Dhp. The so-called tenth class is but a new generation of verbal stems, which also includes causatives generated from primary verbs, with marker [ṆiC] and take the marker [ŚaP] before l-substitutes. 3.1.5-30 introduce a class of affixes, including [ṆiC] which generate new verbal stems defined by the t.t. [dhā-tu- 3.1.32], but these affixes are optional when the stems are followed by ārdha-dhātuka affixes. This classification of sārva-dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka has its explanation in the fact that the first are introduced after the whole verbal stem + its class marker which, to distinguish it from the stem, may here be designated "theme", while the second group of affixes are introduced after the primitive stem which may be considered as [ardha-dhatu-]. Thus sārvadhātuka affixes are introduced after verbal themes while the other class is introduced after the basic verbal stems. The word theme will also designate the final [aṅga] which appears before the particular l-substitute of an l-member.

There are three persons and three numbers. Thus each of the voices contains nine affixes. Their archetypal forms as given by Pāṇini are:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	tiP	tas	jhi
Second	siP	thas	tha
First	miP	vas	mas

These are the Parasmaipada group of affixes.

The corresponding Ātmanepada affixes are:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	ta	ātām	jha
Second	thās	āthām	dhvam
First	iṬ	vahi	mahiṄ

By 1.1.71 two sigla are generated: tiṄ for the whole group of l-substitutes, and taṄ for the Ātmanepada substitutes. The siglum tiṄ also represents a [pada] ending in these affixes, just as [suP] represents not only the twenty-one declensional affixes but also a [pada] ending in them.

One may also note that while the Parasmaipada affixes belong primarily to the Present system, the Ātmane-pada affixes indicate a secondary system. Pāṇini's classifying the l-members in two groups respectively marked by [Ṭ] and [Ṅ] shares many common features requiring minimum rules of replacement, as we shall see. The Parasmaipada affixes in their canonical forms hold good without any change (except for the replacement of initial [jh] by [ant] for the Present Indicative), the two Futures (except for the third person in the case of lUṬ or non-sigmatic Future), and the Conditional. For lUṬ there is a replacement of the third person affixes by [Ḍā, rau, ras 2.4.87]. For the Perfect all the nine affixes are replaced by the following scheme: (3.4.82).

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	ṆaL	atus	us
Second	thaL	athus	a
First	ṆaL	va	ma

For the Imperative the following substitutions are indicated: 3.4.85: it shares the same affixes as lAṄ or Imperfect, viz. [tas, thas, tha, miP] are respectively replaced by [tām, tam, ta, am 3.4.101]. In addition the following substitute rules yield the new allomorphs: (1) affix final [i] replaced by [u]: [tu] sing, [antu] plur; (2) [siP] replaced by [hi] which is not marked by P as IT (3.4.87) and [miP] is replaced by [ni 3.4.83]. By 3.4.99 affix final [s] is replaced by ∅. Thus there is an interlinking in this of both the groups of l-members with marker [Ṭ, Ṅ], yielding the following scheme:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	tu	tām	antu
Second	hi	tam	ta
First	ni	va	ma [°-s → ∅ (3.4.99)]

In addition the affixes of the first person get an initial increment [āṬ] which is marked with P as IT (6.4.92) for both sets of affixes.

For the Ātmanepada affixes the following set of rules indicates the substitute allomorphs: by 3.4.79 l-substitutes of l-members with marker [Ṭ] are generated by replacing the last syllable beginning with a vowel (TI) by [e]: thus [ta] becomes [te], [a(n)ta] becomes [ante] and so on; [thās] is replaced by [se 3.4.80], and we get the following scheme:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	te	āte	a(n)te
Second	se	āthe	dhve
First	e	vahe	mahe

By 7.1.4-5 the element [jh] of the 3rd pers. plur. is replaced by [at] when introduced after reduplicated themes or themes which do not end in short [a].

For the Imperative [lOṬ] the following additional rules apply: 3.4.91 provides for replacement of affix final of [se, dhve] respectively by [va, am] yielding [sva, dhvam]; 3.4.93 provides the replacement of the first person affix-final [e] by [ai]. Elsewhere [e] is replaced by [ām] by 3.4.90.

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	tām	ātām	a(n)tām
Second	sva	āthām	dhvam
First	ai	ā-vahai	ā-mahai

Vedic Subjunctive [lEṬ] like the Imperative [lOṬ] shares the features of both the [Ṭ] and [Ṅ] groups of l-members, cf. 3.4.94 whereby the affixes receive an initial increment [aṬ] or [āṬ]: e.g., [pat-a+ā-ti = pat-ā-ti]. The long [ā] of affixes is replaced by [ai]: [mantr-ay=aite]; this is an optional rule, and similarly [i] of affixes is optionally replaced by ∅ (3.4.97).

The archetypal affixes for [taṄ] given by Pāṇini constitute the basic secondary affixes, introduced without any change as substitutes for [lAṄ, lUṄ, lṚṄ], respectively the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional. With reference to Optative [lIṄ] and its sub-variety Precative or Benedictive which functions as ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.116) we have the following allomorphs: first, there is an initial increment [yāsu̱Ṭ] for Parasmaipada affixes and [sīyu̱Ṭ] for Ātmanepada affixes (3.4.102-3), and an additional

increment [suṬ] preceding phonemes [t, th] of affixes, which, in the case of sārva-dhātu-ka Optative are replaced by ∅ (7.2.79). The 3rd pers. plur. [jha] is replaced by [ran], and the 1st pers. sing. [i] is replaced by [a]. The scheme of affixes for Optative Ātmanepada is, therefore:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	∅īy+ta	∅īy+ātām	∅īy+ran
Second	∅īy+thās	∅īy+āthām	∅īy+dhvam
First	∅īy+a	∅īy+vahi	∅īy+mahi

The corresponding scheme for Parasmaipada affixes is:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	yā∅+t	yā∅+tām	yā∅+us (3.4.108)
Second	yā∅+s	yā∅+tam	yā∅+ta
First	yā∅+am	yā∅+va	yā∅+ma

For the Benedictive or Precative we have:

(a) Parasmaipada:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	yās+s+t (= ya∅ +∅+t 7.2.29)	yās+s+tām	yās+us
Second	yās+s	yās+s+tam	yas+s+ta
First	yās+am	yās+va	yās+ma

(b) Ātmanepada:

Person	*Sing.*	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Third	sīy+s+ta	sīy+ā-s-tām	sīy+ran
Second	sīy+s+thās	sīy+ā-s-thām	sīy+dhvam
First	sīy+a	sīy+vahi	sīy+mahi

Pāṇini distinguishes between a verbal stem and a verbal theme. By including the affixes beginning with [saN: 3.1.5] and ending with [ṆiṄ 3.1.30] as those building up derived verbal stems (3.1.32) he provides for generating themes from them by introducing the general active class marker ŚaP (3.1.68) before sārva-dhātu-ka affixes. There are other markers which generate themes before l-substitutes. The marker [sya] characterizes the verbal theme before l-substitutes of the sigmatic Future [lR̥Ṭ] and the Conditional [lR̥Ṅ] (3.1.33). Likewise before l-substitutes of [lEṬ] Subjunctive there is an optional marker [siP] (3.1.34). Before [lIṬ] substitutes, a derived verbal stem has the marker [ām], and similarly the verbal stem [kās-] (3.1.35) and those which begin with a vowel other than [a], which is heavy (3.1.36), and a few others (3.1.37-39). Before [lUṄ] substitutes the theme is generated by several markers: [Cli] replaced by [siC 3.1.44], [Ksa 3.1.45], [CaṄ 3.1.48], [aṄ 3.1.52], [CiṆ 3.1.60ff.], [∅ 2.4.77] yielding a number of themes giving seven types: (1)

Root Aorist (∅ replacement of si̱C), (2) a-Aorist (aṄ), (3) reduplicated Aorist (CaṄ), and 4 sub-types of sigmatic Aorists: (4) s-Aorist [si̱C], (5) sa-Aorist [Ksa], (6) i-ṣ-Aorist (= iṬ+si̱C) and (7) s-i-ṣ-Aorist [sa̱K 7.2.73+iṬ+si̱C]. Themes are generated before [lIṬ] substitutes by a process of reduplication for which simple rules are given in 6.1.1-3,8, and 7.4.59-62,66. Reduplication rules pertaining to the formation of intensive stems are contained in 7.4.82ff.

One of the original concepts in the Aṣṭ. is that of the zero affix. The zero replacement of any item is generally indicated by the technical term [lop-a- 1.1.60] and of affixes by the special terms [luK, Ślu, luP 1.1.61]. The need for this distinction is with reference to the general rule 1.1.63 which stipulates that when an affix is replaced by ∅, its presence is still felt in effecting the morpho-phonemic change due to it. Thus *agni-ṁ ci-tavān* = *agni+ci+Kvi̱P* (3.2.91)= *agni-ci-t-* (6.1.71)*+sU* = *agni-ci-t-∅* (6.1.68)= *agni-ci-t* 'who had lit the sacrificial fire' is considered a [pada] despite the non-appearance of the sUP triplet. On the other hand a replacement of an affix by employing one of the three t.tt. containing [lu-] is an exception to this rule: *vid+(ŚaP → luK* 2.4.72)*+tas* = *vit-∅+tas*; since this affix is deemed to be marked by [Ṅ] as IT (1.2.4), there is no guṇa replacement of the theme-final vowel, and ∅ does not bar the operation of 1.1.5.

Each of these three zero affixes $\emptyset^1$, $\emptyset^2$ and $\emptyset^3$ (respectively denoting [luK], [Ślu], and [luP]) has its own special field. Ślu alone is restricted as substitute for ŚaP (2.4.75). $\emptyset^3$ [luP] preserves the number and gender of the stem after which it is introduced (1.2.51).

The general rule which bars replacement by guṇa vowels (1.1.5) has two markers [K, Ṅ] and by later interpretation also [*G]. Why was it necessary to have more than one marker? The Aṣṭ. has K-IT as well as ṄIT l-substitutes: among such K-IT affixes are l-substitutes of [lIṬ]which are not marked as P-IT when introduced after verbal stems which do not terminate in a conjunct nexus (1.2.6) and other affixes indicated in 1.2.7-17, with exceptions shown in 1.2.18ff. On the other hand all sārva-dhātu-ka affixes which are not marked by P as IT are regarded as Ṅ-IT (1.2.4) as well as l-substitutes not marked by [Ñ] or [Ṇ] as IT (1.2.1) and initial increment [iṬ] introduced after the verbal stem [vij- 1.2.2], but optionally after [ūrṇu-] 1.2.3; similarly the initial increment [yāsu̱Ṭ] of Parasmaipada l-substitutes of [lIṄ], but which is K-IT when introduced as l-substitutes of Precative. Since both markers prevent the

operation of (7.3.84,86) by the meta-rule 1.1.5, the reason for differentiation is with reference to vocalization (sam-pra-sār-aṇa) of semi-vowels: 6.1.15 applies this vocalization to the verbal stems [vac-, svap-] and the group beginning with [yaj] before K-IT affixes, while the following rule 16 applies to stems beginning with [grah-] before both K-IT and Ṅ-IT affixes. This provides the justification for the use of both markers in 1.1.5. By interpretation later critics of Aṣṭ. have included *G also as such a marker since the nexus [G-K-Ṅ] results by saṁdhi into [*K-K-Ṅ = K-Ṅ] and this justifies the surface form *sthā-snu-* (3.2.139) where the affix is given as [Ksnu]. If it is K-IT then 6.4.66 would operate to yield an unacceptable form *sthī-ṣṇu-*.

The necessity of the Dhātu-pāṭha will be seen time and again when Pāṇini refers to verbal stems marked specifically with an accent or a phoneme as an IT. When he defines Ātmanepada stems as designated with an anudātta marker or by [Ṅ], it is the Dhp. which supplies such a list. References such as [anudātta=upadesa-° 6.4.37] refer one to the Dhp.

Verbal stems marked by [ÑI] as IT, for instance, generate participles ending in [Ktá] to denote the present (3.2.180). Verbal stems with [ḌU] as marker generate a nominal stem with affix [Ktrí] 3.3.88 and those with [ṬU] generate nominal stems with [athú̱C] 3.3.89. Similarly a stem characterized by [ā] as IT does not operate the initial augment [iṬ] of an ārdhadhātuka affix (7.2.16): *ÑI-mid-Ā+Ktá = mid+tá = min-ná-* (8.2.42). Stems with marker [O] are also subject to the operation of 8.2.48: *O-vij-Ī+Ktá = vij+tá = vij+ná = vig-ná* (8.2.30). Stems with marker [Ī] as IT do not also operate the initial augment [iṬ] on affixes denoted by t.t. [niṣṭhā: Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26]: cf. vig-na-. Stems with [I] as marker insert an infixed increment after the last vowel of the stem (7.1.58). Stems with marker [U] optionally operate the initial increment [iṬ] on affix Ktvā (7.2.56). Those marked with long [Ū] as IT optionally operate the initial increment [iṬ] before ārdha-dhātuka affixes (7.2.44). The operation of 7.4.1 is barred from stems with marker [R̥] (7.4.2). Stems with marker [L̥] have the Aorist marker [aṄ] before Parasmaipada l-substitutes (3.1.55). The operation of 7.2.1 is not applicable to stems with marker [E] as IT (7.2.5). Stems ending in [Ṣ] as IT generate feminine nominal stems with affix [áṄ] (3.3.104): *jr̥̄Ṣ+áṄ+ṬāP* (4.1.4)= *jar-ā́* (7.4.16). Lastly those with [IR] as marker optionally have the Aorist marker [aṄ] for the [Cli̱] substitute [si̱C] (3.1.57). All these rules are indications that for understanding the operation of these rules the Dhp. lexicon is a prime necessity.

One of the most complicated topics involved is that of the governing rule 7.2.35 which indicates that before an ārdha-dhātuka affix with an initial consonant other than semi-vowel [y = va̲L] an initial increment is added defined by [iṬ]. This operation is not only governed by the conditions stated in this rule, but is subject also to the nature of the verbal stem after which such affixes are introduced. Beginning with 7.2.8, exceptions to this rule are stated. Rule 10 indicates that stems marked with anudātta accent when first introduced (i.e., in the Dhp.) and are monosyllabic, do not bring about this increment. Here again an appeal has to be made to the Dhp. lexicon. The section dealing with details of this augment ends with 7.2.75, and goes forward to extend the scope of this augment for some sārva-dhātu-ka affixes also (76-78). In a number of cases, while specifying the larger inclusive classes such as [bhū-] the word [ādi-] is used to denote them; similarly for shorter groups we have a similar use, as in [pū=ādīn-n-ām 7.3.80], or the word [pra-bhr̥-ti-] as in the case of (adi̲-pra-bhr̥-ti-bhyaḥ ŚaPaḥ 2.4.72) or the plural of the first stem to denote the group concerned (with or without a number): [kir-as=ca pañca-bhyaḥ 7.2.75] or [dyud-bhyo lUṄ-i 1.3.91]. The need for referring to the Dhp. arises in all such cases.

In a similar manner the Gaṇapāṭha is an essential accompaniment to the Aṣṭ. The section dealing with taddhita formation (4.1.76 to the end of chapter 5) shows all such instances where one has to go to the Gaṇapāṭha for the full operation of the rules stated in this section.

One special feature of affixes remains to be stated. While primary [kr̥t] and secondary [taddhita] affixes generate primary and secondary nominal stems, there is one area of a [prāti-pad-ika-] which deals specifically with the generation of compounds. But in the generation of a number of them, we have a section of the taddhita affixes which are primarily concerned, not with the individual nominal stems which go into composition, but with the compound as a whole, after which these affixes are introduced. They go under the governing rule of [sam-āsa=ant-āḥ 5.4.68 to the end of the chapter]. Of the many such affixes we may note three here; [ḌáC 5.4.73; áC 5.4.75ff.; ṬáC 5.4.01ff.]; while these three in fact represent an accented [á] as the affix, the markers used to distinguish them have a special significance. [ḌaC], by 6.4.143 replaces the syllable beginning with the final vowel of the nominal stem by ∅: *dv-au vā tray-o vā = dvi+tri+ḌáC* (5.4.73)= *dvi-tr+∅á+Jas = dvi-tr-ā́-ḥ* 'consisting of two or three'. Affix [ṬaC] generates a feminine stem with affix [ṄīP 4.1.15]. The marker [Ṭ]

specifically generates this type of feminine stems. Pāṇini's system of markers is so complicated that many times interpretation is necessary. As an example we may cite: *pac+lAṬ* = *pac+ŚaP+ŚānaC* (3.2.124)+*ṬāP* (4.1.4)= *pac-a+m-ān-ā*; since the affix is a replacement for [lAṬ] by 1.1.56, it has the same function as [lAṬ] and by 4.1.15 fem. affix [ṄīP] is required; but interpretation comes in here to explain that since [lAṬ] has two markers, the function of [Ṭ] is to separate [lAṬ] along with other l-members with that marker from those which are marked by [Ṅ]. Again this marker [Ṅ] as applied to l-members does not come under the operation of the metalinguistic rule 1.1.5. Its function is to separate the two sets of l-members which come under two different sets of l-substitutes, primary and secondary. Another illustration of such multiple markers is the affix [CphaÑ] where [Ñ] does not operate under 6.1.197 for accent but only for 7.2.117 for replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable by vr̥ddhi, while [C] operates under 6.4.163.

One of the unique features of Aṣṭ. is the role of accent. Later grammatical systems are not at all concerned with this topic. A remodeling of Aṣṭ. in Cāndra-vy-ā-kar-aṇa omits the section on accent. It is possible that the phonemic role of accent which is so vital to Pāṇini's description of his native speech did not play a role during the period of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. While Patañjali does discuss the role of accent in so far as sacrificers are involved, its role in common speech has not generated any special comments. In fact Patañjali himself interprets the rule 1.1.70 by analyzing the rule [ta-para-s tat-kāla-sya 1.1.70] as [ta-ḥ par-o ya-smāt so'yam ta-para-ḥ; tāt=api para-ḥ ta-para-ḥ]. The first is a bahuvrīhi compound and is accented on the first member, while the second is a tatpuruṣa and accented on the final syllable of the compound expression. Such an analysis can only be possible if accent was not phonemic in the common speech. The liturgical language alone seems to have kept the role of accent at all times in carrying out the functions assigned to particular ceremonies. Patañjali refers to the sages who used to say [yar-vā ṇas tar vā-ṇas] in their normal speech but spoke correctly as [yad vā nas tad vā naḥ] while performing Vedic rituals.

According to Pāṇini each [pada] or finished word has all its syllables as anudātta except for one which bears either the udātta or svarita accent. By a general rule 3.1.3 an affix normally bears the accent on its initial syllable. Any departure from this governing rule is indicated by special rules. For instance all affixes with marker [P] as well as the declensional affixes denoted by the siglum sUP are anudātta (3.1.4).

That accent is phonemic can be seen from a few examples. While interpreting the rule [tulya=ās-ya-pra-yat-na-m sa-varṇa-m 1.1.9] Patañjali explains the word [ās-yà-] as derived from the stem [asU IV 100] with affix [ṆyàT] which by 6.1.185 bears the svarita accent on the affix, but in the context of the sūtra, he derives it further as [ās-y-è bhav-a-m = ās-yà+yaT 5.1.6] which by 6.1.213 bears the udātta accent on the first syllable, and refers to a point of articulation within the buccal region. A difference in the accent accounts for the difference of meaning. Similarly 5.2.49 provides for the formation of ordinals prior to 'eleventh' by ruling in an initial increment [maṬ] to the affix [ḌáṬ 5.2.48], and we have forms like *pañca-m-á-, sapta-má-, aṣṭa-m-á-* from the numerals *pañcan-, saptan-, aṣṭan-* respectively, the marker [Ḍ] effecting Ø replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel (6.4.143). By 5.3.49 affix [aN] is introduced after these ordinals to denote a fraction: the resulting forms are homophonous, but the accent moves to the initial syllable (6.1.197). Thus accent is phonemic and must have been perceptible during Pāṇini's time since he is so careful in recording facts.

Since the [pada] is the unit which bears an accent on one of its syllables, the question arises as to what happens to the constituent parts of a [pada] each of which may have its own individual accent. In fact the Dhātupāṭha gives the list of verbal stems indicating their accents which indicates that verbal stems may have their own individual accents. Except in a few cases the Gaṇapāṭha does not mark the accents of nominal stems. Their accent is to be deduced from the underlying deep structure which generates the surface forms. Since a [pada] is defined as either a nom. stem + sUP or a verbal stem + tiṄ, one has to derive the position of the [pada] accent from the process of derivation. The accent proper to the last element which is introduced in the deep structure generally marks the [pada] accent. As an illustration we may take the case of the third person singular of the Present Indicative of the verbal stem *bhū́* which bears the udātta accent: *bhū́+lAṬ = bhū́+ŚaP+tiP = bhó+a+ti*. Since the class marker [ŚaP] and the l-substitute [tiP] are P=IT-s they are both anudātta. So the resulting form is *bháv-a-ti*. Similarly in the case of *suÑ* which is anudātta, *su+lAṬ = su+nú+tiP = su-nó-ti* since by 1.2.4 the class marker [Śnu] of the su-class is a Ṅ-IT and prevents a guṇa replacement of stem final [u] while that of the class marker is so replaced. When we come to consider the situation in the deep structures *bhū́+ŚaP+tás, su+Śnú+tás: = bhó+a+tás = bhav-a-tas, su-nu-tas*, the place of the accent has to be determined, since in both illustrations there

are two of the three elements bearing their own accents. The normal position is that of the last accented member so that we have *su-nu-tás*, with the udātta on the last syllable of the surface form. In the normal course the same thing should have happened in the case of *bháv-a-tas*. But a special rule prevents the accent falling on accented l-substitutes, cf. 6.1.186, which indicates that accented l-substitutes lose their accent when introduced, so that themes ending in short [a] retain their original accent. A stem having an accented syllable loses its accent if the theme marker is accented: *lū́Ñ+Śnā́ = lu-nā́-tiP*; this accent of the theme is lost if the affix has an accent: *lu-nī-tás*. 5.4.11 introduces the affix [ā́m] after the comparative and superlative affixes: when it is introduced after this we have *lu-nī-tas-tar=ā́=m*. Though all sUP affixes are defined as anudātta (3.1.4), there are situations when they acquire the udātta accent. Thus 6.1.168 teaches that beginning with the instrumental singular, all sUP affixes bear the udātta accent when introduced after nominal stems which are monosyllabic before the locative plural affix [suP]: *vāc+ṣú = vāk-ṣú* (8.2.30; 3.59); *vāc-ā́/é/ás; vāg-bhíḥ/bhyā́m/bhyás*. When these stems enter into composition as final members, this rule is optional (6.1.169).

The accentual system as occurring in the Vedic texts and as described in the Aṣṭ. sometimes shows differences between the Vedic system and that current during Pāṇini's time in the speech of the educated community. For instance the pronominal stem *sárva-* bears the udātta accent on the first syllable in R̥g Veda, but Pāṇini's rule [sarva-sya sUP-i 6.1.191] indicates that this is so only before sUP triplets; the inference is, therefore, that the word normally bears the accent on the second syllable. Again by [hrasva-nuṬ=bhyām matUP 6.1.176] the affix matUP is accented when introduced after a nominal stem which ends in a short accented vowel. In the case of *himá-* 'snow' which is accented on the final syllable Pāṇini's rule gives *hima-vát-* with the accent shifted to the affix, contra Vedic *himá-vat* bearing the accent on the final syllable preceding the affix. That accent did have a vital role in actual speech during Pāṇini's time is also indicated by his rule 6.1.181: [vi-bhāṣ-ā bhāṣā-y-ām] very clearly.

There are many homophonous elements having different functions. For instance [áC] stands for all vowels, as the siglum derived from ŚS 1-4 and it also stands for kr̥t affix, with feminine in long [ā] (3.1.134; 4.1.4) and also a taddhita affix (5.2.127), the marker [C] indicating the accent falling on the affix itself (6.1.163). There are two affixes [KtiN] and

[KtiC], the first deriving feminine stems with accent on the initial syllable (6.1.197) while the second generates stems with a precative sense (3.3.174). Affix [KtíC] also is not subject to the operation of 6.4.15 and 37. There are two affixes [tr̥] with markers [C] or [N], differing in the accentuation of the surface forms; affix [tr̥N] is introduced after all verbal stems to denote the significances enumerated in 3.2.129: habitual disposition, age or capacity, (3.2.135) but [tŕ̥C] to denote that the agent is worthy of the action (3.3.169) and can also occur after all verbal stems.

Occasionally a doubt may arise regarding the function of an element. As an instance we may note the general replacement rule 7.1.1 whereby [yu, vu] are replaced respectively by [ana, aka]. By 6.4.88 the element [vu̱K] is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū́-] before l-substitutes of [lUṄ and lIṬ]. There are a number of affixes containing the element [vu] such as [ḌvuN, ṆvuC, ṆvuL, vuK, vuC, vuÑ, vuN, ṢvuN]. To arrive at the proper interpretation of [vuK] introduced after the verbal stem [bhū́-] interpretation is necessary that it is a final increment of the verbal stem and is not an affix. The interpretation of 7.1.1 draws on 7.1.2 which has the specification [praty-aya=ādī-nām] and by a process known as [apa-karṣ-a-] introduces this term from the following sūtra, contra the normal system of [anu-vr̥t-ti-] where one derives the word from a preceding sūtra to fill in the ellipsis.

The technical term [praty-ay-a-] implies that it is that element which gives the full meaning of the finished expression. In the case of [vu̱K] which is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū́-] it is not a [praty-aya-] but a stem-final augment. The substituend is always in the sixth triplet, and one has to distinguish between a replacement and an augment. To some extent the markers [K, Ṭ and M] decide the case for an augment.

Marker [Ṅ] of an element indicates that it is the substitute for the final phoneme of the substituend even when it is polyphonic (1.1.53). It is also a marker of the affix or element which when introduced after a nominal or verbal stem bars the operation of 1.1.5 (i.e., guṇa replacement). That is why in the case of nominal stems which are designated by the t.t. GHI (i.e., those ending in short i or u) undergo that transformation despite marker [Ṅ]. The same is true of the aorist marker [aṄ] when introduced after verbal stems ending in [r̥] and the stem [dŕ̥s-] (7.4.16). Similarly the siglum [aṆ] and affix [aṆ] are easily indentifiable from the contexts. Where this is not possible, the metarule mentioned by Patañjali that in case of doubt one must have recourse to

interpretation operates. This system of interpretation must have arisen at the very time of the oral transmission of the Aṣṭ. and the genesis of such interpretation must be the basis of much critical work that followed its composition. The works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali are continuations of that tendency to make clear what is not so easily discernible on account of the style of Aṣṭ. The additional rules which are appended in these later works are an example of noting the changes in the language which must have taken place after Pāṇini's time, though in some cases, they have been lapses in the original text.

In a work of such magnitude which covers every aspect of the author's speech community, systematized on the basis of mnemonic rules, there is indeed much scope to find some overstatements as well as understatements. But none of this takes away from the credit which is due to Pāṇini who, in this astounding work, has set up a model which is fully adequate to cover every aspect of the language described. Because of its importance, all earlier works in this field gradually disappeared. Aṣṭ. in its turn became the focal point of much critical and explicatory work over the last two millennia. That is a universe by itself, but its appeal is to the specialist. However, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, along with Pāṇini are the three great teachers accepted by all subsequent authorities, and the whole Pāṇinian system is designated sometimes as *tri-muni vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m.* Regarding the authority of this triumvirate, later tradition lays down the law: *yath-o-t-taram munī-n-ām prā-māṇ-ya-m* 'according to the greater authority of the succeeding sages'.

Since interpretation is the ultimate source for the explication of the original sū-tra-s of Pāṇini, several metalinguistic principles were developed, some of which are due to Pāṇini himself. A majority of these, technically known as [pari-bhāṣā=s], are due to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. A collection of these was assembled and commented upon by Nagojibhaṭṭa and they help one in understanding the intricacies of Pāṇini's grammar.

The broad principles of interpretation have been laid down by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. In his passage discussing the nature of grammar as presented by Pāṇini he has the following passage: *na hi sū-tra-ta eva śabd-ā-n prati-pad-y-a-nte; kiṁ tarhi? vy-ā-khyā-na-taś ca; nanu tad eva sū-tra-ṁ vi-gṛh-ī-ta-ṁ vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti? na keval-ā-n-i carcā-pad-ā-n-i vy-ā-khyā-na-ṁ "vṛddhi-ḥ+āT + aiC"=iti. Kiṁ tarhi? ud-ā-har-aṇa-m, praty-ud-ā-har-aṇa-ṁ, vāk-ya=adhy-*

ā-hār-a ity etat sam-ud-i-ta-ṁ vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti (MBh. I 11,20-23). 'One does not derive words by referring only to the sū-tra-s. What then? By interpretation also. But is not that the same sūtra broken into its several constituent elements which constitutes interpretation? No, the separation of the constituent elements does not constitute interpretation (such as separating the words [vr̥ddhi-ḥ, āT, aiC] of the first sū-tra). What then? Examples, counter-examples, filling in the ellipsis, these together constitute interpretation.' It is out of this type of interpretation that one brings out the full implication of each sū-tra. To understand fully the nature of this interpretation we may illustrate it with an example. Pāṇini 1.2.4 reads as follows: *sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* (3.4.113) *a-P*-IT. Interpretation of this sūtra then is as follows: *a-P*-IT *sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* [Ṅ-IT 1.2.1]=Ṅ-IT=*vat bhav-a-ti: kr̥+lAṬ* = *kr̥+ú+tás* (3.1.79, 4.78)= *kar-u+tás* (7.3.84)= *kur-u-tás* (6.4.110); *a-P*-IT=*iti kim? kr̥+u+tiP* = *kar-ó-ti* (7.3.84). First the ellipsis is filled in by the expression [Ṅ-IT] of 1.2.1 recurring in this rule by the process of [anu-vr̥t-ti] and supplying the copula. Then follows the illustration of this rule, with an affix which is clearly not marked by [P] as IT. Lastly the question regarding the restraint [a-P-IT] is illustrated by the surface form generated with the affix [tiP]. This in short is how the sūtra is to be interpreted. Beyond this normal style of interpretation, both the Vārttika-s and Mahābhāṣya go deeper into the construction of the sū-tra-s and question the validity of each expression therein in relation to the situations indicated in other related sū-tra-s. Modifications are suggested and then denied, maintaining the original status of the sū-tra. In a few cases the modifications suggested have been accepted as the basic text in the Kāśikā. But these are few as compared to the large number of them which occur without such modifications. The theoretical development of linguistic philosophy dates precisely from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and finds its apex in Bhartr̥hari's Vākya-pad-īya. These are the standard original works in the field of Sanskrit grammar, forming the basis of later expository treatises. But at the very back of all these lies Pāṇini's great work which must be studied first by means of his own metalinguistic techniques.

Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

atha śabdānuśāsanam

Now begins instruction (anuśāsanam) pertaining to articulatory speech (śabda- °).

As preliminary to the main corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī there is a repertory of phonemes divided into fourteen strings (sūtra-s) forming a distinct part popularly known as Śiva-sūtras (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūtras (MS) and commonly referred to as Pratyāhāra-sūtras (PS), because of their capacity to generate pratyāhārás or sigla representing groups of phonemes which enter into any particular grammatical operation, in order to produce an economy of statement. The whole object of Aṣṭādhyāyī is to effect an economy of statement and thus dispense with the normal arrangement of given topics. These ŚS are not a part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, but are traditionally associated with its corpus. Traditionally the authorship of ŚS, as the name implies, is ascribed to the divine Śiva or Maheśvara. Even the introductory statement which precedes them is part of the great commentary, the Mahābhāṣyá of Patañjali.

ŚIVA-SŪTRAS

	Sūtra	*Definition*	*Sigla generated*
1.	a i u Ṇ^{1}	simple vowels	aṆ^{1}
2.	r̥ l̥ K	sonant vowels	aK, iK, uK
3.	e o Ṅ	diphthongs	eṄ
4.	ai au C	diphthongs	aC, iC, eC, aiC
5.	ha̱ ya̱ va̱ ra̱ Ṭ	voiced aspirate + semivowels y, v, r	aṬ
6.	lÃ Ṇ^{2}	semi-vowel l	(rÃ), aṆ^{2}, iṆ^{2}, yaṆ
7.	ña̱ ma̱ ṅa̱ ṇa̱ na̱ M	nasal stops	aM, ya̱M, ṅa̱M
8.	jha̱ bha̱ Ñ	palatal and labial voiced aspirate stops	ya̱Ñ
9.	gha̱ ḍha̱ dha̱ Ṣ	voiced aspirate stops	jha̱Ṣ, bha̱Ṣ
10.	ja̱ ba̱ ga̱ ḍa̱ da̱ Ś	voiced unaspirated stops	aŚ, ha̱Ś, va̱Ś, jha̱Ś, ja̱Ś, haŚ
11.	kha̱ pha̱ cha̱ ṭha̱	unvoiced stops	cha̱V

	tha̲ ca̲ ṭa̲ ta̲ V		
12.	ka̲ pa̲ Y	unvoiced stops	ya̲Y, ma̲Y, jha̲Y, kha̲Y
13.	śa̲ ṣa̲ sa̲ R	sibilants	ya̲R, jha̲R, kha̲R, ca̲R, śa̲R
14.	ha̲ L	voiced fricative	aL, ha̲L, va̲L, ra̲L, jha̲L, sa̲L

The sigla listed above are derived by applying 1.3.2-3 along with 1.1.71 (q.vv.). The capital letters at the end of each sūtra are IT markers (1.3.3) while the underlined vowels are used for ease of pronunciation to denote the consonantal phonemes. It may be noted that this repertory of phonemes (akṣara-samāmnāyá) does not include long and prolated or extra long (cf. 1.2.27 below) vowels or the anusvārá, visargá (or visarjanī́ya), jihvā-mūlī́ya and upadhmānī́ya or the supra-segmental phonemes of accent. The vowels represent phoneme classes, rather, involving features of length, ±nasality and three accents.

Though the number of sigla can run into three figures, those actually needed for grammatical operations in the corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī́ are 41 (or 42 if rÃ is included according to later Pāṇinī́yas). These sigla, in their alphabetical order are:

1. aK simple vowels a, i, u and sonant vowels r̥, l̥ (with suprasegmental features of 3 lengths, 3 accents and ±nasality); 6.1.101,128.

2. aC all vowel phoneme classes (with suprasegmental features of length, accent and ±nasality): a, i, u, r̥, l̥, e, o, ai, au; 1.1.10,47,73; 2.27; 3.2 etc.

3. aṬ all vowels+voiced fricative h+semivowels except l; 8.3.3,9; 4.63.

4. aṆ[1] simple vowel class a, i, u; 1.1.51; 6.3.111.

5. aṆ[2] all vowels (aC)t h+semi-vowels; 1.1.69.

6. aM all vowels+h+semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.3.6.

7. aL all vowels+all consonants (= aC+haL).

8. aŚ all voiced phonemes (= aC+haŚ); 8.3.17.

9. iK simple vowels i, u, r̥, l̥; 1.1.3,45,48; 2.9.

10. iC all vowels except the phoneme class a; 6.1.104; 3.68.

11. iṆ[2] all vowels except the phoneme class a+h+semi-vowels.

12. uK the simple vowels u, r̥ and l̥; 8.1.70; 2.11; 3.57.

13. eṄ diphthongs e and o; 1.1.2,75; 6.1.69,94,109 ff.

14. eC all diphthongs e, o, ai and au; 1.1.48; 6.1.45 ff.

15. aiC diphthongs ai and au; 1.1.1,8; 7.8.8; 8.2.106.

16. kha̲Y all voiceless stops: kh, ph, ch, ṭh, th, k, p, c, ṭ, t; 7.4.61; 8.3.6.

17. kha̲R all voiceless consonants (= kha̲Y+śa̲R).

18. ṇa̲M velar, retroflex and dental nasal stops; 8.3.32.

19. ca̲R all voiceless un-aspirated stops+sibilants 1.1.58; 8.4.54 ff.

20. cha̲V palatal, retroflex and dental voiceless stops: ch, ṭh, tha, c, ṭ, t; 8.3.7.

21. ja̲Ś all voiced un-aspirated stops: j, b, g, ḍ, d; 1.1.58; 8.2.39; 4.53 ff.

22. jha̲Y all non-nasal stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh, j, b, g, ḍ, d,kh, ph, ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, t, k, p; 5.4.111; 8.2.10; 4.62 ff.

23. jha̲R all non-nasal stops+sibilants (= jha̲Y+śa̲R).

24. jha̲L all non-nasal stops+fricatives (jha̲Y+śaL).

25. jha̲Ś all voiced stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh, j, b, g, ḍ, d; 8.4.53.

26. jha̲Ṣ all voiced aspirated stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh; 8.2.37,40.

27. ba̲Ś un-aspirated voiced stops other than palatal j; 8.2.37.

28. bha̲Ś voiced aspirated stops other than palatal jh; 8.2.37.

29. ma̲Y all stops except nasal stop ñ; 8.3.33.

30. ya̲Ñ semi-vowels+nasal stops+jh, bh; 7.3.101 ff.

31. ya̲Ṇ all semi-vowels y, v, r, l; 1.1.45; 6.1.77; 4.81,156.

32. ya̲M semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.4.64.

33. ya̲Y semi-vowels+stops; 8.4.58 ff.

34. ya̲R semi-vowels+stops+sibilants 8.4.45 ff.

35. (*rÃ) liquids r, l; 1.1.57.

36. ra̱L all consonants other than semi-vowels y, v; 1.2.26.

37. va̱L all consonants other than semi-vowel y; 6.1.66; 7.2.35.

38. va̱Ś semi-vowels other than y+voiced stops; 7.2.8.

39. śa̱R sibilants ś, ṣ, s; 7.4.4; 8.3.28,35 ff.; 3.58; 4.49.

40. śa̱L all fricatives; 3.1.45

41. ha̱L all consonants; 1.1.7,10; 3.3; 3.1.12,83.

42. ha̱Ś all voiced consonants; 6.1.64.

VARṆA-SAMĀMNĀYA (Repertory of Phonemes)

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Retroflex	Dental	Labial
Vowels						
Short	a		i	r̥	l̥	u
Long	ā		ī	r̥̄	l̥̄	ū
Prolated	a3		i3	r̥3		u3
Diphthongs			e			o
			ai			au
Semi-vowels			y	r	l	v
Consonants						
Unvoiced (stops):						
Unaspirated		k	c	ṭ	t	p
Aspirated		kh	ch	ṭh	th	ph
Voiced (stops):						
Unaspirated		g	j	ḍ	d	b
Aspirated		gh	jh	ḍh	dh	bh
Nasals		ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m
Fricatives						
Unvoiced (sibilants)			ś	ṣ	s	
Voiced		h				

1.1.1 vṛ̥́d-dhir āT=aiC

(The technical term = t.t.) vṛ̥́d-dhi denotes the vowel phonemes long ā (= āT) and the diphthongs ai, au (= aiC).

1. āT = long vowel class ā (by 1.1.70 below) with supra-segmental features of three accents and ±nasality. Unmarked vowels by marker T stand for their class, associated with the supra-segmental features of length (=3): short (hrasvá), long (=dīrghá) and extra-long or prolated (plutá) (1.2.27), and accent (=3): udā́tta 'high-pitched', ánudātta 'low-pitched' and svaritá 'rising and falling tone or circumflex' (1.2.29-31), ±nasality. The short vowels have a duration of one mora, the long of two and the prolated of three mora, while consonants have half a mora each. By 1.1.70 aiC following the marker T of āT represents the diphthongs ai, au, having a duration of two moras only.
2. as a non-technical term vṛ̥́d-dhi denotes 'increase, growth, interest (on principal), etc.' Cf. 5.1.47.
3. as a t.t. vṛ̥́d-dhi occurs in 1.1.3-6,73; 6.1.88-92; 2.105; 7.2.1-7,114-18; 3.1-35, 89-90.

1.1.2 aT=eṄ guṇáḥ

(The t.t.) guṇá denotes the vowel phonemes short a (aT) and the diphthongs e, o (eṄ).

1. aT represents the short phoneme-class a, having a duration of one mora while eṄ following marker T of aT represents phoneme-class e, o of two mora duration.
2. as a non-t.t. guṇá signifies 'quality, attribute, characteristic' 2.2.11; 3.23, and in the compounds guṇá-kārtsnyá 'whole or entire quality' 6.2.93; guṇá-pratiṣedhá- 'denial or negation of a quality' 6.2.155, guṇá-vácana- 'attributive, adjective' 2.1.30; 4.1.44; 3.58; 5.1.124; 6.2.24, 8.1.12; it also denotes 'fold, times' 5.4.29.
3. as a t.t. guṇá occurs in 1.1.3-6; 6.1.87,97; 4.126,146,156; 7.3.82-88,91; 4.10-11,16,21,29,30,57,75,82.

1.1.3 iKo guṇá-vṛ̥d-dhī́

When the t.t. guṇá (2) and vṛ̥́d-dhi (1) are introduced as replacements (and the substituendum is not specified), they replace only the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ̥ and ḷ̥).

The expression iKaḥ, ending in the sixth triplet (=genitive) is expected to recur when it is not specified, with the use of the t.tt. guṇá and vṛ̥́d-dhi. For example 7.3.84 sārvadhātuka=ārdhadhātukáyoḥ (guṇáḥ 82) and 86 puK=anta-laghu=upadhásya ca (guṇáḥ 82) specify only the pre-affixal base (=aṅga 6.4.1) in the genitive (1.1.49) as the substituendum; by this meta-rule the expression iKaḥ recurs here, denoting the actual substituendum. Thus *bhū́+ŚaP : bhó+a : bháv-a*

(6.1.77) before l-substitutes of the Present System (3.4.78). Similarly by 7.2.1 siCi vŕ̥d-dhiḥ parasmaipadéṣu we have the expression iKaḥ recurring with vŕ̥d-dhi to denote the specific substituendum: *kr̥Ñ+siC+*l-substitutes of Parasmaipadá: *á-kr̥+s+t : a-kār-s-īṬ-t* (6.4.71; 7.3.96) = *á-kār-ṣ-ī-t* (8.3.59).

1.1.4 ná dhātulopé=ā́rdhadhātuke

[Guṇá and Vŕ̥d-dhi replacements 3] do not (ná) operate before an ā́rdhadhātuka affix which conditions a zero replacement (lópa) of a verbal base (dhā́tu- °).

ā́rdhadhātuka is defined by 3.4.114 as affixes other than those of the Present System (3.4.113). Thus *lūÑ+yáṄ* (3.1.22) *: lo-lū-yá* (6.1.9 for reduplication and 7.4.82 for guṇá replacement of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable) is a derived verbal base (3.1.32) from which an agent noun is derived by introducing the affix áC (3.1.134): *lo-lū-yá+áC*; by 2.4.74 the marker yáṄ is replaced by zero (∅) before a vowel: *lo-lū-yá+áC : lo-lū-∅-áC* and the guṇá replacement ruled in by 7.3.84 does not take place so that the expected form *lo-luv-á-* is realized by 6.4.77.

1.1.5 K-Ṅ-ITi ca

And (ca) [guṇá and vŕ̥d-dhi replacements 3 are not 4 conditioned] before affixes marked with K or Ṅ as an IT.

According to Pāṇinī́yas the expression K-Ṅ-ITi stands for *G-K-Ṅ-ITi for reasons which will be indicated below.

1. Before l-substitutes of the Present System (sā́rvadhātuka 3.4.113) the class of verbal stems beginning with *tudÀ vyáthane* (DhP VI 1) 'torment, inflict pain' has the class marker Śá (3.1.77) which, by 1.2.4 is deemed as marked with Ṅ as IT; thus *tud+Śá+tiP* (3.4.78) = *tud-á-ti* and consequently 7.3.86 does not operate here. Similarly *kr̥+Ktá- : kr̥-tá-* 'done, accomplished'.
2. The only exception is with regard to taddhita affix marker K as IT which conditions vŕ̥d-dhi replacement in the initial syllable of a nominal stem (7.2.118).
3. *G as an IT-marker which does not condition guṇá or vŕ̥d-dhi replacement is introduced to explain forms like *sthā-snú-* as derived from *sthā+*Gsnú-* (3.2.138 glā-ji-sthaś ca *G-Ksnúḥ) which is rendered Ksnú- by 8.4.55; if the marker had been K instead of *G the final phoneme of [sthā-] would have been replaced by ī according to 6.4.66. *G is also considered as an IT-marker in 3.2.138.

1.1.6 ¹dīdhī-²vevī=³iṬām

[Guṇá and Vṛ̥d-dhi replacements 3 are not conditioned 4 with reference to the following substituenda]: the verbal bases dīdhī- 'shine', vevī- 'be agitated' and the initial increment iṬ.

1. *ā+dīdhī+ṆvuL* (3.1.133) : *ā+dīdhī́+aka* (7.1.1) = *ā-dīdhy-áka-* 'shining', despite marker Ṇ which should condition vṛ̥d-dhi by 7.2.115. Similarly *ā+vevī+ṆvuL* = *ā-vevy-áka-* 'trembling'.
2. *bhū+lUṬ* : *bhū+tā́s+miP* : *bhū+iṬ+tā́s-mi* (3.1.33 for tās and 3.4.78 for miP and 7.2.35 for iṬ) = *bho+i-tā́s+mi* = *bhav-i-tā́s-mi* but 7.3.84 does not operate on iṬ.

1.1.7 ha̱Laḥ=ánantarāḥ saṁyogáḥ

(The t.t.) saṁyogá 'conjunction' denotes an uninterrupted (ánantarāḥ) sequence of consonants (ha̱Laḥ):

1. "uninterrupted" by vowels defines a conjunct; up to five consonants is normal: *ánna-*(2) 'food', *strī-*(3) 'woman; feminine gender'; *kā́rṣṇya-*(4) 'blackness, darkness'; *kā́rtsnya-*(5) 'totality, whole'.
2. as a t.t. occurs in 1.2.5; 4.11; 6.1.3; 4.10,62,68,82,106,166; 7.2.43; 4.10,29; 8.2.23,43.

1.1.8 mukha-nāsikā-vácanaḥ=ánunāsikaḥ

(The t.t.) ánunāsika- 'nasal' denotes a phoneme articulated simultaneously through the oral and nasal cavities (mukha-nāsikā-vácana-).

1. nasal vowels: ã, ā̃, ĩ, ī̃, etc.
2. nasal stops: ñ, m, ṅ, ṇ, n.
3. nasal semi-vowels: ỹ, l̃, ṽ.

1.1.9 túlya=āsya-prayatnam sávarṇam

(The t.t.) sávarṇa 'homogeneous' designates phonemes which are produced by the same articulatory effort (túlya-prayatná-) at the same point of articulation in the oral cavity (ā́sya-).

1. túlya- 'same, similar, equivalent'.
2. āsyà[1] 'oral cavity' but ā́sya-[2] = āsyè[1] bhava- = āsyà[1]+yàT 5.1.6 'point of articulation in the oral cavity'. Five points of articulation are recognized: velum (kaṇṭhá-), soft palate (tā́lu-), hard palate (mūrdhán-), teeth ridge (dánta-) and lips (óṣṭha-). Our corpus has óṣṭhya- (7.1.102) 'labial', dántya- (7.3.73) 'dental' and mūrdhanyà- (8.3.55) but not káṇṭhya- 'velar' or tālavyà- 'palatal'; on the

other hand 4.3.62 derives the word jīvhā-mūlī́ya- 'formed at the root of the tongue'.

3. prayatná- 'articulatory effort or process' is two-fold: ābhyantará- 'intra-buccal' and bā́hya- 'extra-buccal'; the first again is four-fold: spr̥ṣṭá- 'close contact' for stops, īṣát-spr̥ṣṭa- 'slight contact' for semi-vowels or resonants, īṣád-vivr̥ta- 'slight openness' for fricatives, and vivr̥tá- 'fully open' for vowels. The principal extra-buccal efforts are associated with ±voice (glottal), ±aspiration (pulmonic) and ±nasality (nasal). Openness and constriction of the glottis, relating to voicelessness and voice respectively, are designated vivārá- and saṁvārá-, and the three accents: udā́tta- 'high-pitched or rising tone', ánudātta- 'low-pitched or falling tone' and svaritá- 'rising and falling tone, circumflex', a combination of the preceding two, associated with vowels constitute eleven aspects of this articulatory process. Though not involved in the definition of sā́varṇya- or homogeneity, they are taken into consideration when replacement takes place according to 1.1.50.
4. as a t.t. occurs in 1.1.58,69; 6.1.101,102-6,127; 4.78; 7.1.39; 8.4.58.

1.1.10 ná=aC=ha̱Lau

A vowel (aC) and a consonant (ha̱L) [which satisfy the above condition 9] are (nevertheless) not (ná) (homogeneous 9).

In consequence of this, in the expression *dadhi+śītam* 'cold curds' saṁdhí or euphonic combination does not take place as taught in 6.1.101 between *°-i+ś-°*, though both are homogeneous by 9 above.

1.1.11 īT=ūT-eT=dvivacanam pragr̥̄hyam

(The t.t.) pragŕ̥hya denotes [final 1.1.52] °-ī, °-ū or °-e of dual endings (dvi-vacanám).

1. By 6.1.125 pragŕ̥hya vowels are not subject to replacement before other vowels as conditioned by sáṁhitā (6.1.72) or euphonic combinatory rules; thus we have expressions like *agnī́ iti, vāyū́ iti, phále iti, pácete iti,* where the first three expressions ending in the dual cases and the fourth ending in the dual personal verbal affix are pragŕ̥hya vowels.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 6.1.125; 8.2.107; 4.57, and recurs by anuvŕ̥tti in the rules 12-19 below.

1.1.12 adáso māt

[(The t.t.) pragŕ̥hya denotes vowels °-ī, °ū and °-e 11] occurring after the phoneme [m] which is part of the nominal base adás- 'that'.

Thus no saṁdhí replacement takes place in the expressions *amī́ āsáte, amū́ āsā́te* 'they two (respectively m. and f.) sit down'.

1.1.13 Śe

[(The t.t.) pragṛhya 11] denotes the ending Śe (7.1.39).

This affix is a replacement for sUP triplets (3.4.78) in Vedic. The Vedic examples are: *tvé iti, asmé índrā-bṛhaspatī́.*

1.1.14 nipātá éka=aC=án-āṄ

[(The t.t.) pragṛhya 11 denotes] a particle (nipātá-) consisting of a single vowel (éka+aC) with the exception of ā́Ṅ.

1. *i índram paśya, u úttiṣṭha* 'look at Indra', 'get up'.
2. The particle ā́ with marker Ṅ denotes the senses of (1) a little (īṣad-arthá), (2) connection with activity (kriyā-yogé), (3-4) exclusive limit (maryā́dā) and inclusive limit (abhividhí); but without the marker it signifies (5) emphasis of a sentence as an expletive (vākyà) and (6) reminiscence (smáraṇa): *ā́ evám nu mányase* (5); *ā́ evám kíla tát* (6) 'thou dost certainly consider thus'; 'such indeed was then the cause'.

1.1.15 oT

[(The t.t.) pragṛhya denotes 11 a particle 14] (ending in 1.1.72) the diphthong [o].

aho īśaḥ 'lo, the Lord'; this rule applies to particles consisting of more than one syllable, since monosyllabic particles are already covered by the preceding rule.

1.1.16 sambúddhau śā́kalyasya itau=án-ārṣe

[(The t.t.) pragṛhya denotes 11] a vocative-(final 1.1.72) before the expression iti which is not a part of the Vedic text (án-ārṣ-e) according to (the grammarian) Śā́kalya.

By quoting the name of the teacher Śā́kalya this rule is considered as optional. Pā́ṇini (= P.) uses this device in two ways: (a) either as a mark of respect (pūjārthé) or (b) to indicate the optional nature of the rule (vibhāṣārthé), *vā́yo iti / vā́yav iti* (6.1.78).

1.1.17 uÑaḥ

[According to the grammarian Śā́kalya 16 (the t.t.) pragṛhya 11 denotes the particle 14] uÑ (= u followed by the marker Ñ) [before non-Vedic iti 16].

u iti / *v-iti* (6.1.77 according to other grammarians).

1.1.18 ū̃

[According to the grammarian Śākalya 16 (the t.t.) pragṛhya 11 denotes the particle 14] ū̃ [which replaces uÑ 17 (1.1.49)].

Originally sūtras 17-18 constituted a single sūtra which Kātyāyana proposed to divide into two by a process known as yoga-vibhāgá 'splitting of one rule into parts'. According to Śākalya this ū̃ is optionally substituted for uÑ and is pragṛhya: *u iti, ū̃ iti* / *v-iti*.

1.1.19 īT=ūT-au ca saptamy-arthé

[(The t.t.) pragṛhya denotes 11] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) long °-ī or °-ū which have the meaning of the seventh triplet of nominal endings (sUP 4.1.2).

By 7.1.39 $\emptyset^1$(=luK) replaces sUP triplets in Vedic: *sómo gaurī́ ádhi śritáḥ* 'Soma has come to rest on the she-buffalo (skin)'; *ádhy asyā́m māmakī́ tanū́* 'in this, my body'.

1.1.20 ¹dā-²dhā GHU=á-dāP

(The t.t.) GHU denotes (verbal stems of the form) dā or dhā except those which have the shape of dā and are marked with P (as IT).

GHU bases are: *ḌU-dāÑ dā́ne* III 9, *ḌU-dhāÑ dhā́raṇa-póṣaṇayoḥ* III 10, *do avakhánḍane* IV 40, *dāṆ dā́ne* I 977, *deṄ rákṣaṇe* I 1011 and *dheṬ pā́ne* I 951.
dāP represents *dāP lávane* II 50, *daiP śódhane* I 971.
As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.17; 2.4.77; 3.3.92; 6.4.66,67,113,119; 7.3.70; 4.46-7,54; 8.4.17.

1.1.21 ādy-antavát=ékasmin

When a grammatical operation applies to a single phoneme unit (ékasmin), it is treated as though it were the initial (ādi) or final (anta) (of a similar polyphonic expression).

3.1.3 [ādy-udāttaś ca] provides that the initial syllable of an affix bears the udā́tta accent: e.g., *°-távya- (kar-távya-)*; similarly the affix áṆ as a patronymic affix consisting of a single vowel phoneme is, by this rule, regarded as the initial: *upagu+áṆ = aupagav-á-* 'descendant of Upagu'. 7.3.102 (sUPi ca) provides that nominal stem final °-a is replaced by °-ā before nominal endings beginning with y-°, bh-°; under the governing rule 6.4.1 (áṅgasya) this rule applies to the

áṅga-final vowel, but in the case of **a+bhyām = ā-bhyām** the substitute stem (for idám 7.2.113) consists of a single phoneme a∅ which, by this rule is now regarded as áṅga-final.

1.1.22 taraP-tamaPau GHAḥ

(The t.t.) GHA denotes the affixes taraP and tamaP.

These represent the general comparative (5.3.57) and superlative (5.3.55) affixes. As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.11; 6.3.17,43; 8.2.17.

1.1.23 [1]bahú-[2]gaṇá-[3]vatU-[4]Ḍáti saṁkhyā́

(The t.t.) saṁkhyā́ denotes (the nominal bases) bahú- 'many', gaṇá- 'group' and expressions (ending in 1.1.72) affixes vatU(P) [5.2.39] and Ḍáti [5.2.41].

1. This t.t. covers a sub-class of nominal stems consisting of number words or numerals.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.10,19,50; 3.2.21; 4.1.26,135; 5.1.19,22,39,58; 2.42,47; 3.42; 4.1.17,43,86,89.140; 6.2.35,163; 3.47,110; 7.3.15.

1.1.24 ṣ-ṇā́=antā ṢAṬ

(The t.t.) ṢAṬ denotes [a sub-class of saṁkhyā́ 23] (ending in 1.1.72) °-ṣ or °-ṇ (when first encountered).

1. These are: *ṣáṣ* (6), *páñcan* (5), *saptán* (7), *aṣṭán* (8), *návan* (9), *dáśan* (10).
2. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.10; 6.1.175; 7.1.22,55.

1.1.25 Ḍáti ca

(The t.t. ṢAṬ 24 denotes saṁkhyā́ 23 expressions) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ḍáti also (ca).

7.1.22 [ṣaḍbhyo luK] provides for the replacement of nominative and accusative plural sUP affixes introduced after this sub-class of numerals.

1.1.26 Ktá-KtávatŪ niṣṭhā́

(The t.t.) niṣṭhā́ denotes the affixes Ktá (3.4.70) and KtávatU.

1. These affixes generate the past passive and active participles respectively.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.36-7,69; 3.2.102; 6.1.22-28;205; 2.2.110,169; 4.52,60,95; 7.2.14-34,47,50; 8.2.42.

1.1.27 sarvá-ādīni sarvanāmāni

(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 'pronominal stem' denotes the class of nominal bases whose first member is sarvá- 'all'.

1. Such a list is called a gaṇá and a repertory of such gaṇás constitutes a supplement to this corpus under the title Gaṇa-pāṭha, corresponding to a similar list of verbal stems designated Dhātu-pāṭha.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.3.37; 5.3.2,7,8,10,23,71; 6.3.91; 7.1.14-17,52; 3.114.

1.1.28 vibhāṣā dik-samāsé bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes a bahuvrīhí compound (2.2.23ff.) formed with direction words (dik-samāsá).

Thus in the bahuvrīhí compound *úttara-pūrvā* 'north-eastern', the dative singular can either be *úttara-pūrvāyai* (as a substantive) or *úttara-pūrvasyai* (as a pronominal).

1.1.29 ná bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27] does not (ná) denote [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a bahuvrīhí (compound).

Example (Ex.): *priyá-viśva-* 'beloved of all' has the dative singular form *priyá-viśvāya* as against *°-viśvasmai*.

1.1.30 tṛtīyā-samāse

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 does not denote 29 the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a tatpuruṣá 2.1.22 (compound) the prior member of which ends in the (1.1.72) third sUP triplet (i.e., the instrumental case 2.1.30).

mā́sena pū́rvasmai = *mā́sa-pūrvāya* (2.1.31) 'prior by a month'.

1.1.31 dvaṁdvé ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 does not denote 29 a member of the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] co-occurring (at the end 1.1.72) of a Dvaṁdvá (compound 2.2.29).

pū́rveṣāṁ ca páreṣāṁ ca = *pūrva-parā́ṇām* 'of the former and the latter'; instead of

the normal genitive plural in °-sām (7.1.52) the regular °n-ām (7.1.54) associated with nominal stems is introduced after the dvaṁdvá compound.

1.1.32 vibhāṣa Jasi

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27, (occurring at the end of 1.1.72) a dvaṁdvá compound 31] before (the nominative plural sUP ending) Jas.

7.1.17 [Jasaḥ Śī] provides for a replacement of Jas by Śī when introduced after pronominals ending in short °-a; so we have *dakṣiṇottaré/dakṣiṇottarā́ḥ* 'southern and northern'.

1.1.33 [1]prathamá-[2]caramá-[3]taya=[4]álpa=[5]ardhá-[6]katipayá-[7]némāś ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] the words prathamá- 'first', caramá- 'last', expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affix °-taya(P 5.2.42), álpa- 'small', ardhá- 'half', katipayá- 'some', and néma- 'half' [before affix Jas 32].

Thus we have the following examples: *prathamé/prathamā́ḥ; caramé/caramā́ḥ; dvítaye/dvítayāḥ; álpe/álpāḥ; ardhé/ardhā́ḥ; katipayé/katipayā́ḥ; néme/némāḥ.*

1.1.34 pū́rva-pára=ávara=dákṣiṇa=úttara=ápara=ádharāṇi vyavasthā́yām á-saṁjñāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] the words pū́rva- 'front, eastern', pára- 'subsequent', ávara- 'lower, more recent', dákṣiṇa- 'right, southern', úttara- 'upper, northern', ápara- 'behind, western', ádhara- 'lower' [before affix Jas 32] provided they are employed in the sense of relative situation (vyavasthā́) and not used as proper names (ásaṁjñāyām).

Though they are already pronominals by their inclusion in the class of words beginning with sarvá- [27], they function optionally so before affix Jas: *pū́rve/pū́rvaḥ; páre/párāḥ; ávare/ávarāḥ; dákṣiṇe/dákṣiṇāḥ; úttare/úttarāḥ; ápare/áparāḥ; ádhare/ádharāḥ*; but *dákṣiṇe imé gā́thakāḥ* 'these singers are expert'; similarly *úttarāḥ kúravaḥ* 'n.pr. of a country'.

1.1.35 svám a-[1]jñāti-[2]dhana=ākhyāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal base) svá- when not signifying jñāti 'kin' or dhána- 'wealth' [as a proper name 34 before the affix Jas 32].

In this particular situation svá- signifies 'own': *své/svāḥ putrā́ḥ* 'one's own sons', but *svā́ḥ* 'kinsfolk', *prabhūtā́ḥ svā́ḥ* 'extensive possessions, assets or wealth'.

1.1.36 ántaram bahiryogá=upasaṁvyā́ayoḥ

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal stem) ántara- [before affix Jas 32] when it signifies connection with the exterior (bahir-yogá-) or under-clothing (upasaṁyā́na).

1. ántara- is a regular member of this class, but optionally so before the affix Jas in these two meanings, but in its normal meaning of 'between' it is necessarily a pronominal stem.
2. *ánrare/ántaráḥ=gr̥ā́ḥ* 'houses situated at the extremity (of the village)'; similarly *ántare/ántarāḥ śā́ṭakāḥ* 'under-garments'.

1.1.37 svàr-ādi-nipātam ávyayam

[(The t.t.)] ávyaya- 'indeclinable' denotes members of the class headed by svàr- 'sun' as well as particles (nipātá).

1. Nipātás 'particles' are listed in 1.4.57-96 below.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38-41; 4.67; 2.1.6; 2.11,20,25; 3.69; 4.82; 3.4.59; 4.1.10; 2.104; 3.23; 5.3.71; 4.11,86; 6.2.2,168; 3.66; 8.3.46.

1.1.38 taddhitáś ca á-sarva-vibhaktiḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya 37] denotes derivatives (ending in 1.1.72) a taddhitá (4.1.78ff.) 'secondary nominal affix' after which not all [sUP triplets 1.4.103] (vibhákti 1.4.104) endings are introduced.

tad ±feminine affix± sing./du./pl. ablative endings = *tá-tas* where the vibhakti affix tasiL is introduced by 5.3.7 as a replacement for the fifth sUP triplets.

1.1.39 kŕ̥t=m=éC=antaḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya denotes 37] expressions derived with kŕ̥t [3.1.93] affixes (ending in 1.1.72) °-m or °-eC (= e̱, o̱, a̱i, a̱u).

1. Kṛ́t affixes are primary affixes deriving nominal stems from verbal bases; those ending in °-m are: tumuN, (*kár-tum* 'to do'), NamuL (*svādum-kāram* 'having sweeteness').
2. Kṛ́t affixes ending in °-eC are: °-áse, °-aseN and °-tavai/tave as indicated by the examples *jīváse/jī́vase* 'to live' *kar-táve* 'to do', *apabhāṣ-i-tavaí, mlecch-i-tavaí* 'to speak indistinctly' [3.4.9,14].

1.1.40 Ktvā́-tosuN-KasuNāḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya 37 denotes] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affixes Ktvā́, tosuN and KasuN.

Ktvā́ is a kṛ́t affix introduced by 3.4.18ff. to generate absolutives: *kṛ-tvā́* 'having done'; similarly for the other affixes: *kár-tos* (3.4.16) 'doing', ā-tṛ́d-as (3.4.17) 'piercing'.

1.1.41 avayībhāvás=ca

And [(the t.t.) avyaya denotes 37] 'the adverbial compound' avyayībhāvá (2.1.5-21).

By including this type of compound as a member of the indeclinable (ávyaya) class, feminine and declensional affixes [āP and sUP 2.4.82] are replaced by $\emptyset^1$ (luK) when introduced after it.

1.1.42 Śi sarvanāma-sthānám

(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthāná 'strong case ending' denotes (the replacement affix) Śi (for Jas and Śas 7.1.20).

1. The expression sarvanāma-sthāná indicates a situation in which the operation applies to the whole nominal stem and implies the 'strong case ending'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.17; 6.1.170,199; 7.1.70,86; 3,110.
3. exx.: *dádhi+Jas/Śas* = *dádhi+Śi* (7.1.20) = *dádhi-n+Śi* (7.1.72) = *dádhī-n-i* (6.4.8).

1.1.43 sUṬ á-napuṁsakasya

[(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthāná denotes 42] (the sUP triplets comprised by the siglum) sUṬ (= sU, au. Jas, am, auṬ) introduced after a nominal stem other than a neuter one (i.e., masculine and feminine only).

rā́jan+sU = *rā́jān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rā́jān+∅* (6.1.68) = *rā́jā+∅* (8.2.7).

1.1.44 ná vā=iti vibhāṣā

(The t.t.) vibhāṣā denotes the meaning of the combined particles ná vā 'or not' (literaliy 'not or') and signifies optionality.

1. There are three types of optional rules: (a) á-prāpte vibhāṣā provides optionally what would not obtain otherwise; (b) prāpté vibhāṣā makes optional what has been provided by another rule; (c) ubhayátra vibhāṣā is a combination of the first two. (a) is illustrated by 32 above.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.28,32; 2.3,16,36; 3.50,77,85; 4.12,16,25,50,78 etc.

1.1.45 iK=yaṆaḥ samprasā́raṇam

(The t.t.) samprasā́raṇa 'vocalization' denotes the vowel phonemes (comprised by the siglum) iK (= i,u,ṛ, ḷ) (replacing the semi-vowels comprised by the siglum) ya̱Ṇ (= y,v,r,l) (respectively 1.3.10).

1. *yaj+Ktá* = *iaj+Ktá* (6.1.15) = *ij+Ktá* (6.1.108) = *iṣ+Ktá* = *iṣ-ṭá-* 'spoken, uttered'. Similarly *vac+Ktá* = *uk-tá* 'spoken, uttered'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.72; 5.2.55; 6.1.13-20,22-26, 30-32,34,37-44,108; 3.139; 4.131; 7.4.67.

1.1.46 ādy-antau Ṭa̱-K-ITau

(An increment) marked with Ṭ as IT constitutes the initial (ādí) of the unit to which it is added, and one marked with K as IT constitutes the final (ánta).

1. The phonological changes which take place in morphology are of two kinds: replacement of phonemes or addition of phonemes to the base when affixes are introduced. Deletion of phonemes is regarded as replacement by *∅*. The substituendum is always accompanied by the sixth sUP triplet (in the genitive case: 49 below).
2. The increment iṬ associated with ā́rdhadhātuka affixes beginning with va̱L (7.2.35) is an initial increment: *bhū́+tum* = *bhū́+iṬ-tum* = *bháv+i-tum* becomes the initial of the affix tumu̱N.
3. Before the affix of the present participle middle °-āna- verbal themes ending in short °-a get an increment mu̱K (7.3.82) where m constitutes the final of the verbal theme: *édh+ŚaP+āna-* = *édha-m+āna-* 'growing'; if this increment were considered as a part of the affix °-āna (= māna-) the theme-final short a of *édh-a-* would be replaced by the corresponding long vowel by 7.3.102 and result in an unacceptable form.

1.1.47 M-IT=aCaḥ=ántyāt páraḥ

(An increment) marked with M as IT is inserted after the last (ántya) vowel (aC) of the expression to which it is added.

1. *rudh+ŚnáM* (3.1.78) =*ru-ná-dh-* = *ru-ṇá-dh* (8.4.2) 'obstruct, hinder'.
2. Increments with marker Ṭ are: aṬ, āṬ, iṬ, īṬ, ṅamuṬ tuṬ, dhuṬ, nuṬ, yāṬ, yāsuṬ, yiṬ, yuṬ, ruṬ, sīyuṬ, suṬ, syāṬ; increments with marker K are: aduK, asuK, ānuK, ithuK, kuK, juK, ṭuK, tithuK, tuK, thuK, duK, nīK, nuK, puK, muK, yaK, yuK, riK, rīK, ruK, luK, vuK, ṣuK, saK; increments with marker M are: aM, iM, uM, nuM, puM, raM, ŚnāM.

1.1.48 eCa iK=hrasva=ādeśe

When (the t.t.) hrasvá (1.2.27) is used to denote a short vowel (hrasvá 1.2.28) of vowel phonemes (designated by the siglum) eC (= e, o, ai, au) (and the substitute is not specified) it is one of the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u).

1. Though the siglum iK contains the additional vowels r̥ and l̥, they are not required for the statement of this rule; a new siglum iṆ[1] would have been more appropriate, but would have caused confusion, since with one exception (1.1.69) aṆ represents aṆ[1] while iṆ and other sigla ending in marker Ṇ operate with Ṇ[2].
2. A bahuvrīhí compound is an attributive word capable of taking all three genders; thus *áti+rai* 'which has surpassed riches', when taking the neuter gender, by 1.2.47 replaces the final long vowel ai by i yielding the form *áti-ri-*. Similarly by 1.2.48 in the *bahuvrīhí* compound *citrá+go* the final °*-o* is replaced by *u*, yielding the form *citrá-gu-* 'possessor of brindled cows'.

1.1.49 ṣaṣṭhī́ sthāné-yogā

The sixth (ṣaṣṭhī) sUP triplet is used to indicate that the expression after which it is introduced is the substituendum (sthāné-yogā).

This is a metalinguistic rule governing the use of the genitive case in the corpus of Aṣṭ. This corpus makes use of three building blocks: the nominal stem (prātipadika 1.2.45), the verbal stem (dhātu 1.3.1; 3.1.32) and a set of affixes (praty-ayá 3.1.1-5.4.160) and a body of replacement rules which are context-sensitive. The genitive or sixth case, in its metalinguistic use, stands for the substituendum on which the rule operates. Thus in the rule [áster bhūḥ 2.4.52] *bhū́-* replaces *as-* before ārdhadhātuka affixes. On the other hand in 6.4.89 [ūT=upadhā́yā góhaḥ], though there are two genitives, the substituendum is the [upadhā] which is qualified by [góhaḥ,] and the governing expression [áṅgasya 6.4.1] which recurs there gives the full expression as [góhaḥ=áṅgasya=upadhā́yāḥ] makes it clear that the last genitive alone is the substituendum.

1.1.50 sthā̃ne=ántara-tamaḥ

(Where a choice has to be made) among possible replacements (sthā̃ne) that one is chosen which is most proximate (ántara-tama) to the substituend.

6.1.87 [āt=guṇáḥ] states that guṇá is the single substitute for the phoneme class [a] and the following vowel [aCi 6.1.71]. By 1.1.2 the t.t. guṇá denotes the vowel phoneme-classes [a, e, o]; in the compound expression *deva+indra-*, *°-a+i-°* is to be replaced by one of these three members; the choice by this rule falls on *e* which is palato-velar and therefore most proximate to both *a* and *i*, but not on *a* which is velar or on *o* which is labio-velar.

1.1.51 ur aṆ[1] rÃ-paraḥ

(A vowel represented by the siglum) aṆ[1] (= a, i, u) [substituted in the place of 50] of vowel ṛ (and ḷ) is automatically followed by the phoneme r (and l respectively 1.3.10).

1. 7.1.100 [ṝTa iT=dhā̃toḥ] provides for the replacement of vowel ṝ of a verbal stem by short i(T): *kṝ+Śá+tiP = kir-á-ti* 'scatters'.
2. *hṛ́+ŚaP+tiP* where *ṛ* is replaced by guṇá by 7.3.84 [sārva-dhātuka= ārdhadhātukayoḥ (guṇáḥ 82)], and since there is now a choice to be made from the three members of this class (1.1.2), by 50 above the closest is *a* which is of the same duration as that of the substituend and differs from it only in one feature of articulation, while *e, o* differ from it in two features, and so we realize the expected form *hár-a-ti* 'removes'. Similarly 7.2.114 [mṛjer vṛ́d-dhiḥ] provides for a vṛ́ddhi (= ā, ai, au by 1 above) replacement of the vowel (3 above) of the verbal stem mṛj- 'wipe, clean' before sā̃rvadhātuka affixes: *mṛ́j+∅[1]+tiP = mārj+tiP* since *ā* like *a* above is the obvious choice for the reasons stated there, and we realize the expected form *mā̃rṣ-ṭi* (8.2.36; 4.41).
3. The siglum rÃ, as indicated earlier, denotes the two lateral semi-vowels r and l; consequently the guṇá substitute for ḷ is *al*, and the vṛ́ddhi substitute is *āl: kḷ́p+ŚaP+te = kálp-a-te* 'is able'.

1.1.52 aLaḥ=ántyasya

(A substitute replaces) the final (ántyasya) phoneme (of the substituend).

7.2.102 [tyádādīnām aḥ] provides for the replacement of the sub-class of pronominals whose first member is tyád- 'that' before vibhákti (7.2.84 = sUP triplets); *tyád+sU = tyáa+sU = tyá+sU* (6.1.97) = *syá+s* (7.2.106).

1.1.53 Ṅ-ITca

[A polyphonic 55] substitute marked with Ṅ as IT [replaces the final phoneme of the substituend 52].

1. Sūtra 55 below is an exception to 52 above and provides for the replacement of the whole substituend instead of its final phoneme; the present rule is a prior exception to that exception, so that by a reversal of the normal process of recurrence (anuvṛtti) the expression polyphonous (áneka-aL) is anticipated here.
2. Substitutes with marker Ṅ are: an̲aṄ, ay̲aṄ, av̲aṄ, as̲uṄ, ānaṄ, in̲aṄ, iy̲aṄ, uv̲aṄ, niṄ, nyaṄ, riṄ, rīṄ, ṢyaṄ.

1.1.54 ādéḥ párasya

(When a substitute replaces a following substituend) it replaces its (párasya) initial phoneme (ādéḥ).

7.2.83 [īT āsaḥ (ānásya 82)] provides for the replacement of °-āná-, the marker of the present participle middle by ī(T) when it is introduced after the verbal stem ās- 'sit': *ās+∅*[1]*+āná-* = *ās+īná-* 'sitting'.

1.1.55 áneka=aL ŚIT sárvasya

A polyphonic (áneka=aL) substitute or (a monophonic one) with marker Ś as IT replaces the whole of the substituend.

1. Substitutes which are not polyphonic but replace the whole of the substituend have to be monophonic which, contra 52 above do not replace the final phoneme when marked with Ś as IT. This is, therefore, an exception to 52 above. Such substitutes are aŚ, iŚ, īŚ, eŚ, Śi, Śī, Śe.
2. 2.4.53 [bruvo vac̲iḥ] provides for the replacement of brū 'speak' by vac- before ārdhadhātuka affixes, and being polyphonic, replaces the whole substituend: *brū+tṛ́* = *vac+tṛ́-* = *vak-tṛ́-* (8.2.30).

1.1.56 sthānivád ādeśáḥ=án-aL-vidhau

A replacement (ādeśá = X) for a substituend (sthānín- = Y) is treated like the substituend (sthānivát) except (án-°) with regard to an operation (vidhí) which would thereby apply and would be at the same time dependent on the original phoneme (aL).

1. *pra+kṛ+Ktvā́* = *pra+kṛ+LyaP* (7.1.37) and LyaP is therefore treated as a kṛ́t affix like Ktvā and by 6.1.71 [hrasvaśya PITi kṛti t̲uK] is treated as though it were also marked by K as IT, conditioning thereby a final increment t̲uK: *pra-kṛ́t-ya-* 'having started to do or perform'.

2. 7.1.84 [diva auT] provides a substitute auT for the final phoneme of nominal stem div- 'heaven, sky' before the sUP triplet sU (nom. sing.):*dív+sU = di-au+sU = dyaú+s* (6.1.77), but affix *s* is not replaced by ∅ (6.1.68) as applicable to the original stem [dív] ending in a consonant.

1.1.57 aCaḥ párasmin pūrva-vidhaú

A vowel (aCaḥ) [replacement 56] conditioned by the following (párasmin) element is treated like the original (sthānivát 56) vowel with respect to an operation on what precedes it (pūrva-vidhaú).

1. This is an exception to the exception contained in the preceding rule.
2. From the phrase *paṭúm ā́caṣṭe* a denominative is generated by introducing the affix ṆíC (3.1.25) after the nominal stem: *paṭu+ṆíC* and by a vārttika on 6.4.155 [ṬEḥ] the syllable beginning with the final vowel is replaced by ∅[1] before ṆíC: *paṭ∅[1]+ṆíC*; by 7.2.116 [aTa upadhā́yāḥ] the penultimate *a* should be replaced by a vr̥ddhi substitute (*ā*) before an affix with marker Ṇ, but in this case ∅[1] replacement prevents that vowel from being considered as penultimate.
3. In the case of *ā+gam+Ktvā́, Ktvā́* is replaced by *LyaP* (7.1.37): *ā+gam+LyaP*, and by 6.4.38 the verbal stem *gam-* has its final nasal replaced by ∅: *ā+ga∅+LyaP*; since the substitute LyaP for Ktvā́ is treated as Ktvā́ it is deemed as a kr̥t affix and by 6.1.71 the verbal stem gets an increment tuK since it ends now in short *a*, ∅ replacement of the final nasal does not prevent this operation by 56 above.

1.1.58 ná [1]pada=antá-[2]dvir-vácana-[3]varé-[4]ya-lopá-[5]svára-[6]sávarṇa=[7]anusvārá-[8]dīrghá-[9]jaS=[10]caR-vidhíṣu

[The replacement 56 of a vowel 57] is not [ná] treated [like the substituend 56] with respect to operations (vidhíṣu) pertaining to (1) a pada-final, (2) gemination, (3) ∅ replacement before affix vará[C 3.2.175], (4) ∅ replacement of (preceding) ya, (5) accent of what precedes, (6) homogeneous phonemes, (7) anusvāra replacement (of what precedes it), (8) long vowel replacement (of what precedes it), (9) replacement by voiced unaspirated stops (of what precedes it), and (10) replacement by unvoiced unaspirated stops (of what precedes it).

(1) In the expression *tā́ni sánti* 'they exist', *sánti* derives its surface form from the underlying structure *as+∅[2]+jhi = *as-anti* (7.1.3) where the stem initial is replaced by ∅ (6.4.111): *tā́ni+∅s-anti*; ∅ is not treated like *a* and consequently no euphonic combination (sáṁ- hitā) takes place (6.1.77), as might be expected from the preceding rule.

(2) In the expression *dádhi+átra i* of *dádhi* is replaced by *y* (6.1.77): *dádhy+átra*; by 8.4.47 [an-aCi ca] a consonant other than *h* is optionally geminated after a

vowel and before a non-vowel; but since the substitute *y* is not treated like the substituend vowel, the option will not prevail.

(3) In the expression *yā+yáṄ+varáC* = *yā-yā+yaṄ+varáC* (6.1.9) *a* of *yaṄ* is replaced by ∅ before affix varáC (6.4.48): *yā-yā+y∅+vará*, and the ∅-replacement is not treated like the substituend with respect to replacement of *y* before *vará-* (6.1.66): *yāyā+∅+vará-* = *yāyā-vará-* 'constantly moving'.

(4) From the denominative *kaṇḍūyá-* 'scratch' with affix KtiN we get: *káṇḍūya+ti* : *káṇḍūy∅+ti* (6.4.48) = *káṇḍū∅∅+ti* (6.1.66) since ∅-replacement of *a* is not treated like the substituend.

(5) *kr̥+saN+ṆvuL* = *ci-kir-sa+ṆvuL* = *cikī́r-ṣa+aka-* (7.1.1) = *cikī́r-ṣ∅+aka-* (6.4.48) = *cikī́r-ṣ-aka-* 'desirous of doing'. Since marker L of ṆvuL provides for the udātta accent to be placed on the preceding vowel we realize the correct form *cikī́r-ṣ-aka* despite the intervention of the substituend ∅ which is not treated like the original substituend.

(6) From the verbal stem *piṣ-* (VII 15) 'crush, pound' we derive the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. as follows: *piṣ+ŚnáM+hi* (3.1.78; 4.87) = *pi-ná-ṣ+hi* = *pi-n∅-ṣ* (6.4.111) *+dhi* (6.4.101) = *pi-n-ṣ+dhi* = *pi-ṁ-ṣ+dhi* (8.3.24) =*pi-ṁ-ṣ+dhi* (8.4.42) = *pi-ṁ-ḍ-ḍhi* (8.4.53) = *pi-ṇ-ḍ-ḍhi* (8.4.58) = *pi-ṇ-ḍhi* (8.4.65) where ∅-replacement of *a* of *na* is not treated like the substituendum.

(7) In the step *pi-n∅+ṣ+dhi* = *pi-ṁ-ṣ+dhi* above, ∅ is not treated like the substituend when replacing the non-pada-final dental nasal by the anusvāra (8.3.24).

(8) The Instrumental sing. of *prati-dívan-* 'gambling opponent' is generated as follows: *prati-dívan+Ṭā* = *prati-dív∅n+ā* (6.4.134) = *prati-dī́vn-ā* (8.2.77) since in the verbal stem *div-*, *i* is the penultimate and *a* is not treated like the substituend *a* before *n*.

(9) The Imperative third pers. dual of *bhas-* 'chew' (111 18) is derived as follows: *bhas+tā́m* (3.4.90) = *bhas+Ślu+tā́m* (2.4.75) = *ba-bhas-tā́m* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54) = *ba-bh∅s+tā́m* (6.4.100) = *ba-bh∅∅+tā́m* (8.2.26) = *babh-dhā́m* (8.2.40) = *bab-dhā́m* (8.4.53) where ∅-replacement is not treated like its substituend.

(10) The third per. plur. Perfect of *ghas-* 'eat' (I 747) is generated as follows: *ghas+lIṬ* = *ghas+ús* (3.4.82) = *ja-ghas+ús* (6.1.8; 7.4.62; 8.4.54) = *ja-gh∅s+ús* (6.4.98), *jaghs-ús* (8.3.60) = *jakṣ-ús* (8.4.55) where ∅-replacement is not treated like the substituend.

1.1.59 dvir-vácane=aCi

Before (an affix with) an initial vowel (aCi) (which conditions a reduplication of the verbal stem) [the replacement 56] of a vowel is treated like the original substituend (sthānivát 56) only with respect to that reduplication (dvir-vácane).

This rule has a five-fold application with respect to (1) ∅ replacement of *ā*, (2) ∅ replacement of the penultimate, (3) ∅ replacement of ṆiC, (4) ∅ replacement of semi-vowels and (5) replacement by *ay, av, āy, āv*.

(1) Perfect 3rd pers. dual of verbal stem *pā-* 'drink' (I 972) is derived as follows:

pā+átus (3.4.82) = *p∅+átus* (6.4.64) and by 6.1.8 the verbal stem undergoes reduplication before lIT substitutes, but this rule applies to stems containing a single vowel, and here we have only a single consonant *p∅*; but since ∅ is treated like the substituend *ā* the form generated is *pa-p∅-átus* = *pa-p-átus* 'they two have drunk'.

(2) Perfect 3rd dual of *han* 'kill' is similarly derived, for the reasons already stated under (1) as follows: *han+átus* = *h∅n+atus* (6.4.98) = *ha-h∅n+átus* = *ja-h∅n+átus* (7.4.62) = *ja-ghn-átus* (7.3.55).

(3) Aorist 3rd pers. sing. of the causative stem of *aṭ-* 'wander' is derived thus: *aṭ+ṆíC+Cli̱* (3.1.44) = *aṭ+ṆíC+CáṄ* (3.1.48) = *āṭ+ṆiC+CaṄ* (7.2.116) = *āṭ+i+CaṄ* = *āṭi-ṭi+a+t* (3.4.100; 6.1.2,11) = *ā-ṭi-ṭ∅+a-t* (6.4.51) where ∅ is treated like the substituend ṆíC in deriving the reduplicated theme [ā-ṭi-ṭ] by 6.1.2.

(4) Perfect 3rd pers. of *kṛ-* 'to make, perform': *kṛ+átus* = *kṛ-átus* = *kṛ-kr-átus* (6.1.8) = *cṛ-kr-átus* (7.4.62) = *ca-kr-átus* (7.4.66) where the semi-vowel replacement of the sonant vowel (6.1.77) is treated like the substituend.

(5) Perfect lst pers. sing. of *nī-* 'to lead': *nī+ṆaL* (3.4.82) = *nái+a* (7.2.115) = *nā́y+a* (6.1.78) = *ni-nā́y-a* (6.1.8) = *ni-nā́y-a* (7.4.59) where the *āy* replacement is treated like the substituend for the purpose of reduplication.

1.1.60 á-darśanaṁ lópaḥ

(The t.t.) lopa (= ∅) denotes the disappearance, invisibility, elision (a-darśanam) [= zero replacement] (of an item).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.4,58; 3.9; 3.1.11-2; 4.32, 97-8; 4.1.133; 3.22,133; 5.1.125; 3.82; 4.1,51,138, 146ff.

"Disappearance" implies prior appearance of some unit and thus construed gives the notion of zero (=∅) replacement.

1.1.61 pratyayásya [1]luK-[2]Ślu-[3]luPaḥ

(The t.tt.) luK (∅[1]), Ślu (∅[2]) and luP (∅[3]) denote [elision or disappearance (adarśana 60) = zero replacement] of an affix (pratyayá).

As a t.t. luK occurs in 1.2.49; 2.4.58; 4.1.88,90,109,175-78. Ślu occurs in 2.4.75; 6.1.10; 7.4.75. luP occurs in 1.2.51; 4.2.4ff.,81; 3.166-68; 5.2.105.

1.1.62 pratyaya-lopé pratyaya-lakṣaṇám

When an affix is replaced (pratyaya-lopé) [by ∅] operations conditioned by it still operate (pratyaya-kalṣaṇám) (as if the affix were still present).

1. The repetition of the word pratyayá- in this rule, when it was already recurring from the preceding one is for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that only when the whole affix is replaced by zero the operation conditioned by it takes place.

2. The present participle of *gam-* 'go' [I 1031] : *gam+ŚátR̥* (3.2.124) = *gám+ŚaP+ŚatR̥* (3.1.68) = *gách+a-atR̥* (7.3.77) = *gácch-a-atR̥* (6.1.73); before strong affixes (sUṬ of SUP triplets) the infixed increment nuM is inserted after its last vowel: *gácch-a-at+sU* = *gácch-a-t+sU* (6.1.97) = *gácch-a-n-t+sU* (7.1.70); since this affix occurs as the final member of a conjunct as pada- final (1.4.14) it is replaced by → ∅ (8.2.23) leaving a pada ending in '-*t* : *gácch-a-n-t* and by recurring application of 8.2.23 conjunct pada-final *t* is now replaced by → ∅ : *gácch-a-n*; → ∅ replacement of the affix still conditions the padá status of *gácch-a-n*. Similarly in the nom. plur. form of *saptán+Jas* = *saptán+∅*[1] (7.1.22); the status of being a padá (1.4.14) of *saptán+Jas* still holds good for *saptán+∅*[1] = *saptá∅∅*[1] (8.2.7) = *saptá* '7'.
3. Optative 1st pers. sing. of *ā+han-* is derived as follows: *ā́+han+sīyuṬ* (3.4.102) *+iṬ* (3.4.78) = *ā́-han+sīyuṬ+aṬ* (3.4.106) = *ā́-han+∅īy-a* (7.2.79) = *ā́-h∅n* (6.4.98)+*∅īy+a* = *ā́-ghn-īy-a* (7.3.54); since only a part of the initial increment sīyuṬ is replaced by ∅, the replacement of the dental nasal of the verbal stem conditioned by 6.4.37 does not take place.

1.1.63 ná lumatā=áṅgasya

[When a zero replacement of an affix is conditioned by the use of 62] (the t.t.) lu (= luK, Ślu or luP 61) [operations pertaining to 62] a pre-affixal stem (áṅgasya [1.4.13]) do not take place.

A gotra descendant of *garga-* is *garga+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *gā́rg-ya-* (6.4.48; 7.2.117); the nominative plural of this in deep structure is: *garga+yaÑ+Jas*; 2.4.64 conditions the replacement of affix yaÑ by luK: *garga+∅*[1]*+Jas*; since this is a replacement by a t.t. containing lu(K) the operation conditioned by yaÑ (replacing the first syllabic of the nominal stem by vr̥ddhi 7.2.117) does not take place: *gargāḥ* (8.2.15).

1.1.64 aCaḥ=ántya=ādi ṬI

(The t.t.) ṬI denotes that part of an element which begins with the last vowel.

In other words this t.t. denotes the syllable which begins with the last vowel of a given unit. As a t.t. occurs in 3.4.79; 5.3.71; 6.3.92; 4.143-45,155; 7.1.88; 8.2.82-84,89-90.

From the verbal stem *édhA vŕ̥ddhau* (I 2) 'increase, grow' we arrive at the 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (lAṬ) as follows: *édh+lAṬ* = *édh+ŚaP+ta* = *édh-a+te* (3.4.79) which conditions the replacement of ṬI by *e*; in this case *a* of *ta* fulfills the definition, but in the dual form: *édh-a+ātām ām* is the ṬI which is so replaced: *édh-a+āte* = *édh-a+iyte* (7.2.81) = *édh-e-te* (6.1.66,87).

1.1.65 aLaḥ=ántyāt pū́rva upadhā́

(The t.t.) upadhā́ 'penultimate' denotes the phoneme (aL) preceding (pū́rva) the last one (ántya) (of an expression).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 6.3.47; 4.7,20,24,47,89,149; 7.1.101; 2.116; 4.1-8; 8.2.9,76-79.
2. 3rd pers. sing. lAṬ of *vídÁ jñā́ne* (II 55) 'know': *víd*+$\emptyset^1$+*tiP* (2.4.72) = *véd+tiP* (7.3.86) where the light penultimate (laghú=upandha) of *víd-* is replaced by guṇá.

1.1.66 tásmin=iti nírdiṣṭe pū́rvasya

A form stated in the locative case (ending in the seventh sUP triplet) denotes an element the unit preceding which (pū́rvasya) is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by that statement.

1. This is a metalinguistic rule (páribhāṣā) and denotes the right context before which the operation takes place.
2. While by metarules the three cases: ablative, genitive and locative have the specified technical application in the formulation of the sū́tras, other normal uses also occur when these do not denote a phonological context. Several types of the locative case are noted by the Pāṇinī́yas: (a) locative of domain (viṣaya-saptamī́) : (chándasi 1.2.62; 4.81 etc.; bhāṣā́yām 3.2.108 etc.) (b) locative of cause (nimitta-saptamī́) which serves as a condition for an operation but need not occur directly after the unit operated on (= operand) as in the case of 1.1.5 as applied to the 3rd pers. plur. of the Present Indicative of *víd-* : *vid*+$\emptyset^1$+*jhi* = *vid-ánti* (7.1.3) where *ánti* is deemed to be marked with Ṅ as IT (1.2.4) but the operand *i* is separated from it. In contrast to this the locative indicated in the present rule is designated para-saptamī́ 'an immediately following context'. (c) locative of being or locative absolute (sati saptamī́ or *sat-saptamī́) such as [ā́rdhadhātuke 6.4.46ff.] (d) a locative is also used to denote meanings: [rādho hiṁsā́yām 6.4.123]. (e) lastly it is also used to denote the subordinate member of a compound (úpapada) 3.1.92.

1.1.67 tásmād ity úttarasya

A form stated in the ablative case (tásmāt) denotes an element, the unit following (párasya) which (is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by the rule).

1. This indicates the left context after which the operation indicated obtains.
2. In affix-governing rules ablatives such as (prā́tipadikāt 4.1.1) or [dhā́toḥ 3.1.91] are not interpreted by this context. However, there are instances where the genitive is used when the ablative is expected and Pāṇinī́yas usually interpret this as [pañcamy-arthé ṣaṣṭhī] 'the sixth sUP triplets used for the fifth'. The reason for such divergence in most cases appears for the sake of brevity.

1.1.68 sváṁ rūpáṁ śábdasya=á-śabda-saṁjñā

An expression denotes itself (svám rūpám) unless it is the name of a linguistic technical term (śabda-saṁjñā).

> Thus the rule [agnér ḍháK 4.2.33] applies only to the expression *agní-* and not to its synonyms like ***pā́vaka-, váhni-, jválana-*** etc. [sváṁ rūpám] 'its own form' is, however, in a few cases overlooked, where the expressions indicate general classes like the technical terms themselves or common nouns like the expressions 2.4.11 vŕ̥kṣá- 'tree', mr̥gá- 'deer', tŕ̥ṇa- 'grass', or svá- (3.4.40) which includes all types of wealth or property and pakṣín- 'bird', mr̥gá- 'deer', mátsya- 'fish' denoting genus or species which include all individual specimens.

1.1.69 aṆ^2 uT=it sávarṇasya ca=á-pratyayaḥ

(A phoneme) denoted by the siglum aṆ^2 (= a, i, u, r̥, l̥, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l) or one having the marker U as IT denotes (not only itself [sváṁ rūpaṁ 68] but also) all phonemes homogeneous with it (sávarṇasya), unless it is an affix (pratyayáḥ).

> In the expression [āt=guṇaḥ (aCi 6.1.77 ékaḥ pūrva-paráyoḥ 6.1.84) 6.1.87] the ablative [āt] of phoneme [a] stands for all sub-members or allophones of the a-class [3 lengths, 3 accents and ±nasality]; similarly in the rule [cOḥ kUḥ (padásya 8.1.6) 8.2.30] cU represents all palatal stops and kU all velar stops.

1.1.70 Ta-paras tát-kālasya

A (vowel) phoneme followed or preceded by marker T denotes homogeneous phonemes of its time duration (tát-kalasya).

> Patañjali interprets the expression [ta-para-ḥ] as *Taḥ páro yásmāt = Táparaḥ / tād api páraḥ = Ta-paráḥ*. [Ta-para] thus lends itself to be interpreted as 'followed by or following T'. Thus in (aT=eṄ guṇáḥ 1.1.2) T follows [a] but precedes eṄ (= e,o). Consequently [a] stands for the a-class of one mora duration while [e,o] represent homogeous phonemes of two mora duration. This is important, for the single replacement of [ā+ī] would still be [e], the two coalescing vowels being of two mora duration each, but their replacement by this rule is, not of four mora duration, but only two. In 3.2.171 [āt̲=r̥=gama̲-hanÁ-jánaḥ ^{1}Kí-^{2}Kinau lIṬ ca], in the expression [ād̲-r̥-°] the phoneme d is not a replacement of this T as might be thought of at first sight, but either the phoneme d̲ or t̲ used for ease of pronunciation, since verbal stems ending in the phoneme class [r̥] are subject to the operation stated in that rule.

1.1.71 ādír ántyena sahá=ITā

The initial item which is to be denoted (ādíḥ), together with (sahá) the final (ántyena) IT marker (ITā) of the last item (ántya) to be denoted (constitutes a siglum) [denoting itself 68] (and the intervening items).

1. The notion of the intervening items arises from the definition of the words [ādí] 'that which has no prior item' and [ántya] 'that which has no succeeding item'.
2. Through the operation of this rule P. employs 41 sigla (pratyāhārá) [or 42 according to the Pāṇinīyas who include rÃ as one based on the ŚS]. The 21 basic nominal endings (4.1.2) are represented by the siglum sUP, the first five of them, constituting the strong case endings by sUṬ; similarly the basic personal endings of the verbal system (3.4.78) by the siglum tiṄ and the special nine belonging to the middle voice (ātmanepadá) by taṄ.

1.1.72 yéna vidhís tad-antásya

When an operation (vidhí) is stated by means of a unit X (= a phoneme or group of phonemes) which is part of a larger unit which it qualifies, that X denotes the element ending in it (tad-antásya) [as well as itself (svásya rūpásya) 68].

By the rule [er aC 3.3.56] affix aC is introduced after all verbal stems ending in[°-i] as well as the verbal stems iK-, iṆ-, iṄ.

1.1.73 vṛ́d-dhi-r yásya=aCām ādís tád vṛd-dhám

(The t.t.) vṛd-dhá denotes (all such) expressions whose first vowel (aCām ādíḥ) is a member comprised by (the t.t.) vṛ́-dhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.113,148,157,160,171; 2.114-18, 120-25,141-2; 3.144; 6.2.87.
2. By 4.2.114 [vṛd-dhā́t=chaḥ] a secondary nominal stem derived from vṛddhá expressions by introducing the affix cha generates forms as follows: *śā́lā+cha-* = *śālā+ī́ya-* (7.1.2) = *śālØ+ī́ya-* (6.4.64) = *śāl-ī́ya-* 'belonging to the hall'.

1.1.74 tyád-ādī́ni ca

[(The t.t.) vṛd-dhá] also (ca) denotes the class of (pronominals) whose first member is tyád- 'that'.

1. Members of this sub-class of sarvanāmáns (pronominals) are: *tyád-*, *tád-* 'that', *etád-* 'this, *adás* 'that', *idám-* 'this', *éka-* 'one', *dví-* 'two', *yuṣmád-* 'you', *asmád-* 'we', *bhávatU* 'your honor', *kím-* 'which, what, who'.
2. Affix cha is introduced after these members although they do not meet the conditions of 73 above: *tyad-ī́ya-, tad-ī́ya-, tvad-ī́ya-, mad-ī́ya-, yuṣmad-ī́ya-, asmad-ī́ya-, bhavad-ī́ya-* etc.

1.1.75 eṄ prācā́m deśé

[(The t.t.) vr̥d-dhá 73] denotes (all such) expressions [whose first vowel 73] is a member comprised by the siglum eṄ (= e,o) when they signify a place of habitation (deśé) of easterners (prācā́m).

gonarda- 'an eastern city' *+cha-* = *gonarda+ī́ya-* = *gonardØ+ī́ya-* (6.4.148) = *gonard-ī́ya-* 'a resident of the Gonarda city (one of the names of Patañjali, author of Mahābhāṣya). On the other hand *kroḍa+áṆ* [4.3.25 *tátra jātáḥ*, 53 *tátra bhávaḥ*] = *krauḍá-* 'born or residing in Kroḍa, a northern city'.

1.2.1 gāṄ-kuṭādibhyaḥ=á-Ñ-Ṇ-IT=Ṅ-IT

[Afixes] which are not marked with Ñ or Ṇ as IT function like those marked with Ṅ as IT when introduced after the verbal stems: gāṄ replacement of the verbal stem iṄ (2.4.49-50) 'study', and the group of verbal stems whose first member is kuṭ- 'be curved' (= Dhp. VI 73-108).

1. There are two verbal stems gāṄ, one a replacement for the verbal stem [iṄ adhyáyane 11 37] and the other gāṄ gátau (I 998), but the present rule covers only the former. The Aorist marker sIC (3.1.44), not being marked with Ñ or Ṇ as IT functions as though it were marked with Ṅ; thus the 3rd pers. sing. of this verbal stem has the deep structure: *adhi+á+gā+sIC+ta*; by 6.4.66 the stem-final vowel is replaced by *ī* before the Aorist marker since it is functioning like a ṄIT : *adhi-á-gī-s+ta* = *adhy-á-gī-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59; 4.41).
2. Similarly *kúṭ+tumuN* = *kúṭ+iT-tumuN* (7.2.35) = *kúṭ-itum*, since this affix functions like a Ṅ-IT. But *út-kuṭ+ṆiC+ŚaP* = *út-koṭ-ay-a-* (7.3.84,86); *kuṭ+GHaÑ* = *kóṭ-a-* (7.3.86).

1.2.2 vija iṬ

(All affixes with the initial increment 1.1.46) iṬ introduced after the verbal stem vij- [O-vij-Ī bhayá-cálanayoḥ VI 7, VII 23] 'fear, move' [function like those marked with Ṅ as IT 1].

ud+vij+tṛ́- = *ud-vij+iṬ-tṛ́* = *ud-vij-itṛ́-*; likewise *ud-vij-itum(uN), ud-vij-itávya-*, but *ud-vij+ṆvuL* = *ud-véj-aka-* (7.1.1; 3.86) and similarly *ud-vej-anī́ya(R)-, ud-véj-ana-* etc.

1.2.3 vibhāṣā=ūrṇoḥ

[All affixes beginning with the initial increment iṬ 2] optionally (vibhāṣā) function [like those marked with Ṅ 1] when introduced after the verbal stem ūrṇu(Ñ) 'cover' [II 30].

pra+urṇu+iṬ-tṛ́- = *prorṇuv-itṛ́-* (6.4.77; 1.87)/*prorṇav-itṛ́-* (7.3.84; 6.1.78), the first form without guṇá replacement but the second with guṇá replacement. But *prorṇú+ana-* = *prorṇáv-ana-* 'covering, enclosure'.

1.2.4 sā́rvadhātukam a-P-IT

Sā́rvadhātuka [= tiṄ, Ś-IT 3.4.113 = Present System] affixes not marked with P as IT [function like those marked with Ṅ as IT 1].

1. *vid+tiP* = *víd+∅*[1]*+tiP* = *véd+ti* (7.3.86) = *vét-ti* (8.4.55); but *vid+tás* = *vit-tás*, *vid+jhi* = *vid-ánti* (7.1.3).

2. *vid+ŚátṜ-* = *vid+átṜ-* 'knowing'.

1.2.5 a-saṁyogā́t=lIṬ K-IT

Substitute endings of lIṬ (the Perfect Tense 3.4.81-82) [not marked with P as IT 4] function like those marked with K as IT (when they are introduced after a verbal stem) which does not end (1.1.72) in a conjunct consonant (a-saṁyogā́t).

1. Before K-IT- affixes guṇá replacements are blocked (1.1.5) and samprasā́raṇa (= vocalization) replacement in certain verbal stems is conditioned (6.1.15 ff) and ∅-replacement of penultimate nasals of certain verbal stems takes place (6.4.24). While blocking of guṇá and vocalization replacements are common to affixes marked with Ṅ as IT also, 6.1.15 is restricted to those with K as IT only.
2. *vac+ús* = *uc+ús* (6.1.15) = *vac-uc-ús* (6.1.8) = *va-uc-ús* (7.4.60) = *u-uc-ús* (6.1.17, 108) = *ūc-ús* (6.1.101); *yaj+átus* = *iaj+átus* = *yaj-ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *ya-ij+átus* (7.4.60) = *ia-ij=átus* (6.1.17) = *i+ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *īj-átus* (6.1.101). But affix [thaL] replacement of [siP 3.4.82] is a P=iT by metarule 1.1.56 and hence not a K-IT by this rule: *kṛ́+thaL* = *kṛ-kṛ́+thaL* (6.1.8) = *ca-kṛ́+thaL* (7.4.62,66) = *ca-kár-tha* (7.3.84); verbal stems ending in a consonant cluster: *dhvans-+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *da=dhvans+é* (7.4.60; 8.4.54); [éŚ] is not K=IT by this rule because the stem ends in a consonant cluster, blocking out the operation of 6.4.24 which conditions ∅-replacement of the penultimate nasal. Normally since l-substitutes of lIṬ constitute the ā́rdhadhātuka class of affixes 4 above does not apply to them, but by the present rule they are deemed to be K-IT when introduced after verbal stems not ending in a conjunct.

1.2.6 [1]índhi̱-[2]bhavatibhyāṁ ca

[Substitute endings of lIṬ 5] introduced after the verbal stems índh- 'kindle' (Vll 11) and bhū́- 'become' (I 1) also (ca) function [like those with marker K as IT 5].

1. The verbal stem índh- is included here because it is an exception to 5 above, having a consonant nexus at the end; bhū́- is included so as to extend the domain of 5 to include even those affixes which are marked by P as IT.
2. *indh+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *i∅dh+éŚ* (6.4.24) = *idh-idh-é* (6.1.8) = *i∅∅idh-é* (7.4.60) = *ī-dh-é* (6.1.101).
3. *bhū+ṆaL* = *ba-bhū́v-a* (7.4.73; 8.4.54).
4. This rule has been contradicted by Kātyāyaná and Patañjali for the following reasons: in the case of [índh-], in the spoken language it comes under the operation of 3.1.36, while in Vedic by 3.4.117 l-substitutes of lIṬ are optionally sā́rvadhātuka, in consequence of which by 4 above all taṄ substitutes are Ṅ-IT, which results in the form *ī-dhe*, while in the case of [bhū́-] a final increment

(vuK) is introduced by 6.4.88 before l-substitutes of lUṄ and lIṬ which makes the present rule unnecessary.

1.2.7 [1]mṛḍÁ-[2]mṛdÁ-[3]gudhÁ-[4]kuṣÁ-[5]kliśA-[6]vadÁ-[7]vasaḥ Krvā̃

The affix Ktvā̃ (1.1.40) [in spite of being augmented with initial increment iṬ (18 below) functions like a K-IT] when introduced after the verbal stems mṛḍ- 'be gracious' (VI 38, IX 44), mṛd- 'crush' (IX 43), gudh- 'be angry' (IV 13, IX 45), kuṣ- 'tear out' (IX 46), kliś- 'torment' (IX 50), vad- 'say, utter' (I 1058), and vas- 'dwell' (I 1054).

1. This is a prior exception to 18 below where it is stated that Ktvā̃ with initial increment iṬ does not function like a K-IT.
2. Because iṬ-Ktvā̃ functions like a K-IT with respect to the verbal stems listed here we get the following surface forms: *mṛḍ-itvā́, mṛd-itvā́, gudh-itvā́ kuṣ-itvā́, kliś-itvā́, ud-itvā́, uṣ-itvā́.*

1.2.8 [1]rúda-[2]vídÁ-[3]múṣÁ-[4]gráhi-[5]svapi-[6]pracchaḥ saN=ca

[The affix Ktvā̃ 7] and the affix saN, introduced after the verbal stems rúd- 'cry' (II 58), víd- 'know' (II 51), múṣ- 'steal' (IX 58), gráh- 'grasp, seize' (IX 61), svap- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59) and prach- 'ask' (VI 120) [function like K-IT affixes 5].

1. *rud-i-tvā́, vid-i-tvā́, muṣ-i-tvā́, grah-ī-tvā́* (7.2.37), *sup-tvā, pṛṣ-tvā́*(8.2.36; 4.41).
2. *rud+saN+ŚaP+tiP = rú-rud+iṬ-sa+a+ti* (6.1.9; 7.2.35; 4.60) = *rú-rud-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97); similarly *ví-vid-i-ṣa-ti, mú-muṣ-i-ṣa-ti, jí-ghṛk-ṣa-ti* (7.4.66,79; 8.2.31,37,41), *sú-sup-ṣa-ti* (6.1.15), *pí-pṛcch-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.16).
3. Optional application taught in 26 below is blocked by this rule as a prior exception in the case of the verbal stems [rúd-, vid-, mús-].

1.2.9 iKo jhaL

[The affix saN 8] (with initial 1.1.54) non-nasal stops and fricatives (jhaL) introduced after a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) in a vowel comprised by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [functions like a K-IT affix 5].

From the verbal stem *ci-* 'gather', we get the underlying deep structure of the desiderative base as *ci+saN* (3.1.7) and since guṇá replacement of the stem vowel (7.3.84) is blocked out by the present rule, 6.4.16 [aC=hanÁ-gamām saNi] conditions its replacement by the corresponding long vowel: *cī+saN = cī́-cī-saN* (6.1.9) = *cí-cī+saN* (7.4.59) = *cí-cī-ṣa-* (8.3.59); similarly from *su-* 'press,

extract': *su+saN* = *sú-sū-ṣa-; kṛ+saN* = *kṝ+saN* = *kṝ-kṝ+saN* = *kár-kṝ+saN* (7.4.66) = *káØ=kṝ+saN* (7.4.60) = *kí-kir+saN* (7.4.79; 1.100) = *kí-kīr-sa-* (8.2.77) = *cí-kīr-ṣa-* (8.3.59; 4.54).

The siglum jha̱L in the sūtra is really in the place of an-iṬ qualifying saN, for only the phoneme s of jha̱L is involved and saves one mora by over-inclusion of phonemes.

1.2.10 ha̱L-antā́t=ca

[The affix saN 8 with initial 1.1.54 jha̱L 9 functions like a K-IT 5] when introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) ha̱L 'consonants' [preceded by a vowel denoted by the siglum iK 9].

bhid+saN = *bhíd-bhid+saN* (6.1.9) = *bhíØ-bhid+saN* (7.4.60) = *bí-bhid-saN* (8.4.54) = *bí-bhit-sa-* (8.4.58) with no guṇá replacement of the penultimate short vowel by 7.3.86.

1.2.11 [1]lIṄ-[2]siCau=ātmanepadéṣu

The lIṄ replacement (sīyu̱Ṭ 3.4.102) and the lUṄ replacement (si̱C 3.1.44) [beginning with jha̱L 9, introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) ha̱L 10, preceded by iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ,) 9 function like a K-IT 5] before ātmanepadá endings (= taṄ 1.4.100).

1. The Precative or Benedictive (āśī́r-lIṄ) 3rd pers. sing. Ātm. of [bhid-] 'split' (VII 2) is derived as follows: *bhid+lIṄ* = *bhid+tá* (3.4.78) = *bhid+sīyu̱Ṭ+suṬ+tá* (3.4.102, 107) = *bhid+sīØ-s-tá* (6.1.66) = *bhid-sī-ṣ-ṭá* (8.3.59; 4.41) = *bhit-sī-ṣ-ṭá* (8.4.55). The short penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is not replaced by guṇá since marker K blocks out this operation of 7.3.86 by metarule 1.1.5.
2. Similarly the Aorist (lUṄ) 3rd pers. sing. is derived as follows: *bhid+lUṄ* = *bhid+tá* (3.4.78) = *bhid+Cli̱+tá* (3.1.43) = *bhid+si̱C+tá* (3.1.44) = *bhid+Ø+tá* (8.2.26) = *bhit-ta* (8.4.55) = *áṬ+bhit-ta* (6.4.71) = *á-bhit-ta*.

1.2.12 us ca

[The lIṄ replacement sīyu̱Ṭ and lUṄ replacement si̱C 11 beginning with jha̱L 8] introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the vowel ṛ [function like a K-IT affix 5, when followed by āmanepadá endings (taṄ) 11].

1. Precative 3rd pers. sing. Atm. of *kṛ-* 'do, make': *kṛ+lIṄ* = *kṛ+tá* = *kṛ+sīyuṬ+suṬ+tá* = *kṛ-sīØ-s-tá* = *kṛ-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá* (8.3.57,59; 4.41).
2. Aorist 3rd pers. sing. Atm.: *kṛ+lUṄ* = *kṛ+ta* = *kṛ+si̱C+ta* = *kṛ+Ø+ta* (8.2.27) = *áṬ+kṛ+ta* = *á-kṛ-ta*.

3. In both 1. and 2. the stem-final vowel is not replaced by guṇá which is blocked by the K-marker.

1.2.13 vā gamaḥ

[The lIṄ replacement sīyu̱Ṭ and the lUṄ replacement si̱C 11 with initial jha̱L 9] introduced after the verbal stem gam- 'go' (I 1031) optionally (vā) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before ātm. endings 11].

1. [gam-] which normally takes the Parasmaipadá endings has the Ātmanepadá endings when co-occurring after the preverb [sam-°] (1.3.29): *sáṁ+gam+lIṄ* = *sáṁ-gam+ta* = *sáṁ+gam+sīyu̱Ṭ+su̱Ṭ+ta* = *sáṁ-gam-sī∅-s+ta*; by this rule this marker optionally functions like a K-IT, whereby 6.4.37 pertaining to the zero replacement of stem-final nasal becomes optional also: *sáṁ-gaṁ-sī-ṣ-ṭa/sáṁ-ga∅-sī-ṣ-ṭa*.
2. Similarly: *sam+gam+lUṄ* = *sam-gam+ta* = *sam-gam+si̱C+ta* = *sam+áṬ+gam+si̱C+ta* = *sam-á-ga∅-s-ta* (6.4.37) = *sam-á-ga-∅-ta* (8.2.27)/ *sam-á-gaṁ-s-ta*.

1.2.14 hanaḥ si̱C

The (lUṄ substitute marker) si̱C introduced after the verbal stem han- 'kill' (II 2) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before ātmanepadá endings 11].

This verbal stem regularly takes Parasmaipadá endings and is replaced by [vadhá-] before lIṄ and lUṄ (2.4.42-3); when co-occurring with preverb ā́-° it regularly takes Ātmanepadá endings and before these introduced after lIṄ and lUṄ [han-] is optionally replaced by [vadhá-] (2.4.44). When it has its own form we have: *ā́+han+si̱C+ta* = *ā́+ha∅+s+ta* (6.4.37) = *ā́-ha-∅-ta* (8.2.27) = *ā+áṬ+ha-ta* = *ā́-ha-ta* 'has killed' or 'has been killed' (passive).

1.2.15 yamo gándhane

[The lUṄ substitute marker si̱C 14] introduced after the verbal stem yam- (I 1033) when it expresses the sense of 'divulge, disclose' (gándhane) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadá endings 11].

Like [han-] above [yam-] takes Ātmanepadá endings when co-occurring with preverb [ā́Ṅ-°] (1.3.28); thus: *ā́+yam+si̱C+ta* = *ā́-ya∅-s-ta* (6.4.37) = *ā́-ya-∅-ta* (8.2.27), *ā́-ya-s-ātām, ā́-ya-s-ata*; but in other senses: *ā́-yaṁ-s-ta*

1.2.16 vibhāṣā=upayámane

[The lUṄ substitute marker si̱C 14 introduced after the verbal stem yam- 15] when denoting the sense of 'espouse' optionally (vibhāṣā) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadá endings 11].

upa+yam+si̱C+ta = upā́ya-ta/upā́yaṁ-s-ta; Ātm. endings are introduced by 1.3.56 when the verbal stem co-occurs with preverb upa-°.

1.2.17 [1]sthā-[2]GHVor iT=ca

[The lUṄ substitute marker si̱C 14] introduced after the verbal stems sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975) and those defined by the t.t. GHU [1.1.20 dā-dhā GHU a-dāP] [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadá endings 11] and (ca) short i(T) is the replacement for stem-final (1.1.72) (vowel) of these stems.

1. One should note that in the sūtras 1,2,5,6,10 the ablative case is used while in 2,3,7,8,9,11-15 it is presumed to be an ablative, although the surface form is identical with the genitive; in the present case the genitive-locative common form [sthā-ghv-os] occurs, and the context indicates that it is the substituend for the replacement element [iT] which determines its status as a genitive dual. Context in these cases determines the character of the forms used. With reference to the relative position of si̱C and (sthā+GHUclass stems) one has to assume the transformation of the genitive dual to that of the ablative dual (*stha-GHU-bhyām), a process which Patañjali defines by the verbal stem (pra-kḷp-). It will be shown at the appropriate places where Pāṇinīyas indicate the use of the genitive for the ablative in the sense of 1.1.67 by the statement (pañcamy-arthé ṣaṣṭhī́).
2. [sthā-] takes Ātm. endings under conditions of co-occurrence with certain preverbs stated in 1.3.22-26: *pra+sthā+si̱C+ta = prá-sthi+s+ta = prá-sthi+∅+ta* (8.2.27) = *pra+áṬ+sthi-ta* (6.4.71) = *prā́-sthi-ta*.
3. Similarly from [dā-] 'give': *dā+si̱C+ta = á-di-∅-ta = á-di-ta*.

1.2.18 ná Ktvā́ sa=iṬ

The affix Ktvā́ with initial increment iṬ does not (ná) [function like a K-IT affix 5]

1. This rule suppresses the marker K already present in the affix [Ktvā́] when it receives the initial increment iṬ. A prior exception to this general rule was stated in 7 above.
2. *div-* 'gamble' *+Ktvā́ = div+iṬ=Ktvā́* (7.2.35) = *dev-i-tvā́* (7.3.84)

1.2.19 niṣṭhā́ ¹śīṄ-²svidi̱-³midi̱-⁴kṣvidi̱-⁵dhr̥̄ṣaḥ

The niṣṭhā́ affix (1.1.26 = Ktá-, KtávatU) [preceded by the initial increment iṬ does not 18 function as a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stems śī- 'sleep, lie down' (II 22), svid- 'sweat, perspire' (I 780), mid- 'melt' (IV 133), kṣvid- 'be unctuous' (IV 134) and dhr̥̄ṣ- 'offend' (V 22).

1. *śī+Ktá* = *śī+iṬ+Ktá* (7.2.35) = *śe+i-tá-* (7.3.84) = *śay-i-tá-* (6.1.78).
2. In the case of the remaining four verbal stems the general rule denying initial increment to niṣṭhā́ affixes 7.2.16 is made optional in 7.2.17 when impersonal usage (bhāvé) or the commencement of an action (= incipient action: ādikarmáṇi) is involved, yielding two set of forms: *mid+Ktá* = *min-ná-* (8.2.82) or *med-i-tá-* in these two senses only. Similarly we have: *sved-i-tá-* / *svinná-*, *kṣved-i-tá-* / *kṣviṇ-ṇá-*; *dharṣ-i-tá-* / *dhr̥ṣ-ṭá-*.

1.2.20 mr̥ṣas titikṣā́yām

[A niṣṭhā affix 19 with initial increment iṬ does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stem mr̥ṣ- (IV 55) when expressing the sense of 'forbear, pardon, endure'.

The Dhātupāṭha records the following three verbal stems mr̥̄ṣÚ sécane (v.1. sáhane) I 739, mr̥̄ṣÀ titikṣā́yām IV 55 and mr̥ṣA titikṣā́yām X 305. The present rule is restricted to only the one belonging to the class IV.

mr̥ṣ- (IV 55)+*Ktá* = *mr̥ṣ+iṬ+Ktá-* = *marṣ-i-tá-*; in other senses *mr̥ṣ-i-tá-*. In the case of I 739 the corresponding form is *mr̥ṣ-ṭá-* while for X 305 it is *marṣ-i-tá-* from the deep structure: *mr̥ṣ+ṆíC+Ktá-* = *marṣ-i+Ktá-* (7.3.84) = *marṣ-i+iṬ-Ktá* (7.2.35) = *marṣ-∅-i-tá-* (6.4.52).

1.2.21 úT=upadhāt=bhāvá=ādikarmaṇór anyatarásyām

[A niṣṭhā́ affix 19 with initial increment iṬ 18] optionally (anyatarásyām) [does not function 18 like a KIT 5] when introduced after a verbal stem containing a penultimate short u [úT=upadha-] when used in the impersonal construction (bhāvé) or denoting the commencement of an action (ādi-karmáṇi).

Thus from [dyut-] 'shine' (I 777) *dyut+Ktá* = *dyut+iṬ+Ktá* = *dyut-itá-* / *pra-dyot-i-tá* 'started to shine or illuminate'.

1.2.22 pūṄaḥ Ktvā́ ca

[Niṣṭhā́ affixes 19 with initial increment iṬ 18] and the affix Ktvā́ [with initial increment iṬ 18] introduced after the verbal stem pūṄ- 'purify' (I 1015) [do not function like a K-IT affix 5].

pū+iṬ-Ktá- = *po-i-tá* (7.3.84) = *pav-i-tá-* (6.1.78) 'purified'; *pū+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *po-i-tvā́* = *pav-i-tvā́* 'having purified'.

Note: a rule between two optional rules (anyatarásyām 21 and vā 23) is not optional.

1.2.23 na̲=upadhāt tha̲-phá̲=antāt=vā

[The affix Ktvā́ 22 with initial increment iṬ 18] introduced after a verbal stem ending in -th or -ph (tha-phá=antāt) and containing [n] as penultimate (na̲=upadhāt) [does not 18] optionally (vā) (function as a K-IT affix 5).

1. *granth-* 'fasten, tie' *+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *gra∅th-i-tvā́* (6.4.37) = *grath-i-tvā* / *granth-i-tvā́*.
2. *gunph+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *gu∅kph-i-tvā́* / *gumph-i-tvā́* (8.3.24) 'having strung together'.

1.2.24 [1]vánci=[2]lúnci̲=[3]ṛtas ca

[The affix Ktvā́ 22 with initial increment iṬ 18] introduced after the verbal stems vánc- 'cheat' (I 204), lúnc- 'pluck' (I 202) and ṛt- 'dare, abhor' also (ca) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5].

1. *vañc+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *va∅c-i-tvā́* / *vañc-i-tvā́*.
2. *luñc+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *lu∅c-i-tvā́* / *luñc-i-tvā́*.
3. *ṛt+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *ṛt-i-tvā́* blocking out the guṇá replacement introduced by 7.3.86 / *art-i-tvā́*.
4. By 7.2.56 [uT=ITo vā] the verbal stem [vancU I 204] optionally conditions the insertion of increment iṬ at the head of Ktvā́ introduced after it; when the initial increment is not inserted we have: *vanc+Ktvā́* = *va∅c+Ktvā́* (6.4.24) = *vak-tvā́* (8.2.30)

1.2.25 [1]tṛ́ṣi̲-[2]mṛ́ṣi̲-[3]kṛśe̲ḥ kā́śyapasya

[The affix Ktvā́ 22 with initial increment iṬ 18] introduced after the verbal stems tṛ́ṣ- 'be thirsty' (IV 118), mṛ́ṣ- 'forbear, pardon' (IV 55) and kṛś- 'emaciate, become lean' (IV 117) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] according to the grammarian Kā́śyapa.

1. Since the optional nature of this rule is inferred from the preceding rules, the citing of Kāśyapa's name is purely honorific.
2. *tr̥ṣ+iṬ-Ktvā́ = tr̥ṣ-i-tvā́ / tarṣ-i-tvā́*: similarly: *mr̥ṣ-i-tvā́ / marṣ-i-tvā́; kr̥ś-i-tvā́ / karś-i-tvā́.*

1.2.26 ra̲Lo u=í=upadhāt=há̲L-ādeḥ saN=ca

[Affix Ktvā́ 22] and (the desiderative marker) saN [both with initial increment iṬ 18] introduced after a verbal stem beginning with a consonant (há̲L-ādeḥ) and (ending in 1.1.72) a consonant other than y and v (ra̲L) and containing the vowel [u] or [i] as penultimate (u=í-upadhāt) [optionally 23 do not 18 function like a K-IT affix 5]

1. *dyut+iṬ-Ktvā́ = dyut-i-tvā́ / dyot-i-tvā́* 'having shone'.
2. *dyut+iṬ-saN = dyút-dyut+i-saN = dyú∅=dyut-i-saN* (7.4.60) = *díu-dyut-i-sa* (7.4.67) = *dí-dyut-i-sa* (6.1.108) = *dí-dyut-i-ṣa-te / dí-dyot-i-ṣa-te* (8.3.59) 'desires to shine', but *div+iṬ-Ktvā́ = dev-i-tvā́, div+saN = dí-dev-i-ṣa-ti.*

1.2.27 [1]ū́-kālaḥ=aC=[1]hrasvá-[2]dīrghá-[3]plutáḥ

(The t.tt.) hrasvá- 'short', dīrghá- 'long' and plutá- 'extra-long, prolated' denote (respectively 1.3.10) vowels (aC) having the duration of u, ū and u3 (ū́-kālaḥ).

1. Vowel length is determined by the duration of its actual enunciation; three lengths are commonly recognized by these three technical terms, the short (hrasvá) measuring one mora, the long (dīrghá) measuring two and the prolated (plutá) measuring three. By the same pattern of duration a consonant is estimated to last half a mora or metrical unit whose actual value is relative to the speed of normal speech of each person.
2. The t.t. hrasvá occurs in 1.2.32,47; 4.6,10; 6.1.69,71,127,151,176; 3.43,61; 4.92,94; 7.1.54; 3.80,107-8,113; 4.52.
3. The t.t. dīrghá occurs in 1.1.58; 4.12; 3.1.6; 6.1.7,68,75-6,101-2; 4.25-6,69,83,94; 8.2.46,76-7; 3.9; 4.52.
4. The t.t. plutá occurs in 6.1.125; 8.2.82-108.

1.2.28 aCaś ca

[(Substitutes introduced by using the t.tt.) hrasvá-, dīrghá- or plutá 27] replace vowels (aCaḥ) only.

This is a meta-rule, and the expression [aCaḥ in the genitive] as the substituend is expected to occur wherever it is not specified but any of these t.tt. is used in the formulation of the rules, as in 47 below [hrasvó nápuṁsake prātipadikásya]

where the word [prātipadikásya] is interpreted as [prātipadikásya (ántyasya 1.1.52) aCaḥ (sthāne 1.1.49)], just as [iKaḥ 1.1.3] is supposed to recur when the words guṇá and vṛ̥ddhi are employed without actually specifying the substituend.

1.2.29 uccaír udā́ttaḥ

(The t.t.) udā́tta 'high-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with rising tone (uccaíh).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.32,37,40; 3.96; 4.103; 4.1.37,52; 4.108; 5.2.44; 6.1.159-223; 2.64-126; 4.71; 7.1.98; 8.2.5,82-108; 4.66.

1.2.30 nīcaír ánudāttaḥ

(The t.t.) ánudātta 'low-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with falling tone (nīcaíḥ).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.38-9; 2.4,32,33; 3.1.4; 4.1.38; 6.1.59,120,161,190; 8.2.6.

1.2.31 samāhāráḥ svaritáḥ

(The t.t.) svaritá- 'circumflex' denotes [a vowel 27] having a combination (samāhārá) [of rising (uccaíḥ 29) and falling (nīcaíḥ 30) tones].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.37,39; 3.11; 6.1.185; 8.2.4,6,103; 4.66-7.
2. The musical nature of these tones is referred to in Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā (v.18) by attributing specific notes in the fundamental scale (of music) as under:
   (a) udā́tta seventh/third
   (b) ánudātta second/sixth
   (c) svaritá first/fourth/fifth

1.2.32 tásya=ādíta udā́ttam ardha-hrasvám

Of that (tásya) [svaritá 31] the duration of half a mora (ardhahrasvá) vowel (aC) 28 from the beginning (ādítaḥ) is udātta 'high-pitched'.

Thus, in a short svaritá vowel the first half is udā́tta and the second half is ánudātta; in a long svaritá vowel, other than the first half, the remaining one and a half will be ánudātta, and in a plutá svaritá the remaining two and a half mora will be ánudātta.

1.2.33 éka-śruti dūrā̂t sambúddhau

When calling some one from a distance (dūrā̂t sambūddhau) (the utterance is articulated as) a mono-tone (éka-śruti).

The three tones defined by 29-31 are merged into a single tone without distinction.

1.2.34 yajña-karmáṇi=á-[1]japa-[2]nyūṅkha-[3]sāmasu

In a sacrificial act (yajña-karmáṇi) the enunciation [is in monotone 33] except in (1) silent repetition (jápa) (of a sacrificial formula), (2) nyūṅkhá 'insertion of [O] and [3] sā̂man 'melody'.

1. Mántras used in the performance of a sacrifice are to be in monotone.
2. The exceptions are with reference to the soft murmuring of mántras with accents intact and the insertion of sixteen varieties of the phoneme [o] and the melodic recitation of the Sāma-Veda.

1.2.35 uccaistarā̂ṁ vā vaṣaṭkāráḥ

[In a sacrificial act 34] the expression váṣat optionally occurs (vā) [in a monotone 34] or with a markedly higher pitch (uccaistarā̂m).

1.2.36 vibhāṣā chándasi

(In the recitation of) the Veda (chándasi) [the monotone 34] is optional (vibhāṣā).

1. The use of the word vibhāṣā here, in the face of the recurring optional indicator vā of 35 is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of [yajña-karmáṇi 34]. Thus it is implied that in the self-study or recitation of the Veda monotone can take place optionally.
2. When monotone is not employed the alternate recitation will be in the three tones or pitches.

1.2.37 ná subrahmaṇyā̀yām svaritásya tu=udāttaḥ

In the recitation of Subrahmaṇyā̀ hymns [monotone 34] does not (ná) occur, but the udā̂tta accent replaces the svaritá.

In the recitation: *subrahmaṇyóm índrá ā́gáccha*, since *subrahmanyā̀-* is derived from *su-brahman-* with affix *yàT*. *°yà* bears the svaríta accent (6.1.85); similarly *índra*, heing a vocative, has the udā̂tta accent on the initial syllable, and the following [a] of the second syllable, following an udā̂tta has the svaritá

accent (8.4.66); similarly in *ā́-gaccha, ā́-°* has the udā́tta accent (6.2.49) while the following ánudātta is replaced by svaritá; all these svaritás will be replaced by the udā́tta accent.

1.2.38 ¹deva-²brahmaṇor ánudā́ttaḥ

[In the recitation of the Subrahmaṇyā̀ hymns 37] the ánudātta accent replaces [the svaritá accent 37] of the expressions devā brāhmaṇāḥ [occurring therein].

Since *dévāḥ, brā́hmaṇāḥ* are vocatives they bear the udā́tta accent on their initial syllable and the ánudātta vowel in the following syllable is replaced by svaritá (8.4.66); by this rule 37 is blocked, through a process of replacing the svaritá by the original ánudātta accent.

1.2.39 svaritā́t sáṁhitāyām ánudāttānām

In continuous recitation (sáṁhitāyām 'maximum contiguity') [monotone 33] replaces the ánudātta vowels following a svaritá.

In continuous recitation of *imám me gaṅge yamune sarasvati* since the ánudātta vowel in *me* follows the udā́tta of *mám* of *imám* it is replaced by svaritá, and since by 8.1.19 all vocatives not standing at the head of a phrase are ánudātta, it is replaced by monotone in all the succeeding vowels of that recitation.

1.2.40 udātta-svaritá-parasya sannátaraḥ

A tone or pitch called sannátara 'lower (than nīcaíḥ 'low' 30)' replaces [an ánudātta 38] followed by an udā́tta or svaritá (udātta-svaritá-para).

In the formula *devā marutaḥ pr̥śni-mātaro'páḥ, °-mātaraḥ* is all anudātta (8.1.19) while *apáḥ* has the udā́tta accent on the second syllable (6.1.171), so the saṁdhi vowel [o] in *mātaró páḥ* bears the sannátara accent.

1.2.41 ápr̥kta éka=aL pratyayáḥ

(The t.t.) ápr̥kta denotes an affix consisting of a single phoneme (ék=aL).
As a t.t. occurs in 6.1.67-8; 7.3.91,96ff.

1.2.42 tatpuruṣaḥ samāná=adhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayáḥ

(The t.t.) karmadhārayá denotes a tatpuruṣá compound (2.1.22-2.21) formed from coordinate padás (samāná=adhikaraṇa 'having the same case endings').

1. *nīlam utpalám* = *nīla∅+utpalám* (2.4.71) = *nīlotpalám* 'blue lotus'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.38; 6.2.25-28,46,57; 3.42.

1.2.43 prathamā́-nirdiṣṭaṁ samāsá upasárjanam

(The t.t.) upasárjana 'subordinate member' denotes items appearing in the first sUP triplets (nominative case endings) (in the the rules which serve to generate) compounds (samāsé [2.1.3-2.38]).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.48,57; 4.1.14,54; 6.2.36,104; 3.82.

1.2.44 éka-vibhakti ca=á-pūrva-nipāte

[(The t.t.) upasárjana 43] also (ca) denotes [a member of a compound 43] which always has the same case ending (éka-vibhakti) (in the deep structure of the compound) except with respect to being placed in the prior position (á-pūrva-nipāte).

In the compound *níṣ-kauśāmbi-* (*níṣkrānta+sUP kauśāmbī+ṄasI* in the underlying deep structure) the word °-kauśāmbi- is always followed by the fifth singular sUP triplet where as *níṣkrānta-*° can be followed by different sUP triplets, though the composition is not necessary and can be equally substituted by the declined forms of individual members.

1.2.45 arthavád á-dhātur á-pratyayaḥ prātipadikám

(The t.t.) prātipadiká 'nominal stem' denotes a meaningful (arthavát) expression other than a dhā́tu 'verbal stem' (1.3.1; 3.1.32) or a pratyayá 'affix' (3.1.1-5.4.166).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.47; 2.3.46; 4.71; 4.1.1; 8.2.7; 4.11.

Since this rule is followed by another rule below, extending the operation of this t.t., here it is restricted to primitive or underived nominal stems. Two views were expressed by grammarians. Śākaṭāyaná and his followers believed that all nominal stems were derivable from verbal stems, while others held the view that this was not always true. P's view appears to posit two sets: (1) underived (á-vyutpanna-) nominal stems or primitive stems and (2) derived nominal stems. As verbal stems are fully registered in the Dhātupāṭha and all affixes [with the

exception of Uṇ=ādi group] are dealt with in chapters 3-5 of Aṣṭ., morphemes other these will by definition be nominal stems. P's structure of Sanskrit is based on these three fundamental building blocks, a significant departure from the earlier four-fold analysis with nāman 'nomen, nominal stem', ākhyāta 'verbal stem, verbum', upasargá and nipātá without special analysis of pratyayas 'affixes'.

1.2.46 [1]kṛ́t-[2]taddhitá-[3]samāsā́ś ca

[(The t.t.) prātipadiká- 45] also (ca) denotes (derived nominal stems ending in 1.1.72) kṛ́t 'primary affixes' (3.1.93ff.), in taddhitá 'secondary affixes' (4.1.76ff.) or those forming samāsás 'compounds' (2.1.3ff.).

1. kṛt: *kṛ+ṆvuL* (3.1.133) = *kā́r-aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115).
2. taddhita: *úpagor ápatyam* = *úpagu+aÑ* (4.1.92) = *aupago+aÑ* (6.4.146; 7.2.117) = *aúpagav-a-* (6.1.78).
3. samāsá: *rā́jñaḥ púruṣaḥ* = *rā́jan+Ṅas + púruṣa+sU* = *rājan+∅[1]+puruṣa+sU* (2.4.71) = *rāja∅-puruṣáḥ* (8.2.7)

1.2.47 hrasvó nápuṁsake prātipadikásya

A short [vowel 28] replaces (the final 1.1.52) vowel of a nominal stem (prātipadikásya) employed in the neuter gender (nápuṁsake).

The compound *áti+rai-* 'who or which has surpassed wealth', when qualifying a neuter substantive, replaces the final vowel *ai* by short *i* (1.1.48): *áti-ri- kúlam* 'an extravagant family', but in conjunction with non-neuter substantives we have *grāma-ṇī* 'village head-personl'; *senānī́* 'army general'.

1.2.48 [1]gó-[2]striyór upasárjanasya

[A short vowel 47] replaces the final vowel (1.1.52) [of the prātipadiká 45] gó- 'cow (f), bull (m)' occurring as an upasárjana (43) and of an upasárjana (ending in 1.1.72) in a feminine affix (striyā́m 4.1.3ff.).

1. The underlying deep structure of *citrā́ gā́vo yásya sáḥ* = *citrá+ṬāP+Jas+gó+Jas* = *citra∅-∅[1]+go+sU* (6.3.34; 2.4.71) yields the surface form *citráguḥ* 'possessed of brindled cows'.
2. From the underlying structure *níṣ+(krāntá-)+sU+kauśāmbī+ṄasI (= niṣkrāntáḥ kauśāmbyās)* we generate the surface form of the compound *niṣ+∅+∅+kauśāmbī+sU* (2.2.18; 4.71) = *níṣ-kauśāmbi-ḥ* (8.3.15).

1.2.49 luK taddhita-luKi

When a taddhita 'secondary' affix is replaced by luK (=$\emptyset^1$ 1.1.61) luK ($\emptyset^1$) at the same time replaces [the feminine affix of the upasárjana 48].

In the compound generated from *páñca indrāṇyó devátā asyá* with the underlying structure: *páñca+Jas + indra+ānuK + ṄīṢ+Jas + devátā+Jas* the surface form is generated by *pañca+$\emptyset^1$+indra+$\emptyset^1$+$\emptyset^1$+sU = páncendra-s* 'a sacrifical cake sacred to five Indrāṇīs'. This surface form is realized through the operation of 4.1.38 [dvigór luK án-apatye] which introduces a luK replacement of affix [áṆ] in the resulting Dvigú compound: *páñca+$\emptyset^1$+indrāṇí+áṆ* (4.1.83; 2.24) and with $\emptyset^1$ replacement of the taddhita affix [áṆ 4.1.83], $\emptyset^1$ also replaces at the same time the feminine affix [ānuK+ṄīS 4.1.49] of the upasárjana *indrāṇí.*

1.2.50 iT=goṇyā́ḥ

The short vowel i(T) replaces (the final 1.1.52 vowel) of the nominal stem goṇī́ 'a sack measure' [when the taddhita affix introduced after it is replaced by luK ($\emptyset^1$) 49].

This is an exception to 49 above, and the feminine affix in [goṇī́] is replaced by the short vowel: *páñcabhir goṇī́bhiḥ krītáḥ = páñca+bhis+goṇí+bhis+krītá+sU = pañca+$\emptyset^1$+goṇī+ṭhaK* (5.1.19,37) = *pañca-goṇī+$\emptyset^1$* (5.1.28) = *pañica-goṇ-í+sU* 'purchased with five sack measures'.

1.2.51 luPi yuktavát=¹vyakti-²vacané

[When a taddhita affix 49 is replaced by] luP [1.1.61 = $\emptyset^3$] the gender (vyákti-) and number (vácana-) (of the derived word) conforms to that of the original (yukta-vát) word.

vaṅgānām janapadó nivāsáḥ 'the country of the Vanga people' = *vaṅga+áṆ* (4.1.83; 2.69) = *vaṅga+$\emptyset^3$* (4.2.81) = *vaṅga+Jas = vaṅgāḥ*; but on the other hand: *lavaṇéna sáṁsṛṣṭaḥ sū́paḥ = lavaṇá+ṭhaK* (4.4.22) = *lavaṇá+luK* (4.4.24) = *lavaṇáḥ sū́paḥ, lavaṇā́ yavāgū́ḥ* (f.), *lavaṇám śā́kam* (n.) where the original expression is neuter, but with luK replacement takes on all three genders.

1.2.52 viśéṣaṇānāṁ ca=á-jāteḥ

[The gender and number 51] of qualifying words (viśéṣaṇānām) are also (ca) [identical with those expressions generated by lUP replacement 51 of taddhita affixes 48] except when they denote a species (jā́ti).

vaṅgāḥ=bahv-annā́ḥ=bahu-kṣīra-ghṛtā́ḥ 'the people of Vanga (have) plenty of food,

plenty of milk and butter', but *vaṅgāḥ=janapadáḥ* 'the country of V. people'; likewise *godaú ramaṇī́yau* 'Goda (village) is beautiful', but *godaú grā́maḥ* 'the village Goda' since the expression *grā́ma-* denotes jāti 'species' as a village.

1.2.53 tád áśiṣyaṁ saṁjñā-pramāṇatvā́t

That (tad) [= gender-number agreement 51] between the qualifying and qualified expressions need not be taught (á-śiṣyam-) since their basis is convention (saṁjñā-pramāṇatvá).

This conventional basis can be illustrated by the words *dārāḥ*, (m.pl.), *bhāryā́* (fem.), *kalatrám* (neut.) all signifying 'wife'; *áp+Jas* = *ā́paḥ* f.pl. 'water'; *gṛhá+Jas* = *gṛhā́ḥ* m.pl. 'wife', *sikátā+Jas* = *sikátāḥ* f.pl. 'sand' and *varṣā́+Jas* = *varṣā́ḥ* f.pl. 'the rainy season', all with fixed gender and number through accepted convention.

1.2.54 lup=yoga=a-prakhyānā́t

Replacement by IuP ($\emptyset^3$) [need not be taught 53] since the relationship in meaning (yóga) betwen the primitive and derived stem cannot be posited (a-prakhyānāt).

Thus *váraṇāḥ* 'n.pr. of a village' cannot be related to the presence of the trees of that name if they do not grow there; such words are purely conventional and do not yield to etymological derivation. Therefore the rule [janapadé luP 4.2.81] cannot be said to be valid in such cases.

1.2.55 yoga-pramāṇé ca tad-abhāvé=á-darśanaṁ syāt

For, if the relationship (of etymological meaning) were basic (yoga-pramāṇé), then, in its absence (tad-abhāvé) the derived word should also disappear (ádarśanaṁ syāt).

Place names like *váraṇāḥ, pañcālā́ḥ* are originally derived from the name of the people residing there, and they continue to be used as proper names even when the original people who gave those names, do not reside there, and thus are current without relevance to their origins, and should be regarded as purely conventional, and not etymologically derived.

1.2.56 pradhāna-pratyaya=artha-vacanám árthasya=anya-pramāṇatvā́t

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] (the principles that the sense of a word) is expressed by the predominant member (pradhā́na) (in a derivative word) and by the affix (pratyayá) (in a derived word), because the sense is dependent on something else (anya-pramāṇatvāt) [= convention].

Kātyāyaná and Patañjali discuss the relevance of grammatical analysis to natural language by stating that the ultimate authority is the [loka] 'people', that is, the actual speakers, and the aim of such analysis is to describe that usage as it is current among the śiṣṭas or 'educated class'. Such an analysis demostrates that in so far as these two aspects are concerned convention alone is the final authority. To the extent possible this convention has been brought under the linguist's analysis and a number of works dealing with gender are in existence. P himself has specified rules such as [striyā́ṁ KtiN 3.3.94, napuṁsaké bhāvé Ktáḥ 3.3.114].

1.2.57 [1]kāla=[2]upasarjané ca túlyam

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] equally (túlyam) (the meaning of) Tense (kā́la) or upasárjana 'the subordinate member' (43) [since it is dependent on something else 56].

Since usage [prayogá] is the principal authority for grammatical analysis, it can deal only with operations which fall within a system; however, number, gender, tense and the order or sequence of members in a compound are purely conventional and may be subject to change from generation to generation.

1.2.58 jāty-ākhyā́yām ékasmin bahuvacanám anyatarásyām

The plural (bahuvacanám) is optionally (anyatarásyām) used in the sense of the singular (ékasmin) when designating a species (jāty-ākhyā́yām).

An expression can both be a collective noun or represent a single object. Thus in the sentence "Man is prone to error" the word "man" stands for the whole class of human beings (including women) and we can have an alternate sentence "Men are prone to error". Likewise we can say: *sampannó yávaḥ* or *sampannā́ḥ=yávāḥ* 'fully ripe barley', but if the numeral *éka-* 'one' is used we have *éko yávaḥ*. By employing the word [jā́ti] 'species' proper names are excluded.

1.2.59 asmádo dvāyoś ca

[The plural 58] of the (first personal pronoun), asmád- 'we' is also (58) [optionally used in the sense of the singular 58] as well, as in the dual (dváyoḥ).

For *ahám bráv-ī-mi* 'I speak', one can equally say *vayám brūmáḥ* 'we speak'; similarly it can also replace *āvā́m brūváḥ*.

This corresponds to the royal or editorial "We".

1.2.60 [1]phalgunī-[2]proṣṭhapadā́nāṁ ca nákṣatre

[The plural 58] of the nominal stems phálgunī and proṣṭapadá designating asterisms (nákṣatra) also (ca) [optionally replaces the dual 59].

The twin-star asterisms will naturally be associated with the dual endings, but the use of the plural endings is optionally taught in the sense of the dual: *pū́rve phálguny-au / pū́rvāḥ phálgu-nyaḥ; pū́rve proṣṭhapadé / pū́rvāḥ proṣṭhapadā́ḥ*; however, in the phrase *phálgunyau māṇaviké* 'girls born under the asterism of Phálgunī', the word *phálgunyau* does not refer to the asterism directly, but is a qualifying expression for *māṇavike* 'two girls or maidens' and is therefore not subject to this operation.

1.2.61 chándasi púnarvasvor ekavacanám

In the domain of Chándas (= Veda) the singular (ekavacaná) of the nominal stem púnarvasu- 'n.pr. of an asterism consisting of twin stars' is used [for the dual optionally 58-58].

púnarvasur nákṣatram / púnarvasū nákṣatram.

1.2.62 víśākhayos ca

[In the domain of Chándas the singular 61] of the nominal stem víśākhā 'n.pr. of a twin-star asterism' is also (ca) used for [the dual optionally 58].

víśākhā nákṣatram / víśākhe nákṣatram.

1.2.63 [1]tiṣya-[2]punarvasvór nakṣatra-dvaṁdvé bahuvacanásya dvivacanám nítyam

In a Dvaṁdva compound formed from names of asterisms (nakṣatra-dvaṁdvé) of tiṣyà- 'a single star asterism' and púnarvasu 'a twin-star

asterism' the dual (dvi-vacanm) necessarily (nityam) replaces the plural (bahuvacanásya).

Since Tiṣyà is one and Púnarvasu two stars, their compound is naturally expected to take the plural sUP endings, but by this rule the dual ending replaces the plural: *udité tiṣya-punarvasū́ dr̥śyete* 'the asterisms T and P are seen rising'.

1.2.64 sárūpāṇām ekaśeṣá eka-vibhaktáu

When there is the single occurrence of a single (sUP) ending (eka-vibhaktaú 1.4.104) only one of a series of repeated morpheme stems (sárūpāṇām) remains in use (eka-śeṣáḥ).

vr̥kṣáś ca vr̥kṣáś ca = vr̥kṣá+sU+vr̥kṣá+sU = vr̥kṣá+au = vr̥kṣaú; vr̥kṣáś ca vr̥kṣáś ca vr̥kṣáś ca = vr̥kṣá+sU+vr̥kṣá+sU+vr̥kṣá+sU = vr̥kṣá+Jas = vr̥kṣā́h..

1.2.65 vr̥ddhó yū́nā tád=lakṣaṇaś céd-evá viśeṣáḥ

If a derivative denoting vr̥ddhá (= a gotrá descendant 4.1.162) is used along with one denoting a yúvan descendant (4.1.163-65), only the former [remains 64] provided the only difference between the two derivatives is that they are descendants of the same ancestor (tád=lakṣaṇaś céd-evá).

The t.t. vr̥ddhá in this sense is nowhere defined by Pāṇini, but Patañjali provides the following gloss: [pūrva-sūtré gotrásya vr̥ddhám iti saṁjñā kriyáte] 'in the earlier sū́tra (works) the word vr̥ddhá denotes (the t.t.) gotrá', while the Kāśikā quotes such a rule [ápatyam ántarhitam vr̥ddhám] which is parallel to P 4.1.162 [ápatyam pautrá-prabhr̥ti gotram].

gā́rgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇáś ca = garga+yaÑ+sU+garga+yaÑ+phak+sU = garga+yaÑ+au = gā́rgyau.

1.2.66 strī́ puṁvát=ca

[If a derivative denoting a vr̥ddhá descendant 65] representing a woman (strī́) [is used along with a yúvan descendant 65] it is treated like the (corresponding) masculine (derivative).

gā́rgī ca gārgyāyaṇáś ca garga+yaÑ+ṄīP+sU+garga+yaÑ+phak+sU = garga+yaÑ+ṄīP+au = garga+yaÑ+∅+au = gā́rgyau.

1.2.67 púmān striyā́

When a word in the masculine gender (púmān) is conjoined with the same word in the feminine gender (striyā́) the masculine alone [subsists 64].

brāhmaṇáś ca brāihmaṇī́ ca = brāhmaṇaú 'a brahmin (man) and a brahmin (woman)'. But in the case of *índras ca indrāṇī́ ca* since the form *indrāṇī́* is a feminine form derived from the base form *índra-* in the context of [puṁyogá 4.1.45 'co-habitation with man'] the result is *indrendrāṇy-aú*.

1.2.68 ¹bhrātṛ-²putraú ¹svasṛ-²duhitṛ́bhyām

The words bhrā́tṛ- 'brother' and putrá- 'son' [subsist 64] when conjoined respectively (1.3.10) with the words svásṛ- 'sister' and duhitṛ́- 'daughter'.

1. *bhrā́tā- ca svásā ca = bhrā́tṛ+sU+svásṛ+sU = bhrā́tṛ+au = bhrā́tar-au* (7.3.110).
2. *putrás ca duhitā́ ca = putrá+sU+duhitṛ́+sU = putrá+au = putraú.*

1.2.69 nápuṁsakam á-napuṁsakena=ekavát=ca=ásya= anyatarásyām

A neuter nominal stem [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the same stem in a non-neuter gender (á-napuṁsakena) and optionally (anya-tarásyām) as the neuter singular form (ekavát).

śukláṁ ca śukláś ca / śuklā́ ca = śuklám / śukle; śukláṁ ca śukláś ca suklā́ ca = śuklā́ni / śuklám; but *śukláṁ ca śukláṁ ca = śuklé; śukláṁ ca śukláṁ ca śukláṁ ca = suklā́ni.*

1.2.70 pitā́ mātrā́

The nominal stem pitṛ́- 'father' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with mātṛ́- 'mother' [optionally 69].

mātā́ ca pitā́ ca = pitṛ́+au = pitár-au / mātā́-pitaraú (6.3.25) 'parents'.

1.2.71 śváśuraḥ śvaśrvā́

The nominal stem śváśura- 'father-in-law' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the stem śvaśrū 'mother-in-law' [optionally 68].

śvaśrū́ ca śváśuraś ca = śváśura+au = śváśurau / śvaśrū-śvaśuraú.

1.2.72 tyád-ādīni sárvair nítyam

The pronouns of the class whose first member, is tyád- 'that' [alone subsists 64] necessarily (nítyam) when conjoined with (all types of: sárvaiḥ) nominal stems.

sá ca devaattáś ca = tád+au = táa+au = tá+au (6.1.97) = *taú; yás ca devadattaś ca = yaú; sá ca yás ca = yaú; yaś ca kaś ca = kaú.*

1.2.73 grāmyá-páśu-saṁghéṣu=á-taruṇeṣu strī́

[The feminine nominal stem (strī́) alone subsists 64] when a troop of domestic animals (grāmyá-páśu-saṁghá), other than the young (á-taruṇa) are referred to together.

1. *gā́va imā́ḥ* 'these (are) cattle'.
2. *imé rúravaḥ* (67) 'these (are) antelopes'. This exception applies only to domesticated animals where the feminine is used instead of the masculine.

1.3.1 bhū́vādayo dhā́tavaḥ

(The t.t.) dhā́tu- 'verbal base or stem or root' denotes the class of expressions whose first member is bhū́- 'become' (I 1).

In the ancillary text called Dhātu-pāṭha all these items are listed under ten major sections corresponding to nine classes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka), the tenth being considered as a derived verbal stem with the formans ṆíC (3.1.25,32), falling within the ambit of the first or general class; ṆíC also functions as the marker of the causative stem (3.1.26). There are almost 2000 stems registered in the extant Dhātu-pāṭha under these ten groups as under: I bhū́-class 1059, II ad-class 72, III hu-class 25, IV div-class 137, V su-class 34, VI tud-class 143, VII rudh-class 25, VIII tan-class 9+1, IX krī-class 61 and cur-class 395 (according to Boehtlingk's edition). The original Dhp. consisted only of the actual lists of verbal stems, and meanings were added later, separating the individual members in the continuous text; original form appears like bhv-edh-° and in the revised Dhp. bhū́- sattā́yām, édhA- vṛ̥́ddhau etc. Verbal stems in general depict action.

1.3.2 upadeśé=aC=ánunāsika IT

(The t.t.) IT denotes a nasalized (ánunāsika- 1.1.8) vowel (aC) (of an element when it is) first introduced (in the grammatical instruction: upadeśe).

P. uses the nasalized vowels as IT markers for various purposes: primarily to indicate in the Dhp. which verbal stems take the middle voice or Ātmanepadá when they are associated with the ánudātta accent (12 below) as in the case of [edhÃ vṛ̥ddhau I 2]. Later commentators assert (as in the Kāśikā) that in the sixth ŚS [lÃṆ[2]] the vowel [a] is nasalized in order to give the siglum [rÃ] for liquids [r, l] in the sūtra [ur aṆ rÃ-paraḥ 1.1.51]. Since most sacred and science texts were primarily transmitted verbally from teacher to pupil in unbroken succession, this nasalization must have been apparent in the oral transmission. With its loss, the later Pāṇinīyas only theoretically recognized this nasalization by this rule in the written transmission. The same reasoning holds good for the use of accents as markers.

1.3.3 ha̱L ántyam

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes a final (ántya) consonanant (ha̱L) [in the element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

To arrive at the meaning of the siglum ha̱L this rule is interpreted in two different ways:

1. [ha̱L-antyam] is taken as a compound derived from the under-lying deep structure [ha̱L+Ṅi+ántya+am = ha̱L+∅+antya+am] 'the final (element) in [ha̱L]', giving

the meaning: 'The t.t. IT denotes the final element in the expression [haL]'. With this definition L is such a marker and we get the siglum [haL] by 1.1.71 denoting all consonants beginning with (h) of ŚS 5 and ending with L of ŚS 14. This then provides for C of aC as an IT marker and the present rule can be properly re-interpreted as under:

2. "The t.t. IT (2) denotes a consonant (haL) occurring at the end (ántya) of an element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé 2)".

Thus haL is a cover symbol for all consonants and aC for all vowels. All other sigla are then derived with the use of these definitions and 1.1.71.

1.3.4 ná vibháktau tU-s-mā́ḥ

[The t.t. IT 2] does not (ná) denote [final 3] dental stops (tU 1.1.69) and the phonemes [s] and [m] in vibhákti (1.4.104) endings.

While 3 is specifically a general rule, the exception given here restricts the scope of that general rule: thus in [°-āt replacement of ṄasI 7.1.12] after stems ending in short [°-a-] [t] is not an IT marker; similarly in the case of Jas, Ṅas, am, ām [s, m] are not IT-s, as in the case of verbal endings °tas, °-thas, °ātām, °āthām, dhvam (3.4.78). Since [tU, s, m] are not markers when occurring at the end of a vibhákti affix by this rule, they are not subject to the operation of 9 below [replacement by ∅].

1.3.5 ādír ÑI-ṬU-ḌAV-aḥ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the syllables ÑI, ṬU and ḌU occurring as initials (ādíḥ) [of verbal stems when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

These initial syllables accompany certain verbal stems in the Dhp. list: ÑI-míd-Ā snéhane I 779 'be unctuous'; ṬUnád-Í samṛddhaú I 67 'thrive', ḌU-kṛ-Ñ kárane VIII 16 'do, make, perform'. By 3.2.187 the affix [Ktá] which properly belongs to the past passive participle, however, generates a participle expressing the present tense with verbal stems marked with ÑI as IT: *míd+Ktá-* = *min-ná-* (8.2.42) 'is fat'; similarly after stems marked by ṬU 3.3.89 introduces kṛt affix athúC: *nand+athúC* (7.1.58) = *nand-athú-* 'delight'; affix Ktri- is introduced by 3.3.88 after stems marked by ḌU: *kṛ+Ktrí+maP* (4.4.20) = *kṛ-trí-ma-* 'artificial'.

1.3.6 ṣaḥ pratyayásya

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes [the initial 5] phoneme ṣ of an affix (pratyayásya) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé 2)].

1. Such affixes are: Ṣá, ṢáC, ṢākaN, ṢkaN, ṢtaráC, ṢtraN, ṢtháC, ṢthaN, ṢthaL, Ṣpha, ṢphaK, ṢyaṄ, ṢyaÑ, ṢlaÑ, ṢvuN.

2. In 8.3.79 [iṆaḥ ṣīdhvam-lUṄ-lIṬām dhaḥ=aṅgāt] the affix ṣī-dhvam has initial ṣ-°, but it is not an IT marker, since it is a replacement of an original s of sīyuṬ (3.4.102) and consequently is not subject to the operation of 9 below.

1.3.7 cU-ṭŪ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the [initial 5] palatal and retroflex stops (1.1.69 cU, ṭU) [occurring in the affixes 6 when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with initial palatal stops: (a) C: CaṄ, CānaŚ, CāP, CiṆ, CphaÑ, Cli̲, Cvi̲; (b) J: Jas, Jasi̲; (c-d) by separate rules initial ch- and jh- are replaced by iy- (7.1.2) and a(n)t (7.1.3,5) respectively, blocking out 9 below. In presenting the text of Aṣṭ. in roman transliteration, therefore, initial ch- and jh- of affixes are not indicated by capital letters, although by this rule they are IT markers; they rather go with ph- and kh- as indicated in 7.1.2.
2. Initial retroflex stops: (a) Ṭ: Ṭa, ṬaK, ṬaC, Ṭā, ṬāP, ṬenyaṆ, ṬyaṆ, Ṭyu, ṬyuL (exception ṭītaC); (b) by a separate rule (7.3.51) initial ṭh- is replaced by ik and is therefore not subject to 9 below; (c) Ḍ: Ḍa, ḌáC, ḌaT, ḌaṆ, ḌatamáC, ḌataráC, Ḍati, Ḍā, ḌāC, ḌāP, Ḍu, ḌupáC, ḌmatUP, Ḍya, ḌyaṆ, ḌyaT, Ḍyā, ḌvaláC, ḌvuN. (d) By a separate rule (7.1.2) initial ḍh-° is replaced by ey, and is therefore not subject to 9 below. All such exceptions to 9 are not indicated by capital letters like regular IT markers.

1.3.8 [1]la̲-[2]śa̲-[3]kU=á-taddhite

[The t.t. IT 2 denotes initial 5] phonemes l, ś and velar stops [occurring in affixes 6] other than those belonging to taddhita 'secondary' (á-taddhite) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with L as IT marker: LyaP [replacement for Ktvā́ in verbal composition], Lyu, LyuṬ.
2. Affixes with Ś as IT marker: Śá, ŚátṚ, Ṣádhyai, ṢadhyaiN, ŚaP, ŚānáC, ŚānaN, ŚāyáC, ŚnáM , Śnā, Śnú, ŚyaN, Ślu. Note: Ś has another function as IT in regard to replacements where an item marked with it replaces the whole of the substituend: cf. Śi, Śī, Śe.
3. Affixes with initial velar stops: (a) K: Ká, KaN, Kádhyai, KadhyaiN, KaP, Kamu̲L, Kasu̲N, KaseN, KānáC, Kí, KiN, KuráC, KeN, Kenya, Ktá, KtávatU, KtíC, Ktin, Ktrí, Ktvā́, Knú KyaṄ, KyáC, KyáṢ (but not kāmyáC cf. 3.1.9), KlukaN, Kvani̲P, KvaraP, KvásU, Kvi̲, Kvi̲N , Kvi̲P, Ksá, Ksé, Ksnú-; (b) KH: KHáC, KHaL, KHamu̲Ñ, KHaL, KHaŚ, KHiṣṇúC, KHukaÑ KhyuN; (c) *G occurs only in *Gsnú (=Ksnú 3.2.138); (d) GH: GHá, GHaÑ, GHinu̲Ṇ, GHuráC; (e) Ṅ: Ṅī, ṄīN, ṄīP, ṄīṢ, Ṅas, ṄasI, Ṅi, Ṅe, Ṅvani̲P.
4. In taddhita affixes these do not function as IT markers: (a) l: láC; (b) ś: śá

(5.2.10), śás (5.4.42), śāláC; (c) k: káK, kaṭáC, kaṭyáC, kalpaP, kuṭāráC, kuṇaP, kṛtvá- suC; (d) initial kh replaced by iy (7.1.2); (e) g: gmini; (f) gh: replaced by iy (7.1.2): gha, ghaC, ghaN, ghaS.

1.3.9 tásya lópaḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces that (tásya) [IT marker 2].

1. The word tásya is used instead of IT-aḥ to indicate that the ∅ replaces the whole IT substituendum and not the final phoneme only (by 1.1.52). This has relevance to the initial IT markers Ñl, ṬU, ḌU.
2. The IT markers have several functions: (a) they generate the sigla (pratyāhārá); (b) they do not enter into actual grammatical operations except in introducing morpho-phonemic changes in the elements coming together to form the surface units of speech. The morpho-phonemic features associated with the markers relate to (i) replacement, (ii) augmentation, (iii) accentuation, (iv) generation of feminine stems both of primary and secondary derivatives. Both initial and final IT markers are subject to zero (∅) replacement in actual derivation of surface forms after affecting these morpho-phonemic changes.
3. Guṇá and Vṛ̥ddhi blocked by K, Ṅ, *G (1.1.5); Vṛ̥ddhi of stem-final vowels indicated by Ñ, Ṇ (7.2.115); and of initial syllable of nominal stems (by 7.2.117) and by K (7.1.118). Ñ, N indicate udā́tta accent on the initial syllabic of the derived form (6.1.197) while K, C indicate this accent on the final syllable (6.1.164-5); L indicates accent on the final syllable preceding the affix (6.1.193) while R indicates that accent is placed on the pre-penultimate syllable of the surface form (6.1.217).
4. Ṭ indicates initial augmentation while K indicates final augmentation of the substituendum while M functions as an infixed augment inserted after the last syllabic (1.1.46-7).
5. Ṭ and ḌH indicate a feminine affix ṄīP after a stem generated with these affixes, while ṄīṢ operates after stems generated with affixes with marker Ṣ (4.1.41).

1.3.10 yathā-saṁkhyám anudeśáḥ samā́nām

(When two sequences of elements) which have the same number of members (samā́nām) are stated in rules (the elements of the subsequent sequence) are related to the former in a (one-to-one) order (yathā-saṁkhyám).

There is a one-to-one correspondence in order of enumeration in the two sets, for instance, of the statement 6.1.77 [iKo yaṆ aCi] where iK represents the vowels [i, u, ṛ̥, ḷ̥] as the substituenda, and yaṆ the semi-vowels [y, v, r, l] as the replacements: i:y, u:v, ṛ̥:r and ḷ̥:l. However, a few instances do occur where this metarule does not operate, and certain devices have been used to indicate this fact which will be discussed at their appropriate places; here interpretation (vyākhyā́na) gives the correct result when there is a doubt.

1.3.11 svariténa=adhikāráḥ

Elements which are to serve as governing rules (adhikārá) or section headings valid in the subsequent rules are marked with the svaritá 'circumflex' accent (1.2.31).

1. There are major and minor section headings as also headings within headings: e.g., (pratyayáḥ, paraś ca, ādy-údāttas ca 3.1.1-3) cover the whole of chapters 3-5, but within this major governing system we have sub-sections headed by [dhā́toḥ 3.1.93, Ṅī=āP-prātipadikāt 4.1.1 and even within this last striyā́m 4.1.3].
2. These governing rules are, in a majority of cases, stated with a specification of their range, with words like [prā́k: prā́k=ivāt kaḥ 5.3.70] or [ā́- ° as in ā́-Kve̱s tacchīla-taddharma-tatsādhukāriṣu 3.2.137].
3. Since the corpus of Aṣṭ. is built up of sūtras, using maximum brevity possible, the full sense of each rule is to be extracted from recurrence of relevant items from the preceding sūtras in addition to those of metarules, and traditional commentators have often remarked suggesting that certain recurring expressions are uttered with the svaritá accent. Like nasalization mentioned in 2 above this accentual system must have continued in the oral transmission and been lost in later times. Interpretation (vyākhyāna) is the main alternate authority for indicating where this accent is employed. Two guiding rules generally referred to in this connection: prtijñā́unāsikyāḥ pāṇinī́yāḥ and pratijñā́-svaritāḥ pāṇinī́yāḥ.

1.3.12 anudātta-Ṅ-ITa ātmanepadám

Ātmanepadá (= taṄ and āna 1.4.100) l-substitute endings (3.4.78) are introduced ater verbal stems marked by an ánudātta vowel or Ṅ as IT.

1. édhA vṛ̥́ddhau I 2 is marked with ánudātta A as an IT and so takes the Ātmanepadá or middle endings: **edhA+ŚaP* (3.1.68)+*ta* = **édh∅+a+ta* (9 above) = *édh-a-te* (3.4.79) 'grows, increases'.
2. **śī́Ṅ* (II 22)+*ŚaP+ta* = **śī́+∅*[1]*+ta* (2.4.72) = *śé-te* (3.4.79).

1.3.13 [1]bhāva-[2]karmáṇoḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] when bhāvá- 'impersonal action' or kárman- 'passive action' is to be expressed.

The 18 l-substitutes (3.4.77-78) are divided into two sets of nine members each, the first nine designated Parasmaipadá and the next nine by the t.t. Ātmanepadá (1.4.99-100). Each of these is again subdivided into three triplets, representing the third, second and first persons respectively, in the order of singular, dual and plural for each triplet (1.4.101-2). These members are introduced under general meaning conditions relating to kārakas (1.4.23ff.) and time references. With reference to transitive verbal stems l-members are introduced when either kártṛ̥-

'active' or kárman- 'passive' construction is to be expressed, and in the case of intransitive verbal stems either kártṛ- or bhāvá- 'action in progress' is to be denoted. Thus active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems and active and impersonal constructions with intransitive verbal stems.

1. bhāvá: *ās-* (II 11) *+yáK* (3.1.67) *+te* = *ās-yá-te* 'sitting down takes place'.
2. kárman: *kṛ̥* (VIII 1O) *+yáK+te* = *kri-yá-te* (7.4.28) *káṭaḥ* 'the mat is being made'.

1.3.14 kartari karma-vyatiare

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] to denote the agent (kártári) provided [the agent performs the action with another agent] reciprocally (karma-vy-ati-hā́re).

**vy-áti-lū* (IX 13)+*Śnā́* (2.1.81)+*jha* = *vy-áti-lu-n∅+ate* (7.1.5) = *vy-áti-lu-n-ate* 'they reap (corn, etc.) reciprocally (for one another).

1.3.15 ná [1]gati-[2]hiṁsā́=arthebhyaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes 12] are not (ná) introduced after verbal stems denoting the sense of gáti 'movement' or of hiṁsā́ 'injury' [to express reciprocal action 14].

1. **vy-áti-gam* (I 1O31)+*ŚaP+jhi* = *vy-áti-gacch-anti* (7.2.77) 'they go against each other'.
2. **vy-áti-hisI* (VII 19)+*ŚnáM* (7.1.78)+*jhi* = **vy-áti-hi-n∅-s+* (6.4.23) *anti* (7.1.3,58) = *vy-áti-hiṁs- anti* 'they injure each other'.

1.3.16 itaretara=anyonyá=upapadāt=ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes 12 are not 15] introduced after verbal stems which have anyonyá- or itaretará 'one another' as complementary words (upapadá 3.1.82) [to express reciprocal action 14].

anyonyásya / itaretarásya vy-áti-lu-n-anti 'they reap each other's grain'.

1.3.17 nér viśaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-sustitutes 12] are introduced after the verbal stem viś- 'enter' (VI 130) co-occurring with preverb ní- ° .

viś+Śa+tiP = *viś-á-ti* : *ní+viś+Śa+ta* = *ní-vis-a-te* 'enters in'.

1.3.18 ¹pári-²ví=³avébhyaḥ kriyaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krī- 'buy' (IX 1) when co-occurring with preverbs pári-°, ví-° and ava-°.

**pári-krī+Śnā́+ta = parí-krī-nī-te* (6.4.113, 3.4.79), *áva-krī-ṇī-te* 'buys, purchases'; *ví-krī-ṇī-te* 'sells'. Since the verbal stem is ḌU-krī-Ñ dravya-vinimayé, Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action is accruing to another; the present rule is when the fruit accrues to the agent himself.

1.3.19 ¹ví-²parā́-bhyāṁ je-ḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jí- 'win, conquer, overcome' (I 593, 993) when co-occurring with preverbs ví-° and párā-°.

**ji=ŚaP+tiP = jáy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) : *ví-jay-a-te / párā-jay-a-te* 'vanquishes, conquers, is victorious'.

1.3.20 ā́Ṅo daḥ=án-āsya-viharaṇe

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] dā- 'give' (III 9) co-occurring with preverb ā́Ṅ except when expressing the sense of 'opening the mouth (wide)' (an-āsya-viharaṇé).

**dā+Ślu+tiP/tá = dádā+tiP/tá* (6.1.10) = *dádā-ti / dat-té* (= *dad∅+té* 6.4.112; 8.4.55) : *ā́-dat-te* 'acquires, gains', but *vy-ā́-dadā-ti* 'opens the mounth wide' (contra 72 below).

1.3.21 krī́ḍaḥ=¹ánu-²sám-³páribhyaś ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krī́d- 'play, sport' (I 373) when co-occurring with preverbs ánu-°, sám-°, pári-° and (ca) [ā́Ṅ-° 20].

krīḍ-a-ti : ā́-krid-a-te, ánu-krīḍ-a-te, sáṁ-krīḍ-a-te, pári-krīḍ-a-te 'sports'.

1.3.22 ¹sám=²áva-³prá-⁴víbhyaḥ shtaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] sthā́- 'stand, stay, abide' (I 975) co-occurring with preverbs sám-°, áva-°, prá-° or ví-°.

sthā+ŚaP+tiP = *tíṣṭh-a-ti* (3.1.137) : *sám-tiṣṭh-a-te*'stays with'; *áva-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'stands or waits patiently'; *prá-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'sets out or forth'; *ví-tiṣṭh-a-te* 'stands apart'.

1.3.23 [1]prakā́śana=[2]stheya=ākhyā́yoḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 sthā́-22] when expressing the sense of (1) 'disclosing one's intention' (prakā́śana) or (2) resorting to some one as an arbitrator (stheya=ākhyā́).

jāyā́ pátye tíṣṭh-a-te 'the wife discloses her inner feelings to the husband'.
tváyi tíṣṭh-a-te 'he chooses you as an arbitrator'.

1.3.24 údaḥ=án-ūrdhva-karmaṇi

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 sthā́-22] co-occurring with preverb úd-° except when expressing the sense of 'arising' (án-ūrdhva-karmaṇi).

gehe út-tiṣṭh-a-te 'strives in the house', but *ā́sanād út-tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'rises or gets up from the seat'.

1.3.25 úpāt=mantra-karaṇé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 sthā́-22] when co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° to denote the sense of 'adore with the recitation of sacred hymns (mantra-karaṇé)'.

aindryā́ gā́rhapatyam úpa-tiṣṭh-a-te 'worships the Gā́rhapatya Fire with Aindrī hymns', but *bhártāram úpa-tiṣṭh-a-ti yauvanéna* 'approaches the husband with her youth'.

1.3.26 a-karmákāt=ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 sthā́-22 co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° 25] when it is intransitive also (akarmákāt=ca).

yāvad-bhuktám úpa-tiṣṭh-a-te 'is present at every meal', but *rā́jānam úpa-tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'approaches the king'.

1.3.27 ¹úd-²víbhyām tapaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] tap- 'shine upon, heat' (I 1034), co-occurring with the preverbs úd- °, ví- ° [when it is intransitive 26].

táp-a-ti : út-tap-a-te, ví-tap-a-te 'shines', but *út-tap-a-ti pr̥ṣṭhám ravíḥ* 'the sun warms up the back'.

1.3.28 ā́Ṅo ¹yama-²hanaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] yam- 'restrain, stretch' (I 1033) and han- 'kill, injure' (II 2), co-occurring with the preverb ā́Ṅ- ° [as intransitive verbal stems 26].

Both verbs belong to the Parasmaipadá class: **yam+Śap+tiP = yácch-a-ti* (7.3.77) : *ā́-yacch-a-te* 'extends, spreads, streches'; **han+∅¹+ta = ā́-ha∅+te* (6.4.37) *ā́-ha-te* 'strikes, injures' (when no object follows). But when they are transitive: *ā́-yacch-a-ti kū́pād rájjum* 'draws up the rope from the well'; *ā́-han-ti vr̥ṣalám pādéna* 'kicks the thief with the foot'.

1.3.29 sámo ¹gami=²ŕ̥cchi̱-³pracchi̱-⁴svárati=⁵árti-⁶śru-⁷vídi̱bhyaḥ

[Ātmanepadá endings are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gam- 'go' (I 1031), r̥ch- 'go, faint, become hard or stiff' (VI 15), prach- 'ask' (VI 120), svr̥- 'sound' (I 979), r̥- 'go' (III 16), śru- 'listen' (I 989) and víd- 'know' (II 55) when co-occurring with the preverb sám- °

The original reading of this sūtra is [sámo gami̱=ŕ̥cchibhyām] while the additions have been made by a vārttika to this rule; the present reading is according to Kāśikā.

1. *gácch-a-ti: sáṁ-gacch-a-te* 'joins, goes together'.
2. *r̥cch-a-ti : sám-r̥cch-a-te* 'goes, faints'.
3. *pŕ̥cch-a-ti* (6.1.16) : *sám-pr̥cch-a-te* 'asks [when not followed by an object 26].
4. *svár-a-ti : sáṁ-svar-a-te* 'sounds, afflicts'. *íyar-ti* (3.1.29) : *sám-ar-anta* 'they attained'. *śr̥-ṇó-ti : sám-śr̥-ṇu-te* (3.1.74) 'hears'. *vét-ti : saṁ-vid-ate* 'they realize'.

1.3.30 [1]ní-[2]sám-[3]úpa-[4]víhhyo hvaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] hve(Ñ) 'challenge, call' (I 1057) when co-occurring with the preverbs ní-°, sám-°, úpa-° and ví-°.

This verbal stem, with marker Ñ as IT belongs to the special class of stems after which Atm. l-substitutes are introduced when the result of the action is intended for the agent (72 below), but by this rule, when co-occurring with these preverbs, Atm. l-substitutes are introduced even when the fruit of the action is not so intended.

hváy-a-ti/hváy-a-te : but *ní-hvay-a-te* 'invokes'; *sám-hvay-a-te* 'shouts together'; *úpa-hvay-a-te* 'invites'; *ví-vhya-a-te* 'invites'.

1.3.31 spardhā́yām ā́Ṅaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 hve(Ñ) 30] co-occurring with the preverb ā́Ṅ-° to denote 'a challenge' (spardhā́).

ā́-hvay-a-te 'challenges'.

1.3.32 [1]gándhana=[2]avakṣépaṇa-[3]sévana-[4]sā́hasikya-[5]pratiyatná-[6]prakáthana=[7]upayogéṣu kr̥Ñaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kr̥Ñ 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) when it expresses the sense of (1) divulging (gándhana), (2) reviling (avakṣépaṇa), (3) serving (sévana), (4) violent action (sā́hasikya), (5) transformation (pratiyatná), (6) recitation (prakáthana) and (7) performance of a religious action (upayogá).

Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced without exception even when the result of the action is not intended for the agent.

1. *út-kur-u-te* (3.1.79; 6.4.110) 'informs or divulges against'.
2. *śyenó vártikām úd-ā-kur-u-te* 'the hawk overcomes the quail'.
3. *upādhyāyám úpa-kur-u-te* 'serves the teacher'.
4. *paradārā́n prá-kur-u-te* 'outrages the modesty of another's wife'.
5. *édho dakásya úpa-s-kur-u-te* (6.1.139) 'the fuel transforms the quality of water'.
6. *gā́thāḥ prá-kur-u-te* 'recites the Gs.'
7. *śatám prá-kur-u-te* 'donates a hundred (pieces for charity to earn religious merit)'.

1.3.33 ádheḥ prasáhane

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kr̥Ñ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ádhi-° to express the sense of 'overcoming' (prasáhane).

tám ádhi-kur-u-te 'overcomes him', but *ártham ádhi-kar-o-ti* 'learns the meaning'.

1.3.34 véḥ śábda-karmaṇaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kr̥Ñ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when denoting 'sound' for its object (śábda-karmaṇaḥ).

kroṣṭā́ ví-kur-u-te svarā́n 'the jackal howls'. In this rule [śábda] stands for its synonyms and not for itself as required by 1.1.68. Counter-example: *ví-kar-o-ti páyaḥ* 'curdles milk'.

1.3.35 akarmákāt=ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kr̥Ñ 32, co-occurring with the preverb ví=° 34] when it is intransitive (akarmákāt) also (ca).

saindhavā́ḥ=ví-kur-v-ate; 'the steeds move gracefully'.

1.3.36 [1]sammā́nana=[2]utsáñjana=[3]ācāryakáraṇa-[4]jñā́na-[5]bhr̥tí-[6]vigáṇana-[7]vyayéṣu niyaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] nī(Ñ) 'lead' (I 950) when it expresses the sense of (1) honor (sam-mā́nana), (2) lifting up (utsáñjana), (3) make one a spiritual guide (ācārya-káraṇa), (4) knowledge (jñā́na), (5) hiring for wages (bhr̥tí), (6) repayment of a debt (vigáṇana) and (7) giving a donation to charity (vyayá).

náy-a-ti/náy-a-te 'leads' but:

1. *śā́stré náy-a-te* 'demonstrates the truth of science'.
2. *daṇḍám ún-nay-a-te* 'lifts up or raises the staff'.
3. *māṇavakám úpa-nay-a-te* 'initiates the pupil so as to make him a teacher'.
4. *tattvám náy-a-te* 'arrives at the truth'.
5. *karmakārám úpa-nay-a-te* 'hires a servant'.
6. *kārám ví-nay-a-te* 'pays taxes'.
7. *śatám ví-nay-a-te* 'donates a hundred (pieces) in charity'.

1.3.37 kartr̥sthé ca=á-śarīre kármaṇi

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 nī(Ñ) 36] also (ca) when the incorporeal (á-śarīre) direct object (kármaṇi) resides in the agent (kartr̥-sthé).

kródham ví-nay-a-te 'subdues (one's own) anger'; but *devadattáḥ=yajñadattásya kródham ví-nay-a-ti* 'D. pacifies the anger of Y.'

1.3.38 [1]vŕ̥tti-[2]sárga-[3]tā́tyaneṣu krámaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krám- 'step up, walk' (I 562) to express the sense of (1) continuity (vŕ̥tti), (2) ardor (sárga) and (3) growth, development (tā́yana).

1. *r̥cí krám-a-te búddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the R̥gveda'.
2. *adhyáyanāya krám-a-te* 'shows ardor in study'.
3. *krámante asmín śāstrā́ṇi* 'sciences flourish in him'.

1.3.39 [1]úpa-[2]párābhyām

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám- 38] co-occurring with preverbs úpa-° and párā-° [to express the sense of (1) continuity, (2) ardor and (2) growth, development 38].

1. *r̥cí úpa-kram-a-te/párā-kram-a-te búddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the R̥gveda' as above.
2. *adhyáyanāya úpa-kram-a-te/párā-kram-a-te.*
3. *úpa-kram-ante/parā́-kram-ante asmín śāstrā́ṇi.*

The scope of 38 above is extended by this rule only to these two preverbs and confined to the meanings indicated therein; elsewhere the forms are *úpa-krām-a-ti/ párā-krām-a-ti* (7.3.75) and in these and other senses as well: *saṁ-krām-a-ti* 'transits'.

1.3.40 āṄa udgámane

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám- 38] co-occurring after the preverb ā́Ṅ-° to express the sense of 'rising (of a celestial body)' (udgámane).

ā́-kram-a-te ādityáḥ 'the sun rises'; but *ā́-krām-a-ti harmya-talā́t dhūmáḥ* 'smoke rises up from the roof of the house'.

1.3.41 véḥ pāda-viharaṇé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when expressing the sense of 'treading, placing the footstep' (pāda-viharaṇé).

áśvaḥ sādhú ví-kram-a-te 'the horse paces well'.

1.3.42 [1]prá=[2]úpābhyām sám-arthā-bhyām

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] co-occurring with preverbs prá-°, úpa-° which have the same significance (sámarthābhyām : i.e., incipient action).

bhóktum prá-kram-a-te/úpa-kram-a-te 'begins to eat'.

1.3.43 án-upasargād vā

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] optionally (vā) when it is not co-occurring after a preverb (an-upasargā́t).

krám-a-te/krā́m-a-ti (7. 2.75-6).

1.3.44 apahnavé jñaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36) to express the sense of 'denying' (apahnavé).

jā-nā́-ti 'knows', but *ápa-jā-nī-te* 'denies' as in *sahásram ápa-jā-nī-te* 'denies (the debt of) a thousand (pieces)'; counter-example: *ná tvám kím ápi jā-nā́-si* 'you do not know anything'.

1.3.45 a-karmákā=ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] also (ca) when it is intransitive (a-karmákāt).

sarpíṣo jā-nī-té 'performs a sacrifice with clarified butter'; (2.3. 51 for the use of genitive for instrumental). This is a prior exception to 76 below where these l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and the verbal stem does not co-occur with a preverb. Counter-example: *svaréṇa putrám jā-nā́-ti* recognizes the son by (his) voice'.

1.3.46 [1]sám-[2]prátibhyām án-ā-dhyāne

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] co-occurring with the preverbs sám-°, práti-°, except when expressing the sense of 'remembrance with anger' (án-ā-dhyāne).

śatam sáṁ-jā-nī-te 'seeks after a hundred (pieces)'; *sahásram prát-jā-nī-te* 'promises a thousand (pieces)', but *mātúḥ sáṁ-jā-nā-ti* 'remembers the mother with regret'.

1.3.47 [1]bhā́sana=[2]upasambhāṣā́-[3]jñāna-[4]yatná-[5]vimatí-[6]upamántraṇeṣu vadaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] vad- 'speak' (I 1058) to express the sense of (1) be brilliant (bhā́sana), (2) conciliate (upasambhāṣā), (3) know (jñāna), (4) exert (yatná), (5) disagreement (vimatí) and (6) coaxing in secret (upamántraṇa), seduction.

1. *śāstré vád-a-te* 'excels in learning'.
2. *bhṛ́tyān úpa-vad-a-te* 'conciliates the servants'.
3. *śāstré vád-a-te* 'knows or understands the sciences'.
4. *kṣétre vád-a-te* 'exerts in the field'.
5. *kṣétre ví-vad-ante* 'they quarrel in the field'.
6. *paradārā́n úpa-vad-a-te* 'seduces another's wife in secret'.

But *kíṁcit=vád-a-ti* 'says something'.

1.3.48 vyaktávācām samuccā́raṇe

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-74] to express the sense of 'simultaneously utter' (samuccā́raṇe) in articulate speech (vyaktá-vācām).

sam-prá-vad-ante brāhmaṇā́ḥ 'the brahmins chant in chorus', but *váratanu sam-prá-vad-anti kukkuṭā́ḥ* 'Oh lovely one, the fowl are clucking simultaneously'.

1.3.49 ánor a-karmákāt

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] co-occurring with the preverb ánu-° when it is intransitive (a-karmákāt) [to denote the sense of 'simultaneously uttering articulate speech' 48].

ánu-vad-a-te kaṭháḥ kalāpasya 'the Kaṭhá expert chants in chorus with the Kalāpá expert', but *ánu-vad-a-ti vī́ṇā* 'the Vī́ṇā reverberates', or *pū́rvam evá yájur uditám ánu-vad-a-ti* 'repeats the chanting of the Yajus, chanted earlier'.

1.3.50 vibhāṣā vi-pra-lāpé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] optionally (vibhāṣā) when expressing the sense of 'contradiction' (vi-pra-lāpé) [while simultaneously uttering articulate speech 48].

vi-prá-vad-ante/vi-prá-vad-anti vaidyā́ḥ 'the doctors simultaneously contradict one another', i.e., express different diagnoses. When contradiction is not involved only Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced.

1.3.51 ávād grah

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] gr̥̄- 'swallow' (VI 117) co-occurring with the preverb áva-°.

gir-á-ti (7.1.100) : *áva-gir-a-te* 'swallows down'.

1.3.52 sámaḥ pratijñā́ne

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 gr̥̄-51] co-occurring with the preverb sám-° when expressing the sense of promise (pratijñā́ne).

sahásram sáṁ-gir-a-te 'promises to pay a thousand (pieces)'; but *sáṁ-gir-a-ti grāsám* 'swallows a mouthful'.

1.3.53 údaś cáraḥ sa-karmákāt

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° when it is transitive (sakarmákāt).

kuṭumbam úc-car-a-te 'deserts the family'; *guru-vacanám úc-car-a-te* 'transgresses the precepts of the teacher'. But *bāṣpám úc-car-a-ti* 'tear emerges'.

1.3.54 sámas tṛtī́yā-yuktāt

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 cár- 52] after the preverb sám- ° , co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet (tṛtī́yā-yuktāt = instrumental case).

> *ráthena sáṁ-car-a-te* 'rides in a coach', but *ubhaú lokaú sáṁ-car-a-ti* 'moves in both worlds'.

1.3.55 dā́Ṇás ca sā́ cét=caturty-arthé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem] dā́Ṇ 'give' (I 97) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in) the third sUP triplet 54] provided (céd) it is used in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy-arthé: dative case).

> *dāsyā́ sam-prá-yacch-a-te* (7.2.78) 'proffers money to the maid-servant (in order to seduce her)'. Here normally the dative is expected as the indirect object, but in this special sense the instrumental is used. When the instrumental does not have the sense of the dative we have: *pāṇínā sam-prá-yacch-a-ti* 'gives with the hand'.

1.3.56 úpād yamaḥ sva-karaṇé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yam- 'hold, restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverb úpa- ° to express the sense of 'espousal' (sva-karaṇé).

> *bhāryā̀m úpa-yacch-a-te* (7.3.77) 'he espouses a wife', but *devadattáh=yajnadattásya bhāryā̀m úpa-yacch-a-ti* 'D. has illicit relations with Y.'s wife'.

1.3.57 [1]jñā-[2]śru-[3]smṛ-[4]dṛśām saNaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), smṛ́- 'recollect', remember' (I 845) and dṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1057) when co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN.

1. *jñā+saN+ŚaP+te* = *jñā́-jñā+saN+a+te* (6.1.9) = *jñá-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.59) = *j0á-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.60) = *jí-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.79) = *jí-jñā-sa-te* (6.1.97) 'desires to know', contra *jā-nā́-ti*. *dhárman jí-jñā-sa-te* 'wishes to know the law'.
2. *gurúm śú-śrū-ṣa-te* 'desires to serve the teacher', contra *śṛ-ṇó-ti* (3.1.74) 'listens'.
3. *naṣṭám sú-smūr-ṣa-te* (6.4.16; 7.1.102; 8.2.77) 'wishes to remember (one's) loss' contra *smár-a-ti* remembers.

4. *nṛpám di-dṛk-ṣa-te* (8.2.36,41) 'desires to see the king'. This is a prior exception to 62 below.

1.3.58 ná=ánor jñaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes 12] are not (ná) introduced after the verbal stem jñā- 'know' (IX 36) co-occurring after the preverb ánu-° [(and) the desiderative marker saN 57].

putrám ánu-ji-jñā-sa-ti 'wishes to inquire after the son', but *dhármam jí-jñā-sa-te* (57).

1.3.59 [1]prati=[2]āṄbhyām śruvaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes 12 are not 58] introduced after the verbal stem śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989) co-occurring with the preverbs práti-°, ā́Ṅ-° [and the desiderative marker saN 57].

práti-śuśrū-ṣa-ti/ā́-śuśrū-ṣa-ti 'promises'; when [práti-, ā́Ṅ] are karma-pravacanī́yas and not preverbs, this rule does not apply (1.4.84-6,92): *devadattám práti śuśrū-ṣa-te* 'desires to serve D.'

1.3.60 śadeḥ Ś-IT-aḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] śad- 'fall, perish, decay' (VI 134) when it co-occurs with an affix with marker Ś (sā́rvadhātuka 3.4.113).

By 7.3.78 [śad-] is replaced by [śī́y-] before Ś-IT affixes: *śad+Śa+te* (3.1.77) = *śīy-á-te*, but before non-Ś-IT affixes: *śad+syá+ti* (3.1.33) = *śat-syá-ti* (8.4.55), *á-śat-sya-t, śí-śat-sa-ti*.

1.3.61 [1]mriyater [1]lUṄ-[2]lIṄoś ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verb stem 12] mṛ(Ṅ) 'die' (VI 116) [co-occurring with Ś-IT affixes 60] and (ca) also with l-substitutes of Aorist (lUṄ) and Precative (lIṄ).

In this rule lIṄ represents the Precative or Benedictive mood as it is ā́rdhadhātuka (3.4.116) and therefore not Ś-IT while l-substitutes of Optative (lIṄ) are Ś-IT and covered by the preceding rule.

By its marker [Ṅ] mṛṄ prāṇa-tyāgé it functions with the Ātm. l-substitutes, but

this rule restricts this operation only when the verbal stem co-occurs with Ś-IT affixes and with the non-Ś-IT affixes of the Aorist and Precative.

1. *mr̥+Śá+te mriy-á-te* (7.4.28).
2. *mr̥+lUṄ* = *mr̥+ta* = *mr̥+Cli+ta* (3.1.43) = *mr̥+siC+ta* (3.1.44) = *áṬ+mr̥+∅+ta* (6.4.71; 8.2.27) = *á-mr̥-ta*.
3. *mr̥+lIṄ* = *mr̥+tá* = *mr̥+sīyuṬ+suṬ+tá* (3.4.102,107) = *mr̥-sī∅-s-tá* (6.1.66) = *mr̥-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá* (8.3.59; 4.41) but *mar-i-ṣyá-ti, á-mar-i-ṣya-t*.

1.3.62 pūrvavát saNaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN under the same conditions that apply to the primitive stem which precedes it (pūrvavát).

This is a general rule valid for the whole group of verbal stems, the exceptions having been noted in specific rules; thus *ās-té* 'sits' generates the desiderative form *ās+iṬ-saN+ŚaP+te* = *ā́s-iṣ-iṣ-a-te* (6.1.2; 8.3.59) 'wishes to sit', but from *pác-a-ti : pí-pak-ṣa-ti* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'desires to cook'.

1.3.63 ām-pratyayavát kr̥Ñaḥ=anuprayogásya

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after 12] the auxiliary verbal stem (anuprayogásya) kr̥Ñ 'do, perform, make' (VIII 10) [under the same conditions that apply to the (principal) verbal stem 62] co-occurring with the affix °-ā́m (ām-pratyayavát).

By interpretation [kr̥Ñ] here is regarded as a siglum representing the verbal stems kr̥Ñ-, bhū́- and as- which serve as auxiliary verbs in generating the Periphrastic Perfect forms, with the principal verbal stem with affix °ā́m and the voice associated with that stem determines the voice of of the Periphrastic Perfect form. Thus from *édh-a-te: edh-/ā́m+kr̥+lIṬ* = *edh-ā́m+cakr-é* 'has increased'; but from *oṣ-a-ti : oṣ-ā́m+cakā́r-a* 'has burnt'.

1.3.64 [1]pra=[2]upābhyāṁ yujer á-yajña-pātreṣu

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yuj- 'join' (VII 7), co-occurring with the preverbs prá-°, úpa-° except when co-occurring with (words signifying) sacrificial vessels (yajña-pātrá).

This is a prior exception to 72 below which allows both sets of Parasmaipadá and Ātmanepadá l-substitutes under the conditions stated there. Those conditions do not obtain here. *prá-yuj+SnáM+té* (3.1.78) = *prá+yu-na-j+te* = *prá-yun∅j+te* (6.4.111) *prá-yuṅk-te* (8.2.30) 'joins'; *úpa-yuṅk-te* 'uses'; but *yajña-pātrám úpa-yunak-ti* 'uses a sarificial vessel'.

1.3.65 sámaḥ kṣṇúvaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṣṇú- 'whet, sharpen, hone' (II 28) co-occurring with the preverb sam= ° .

kṣṇú+∅¹+ti = *kṣṇaú-ti* (7.3.89) : *sáṁ-kṣṇu-te śástram* 'sharpens the weapon'.

1.3.66 bhujaḥ=án-avane

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] bhuj- 'protect; eat' (VII 17) except when expressing the sense of protection (án-avane).

bhuṅk-te 'eats' : *bhunák-ti* 'protects'.

1.3.67 Ṇer áṆau yát kárma Ṇaú cét sá kartā́ ánādhyāne

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí (1.4.52) provided the direct object (kárman) of the primitive stem (áṆi) has become the agent (kartā́) of the (derived) stem with marker Ṇí and does not signify 'remember with regret' (án-ā-dhya-ne).

Exception to 72 below. *ā́-roh-anti hastínam hasti-pakā́ḥ* 'the elephant riders mount the elephant' transforms itself into the passive construction: *ā́-roh-ya-te hastī́ hasti-pakā́n*.

1.3.68 ¹bhī-²smyor hetu-bhayé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] bhī- 'fear, be afraid' (III 2) and smi- 'smile' (I 996) [co-occurring with causative marker Ṇí 67] for expressing the fact that the fear or astonishment arises from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhayé 1.4.55).

Exception to 72 below. [ÑI-bhī-] normally takes the active while [smiṄ] takes the middle voice.

1. In the example *muṇḍó bhī-ṣ-áy-a-te* 'the shaved head frightens', *muṇḍáḥ* is the causative agent [hetú- 1.4.55] and is the source of the fear generated, but in *muṇḍáḥ kúñcikayā bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'the shaved head frightens with a bamboo shoot', the source of fear lies in the bamboo shoot and not in the shaved head. The form *bhī-ṣ-áy-a-te* is generated by 7.3.40.
2. Similarly in *jaṭiló ví-smāp-ay-a-ti* (6.1.57; 7.3.36) *rū́peṇa* 'the person with matted hair astonishes with his appearance' the word *rū́pa-* is the source.

1.3.69 ¹gṛ̥dhi-²vancyoḥ pralámbhane

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gṛ̥dh- 'covet' (IV 136) and vánc- 'go' (I 204) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí 67] to express the sense of 'deceit' (pralámbhane).

1. *māṇavakám gardh-áy-a-te* 'deceives the boy'.
2. *śíśum vañc-áy-a-te* 'deceives the child'.
3. Exceptions: *śvā́nam gardh-áy-a-ti* 'makes the dog bark', *áhim vañc-ay-a-ti* 'avoids the snake'.

1.3.70 liyaḥ ¹sam-mā́nana-²śālinī-káraṇayoś ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] lī- 'melt, cling' (IV 31, IX 31) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí 67] to express the senses of 'honor, respect' (sammā́nana) or 'subdue, humiliate' (śālinī-káraṇa) and (ca) [deceit 69].

1. *jaṭā́bhir ā́-lāp-ay-a-te* (6.1.51; 7.3.3) 'respects on account of matted hair'.
2. *śyenó vártikām úl-lāp-ay-a-te* 'the hawk subdues the quail'.
3. *kás tvā́m úl-lāp-ay-a-te* 'who is deceiving you?'.
4. counter-examples: *bālakám úl-lāp-ay-a-ti* 'makes the child lie down'.

1.3.71 mithyópapadāt kṛ̥Ñaḥ=abhyāsé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṛ̥Ñ 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí 67] and having the complementary word (upapadá) mithyā́ 'incorrect, false' to express the sense of 'repetition' (abhyāsé).

Exception to 72 below. *padám mithyā́ kār-áy-a-te* 'repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly'; but *suṣṭhu kār-ay-a-ti*.

1.3.72 svaritá-Ñ-ITaḥ kartr=abhiprāyé kriyā-phalé

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] marked with a svaritá accent or Ñ as IT, if the result of the action is intended for the agent (kartr abhiprāyé).

yáj-a-te 'performs a sacrifice for oneself', but *yáj-a-ti* 'performs a sacrifice for some one else'; similarly *pác-a-te* 'cooks for oneself', but *pác-a-ti* 'cooks for another'.

Verbal stems have either (1) exclusively Parasmaipadá l-substitutes introduced after them or (2) Ātmanepadá l-substitutes or (3) have either of them optionally. 12

above defines the class after which Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced exclusively, while the present rule specifies stems after which both sets are optionally introduced, subject to the conditions stipulated: viz. whether the action is intended for the agent or someone else. 78 below defines the class of stems after which Paras. l-substitutes are introduced exclusively. The set of rules 13-71 are exceptions to 72 where the stem is marked either with svaritá or Ñ as IT, and to 78 which is not so marked.

1.3.73 ápād vadaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] vad- 'speak' (I 1058) co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

dhána-kāmo nyāyám ápa-vad-a-te 'the wealth-seeker abuses the law (in order to gain wealth for himself)', but *ápa-vad-a-ti* (when the fruit of the action is intended for someone else).

1.3.74 ṆíCaś ca

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] co-occurring with the causative marker ṆíC also (ca) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

odanám pāc-áy-a-te 'causes food to be cooked (for himself)', but *pāc-áy-a-ti* when it is intended for others.

1.3.75 [1]sám-[2]úd=[3]ā́Ṅbhyah=yamaḥ=á-granthe

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yam- 'restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverbs sám-°, úd-°, ā́Ṅ-°, except to designate a text (á-granthe) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *indriyā́ṇi sám-yacch-a-te* 'restrains his sense organs'.
2. *bhārám úd-yacch-a-te* 'lifts up his load'.
3. *vástram ā́-yacch-a-te* 'draws out (= extends) the cloth (for himself)'.
4. counter-example: *ā́-yacch-a-ti cikitsā́m vaidyaḥ* 'the physician diligently studies (the text) on treatment (= pharmacology) [intended for others]'.

1.3.76 án-upasargāt=jñaḥ

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36) when not co-occurring with preverbs (án-upa-sargāt) [and the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

áśvam jā-nī-te 'recognizes (his) horse', but *devadattásya gā́m jā-nā́-ti* 'recognizes D.'s cow'.

1.3.77 vibhāṣā=upapadéna pratīyámāne

[Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when the fact that the action is intended for the agent 72] is indicated (pratīyámāne) by a complementary word (upa-padéna).

svám̐ káṭam kur-u-té/kar-ó-ti 'makes his own mat'. This optional rule applies to all the preceding five rules 71-76.

1.3.78 śéṣāt kartári parasmaipadám

After the remaining verbal stems (śéṣāt), when the agent (kartári) is to be denoted, Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced.

Such verbal stems are indicated in the Dhātupāṭha either with the udā́tta accent as an IT marker or by the absence of the markers Ṅ or Ñ if no reciprocal action is denoted (14). In the case of stems marked by svaritá or Ñ as IT these endings occur only when the fruit of the action is intended for others and not the agent. In all cases where particular rules have not been formulated Parsmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced. Now follow the particular rules regarding Ubhayapadíns or Ātmanepadín stems after which Paras. l-substitutes alone are introduced.

1.3.79 [1]anu-[2]párābhyām̐ kr̥Ñaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] kr̥Ñ- 'do, make, preform' (VIII 10) co-occurring with the preverbs ánu-° or párā-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

ánu-kar-o-ti 'imitates'; *párā-kar-o-ti* 'does well, excels'.

1.3.80 ¹abhí-²práti=³átibhyaḥ kṣipaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] kṣip- 'toss' (VI 5) co-occurring with the preverbs abhí-°, práti-° or áti-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

abhí-kṣip-a-ti 'throws on'; *práti-kṣip-a-ti* 'turns away'; *áti-kṣip-a-ti* 'throws beyond'.

The verbal stem is [kṣipÀ pré raṇe] with svaritá as IT marker (VI 5).

1.3.81 prā́d vahaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] vah- 'bear, carry' (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

prá-vah-a-ti 'flows', but *ā́-vah-a-te* 'brings for oneself'.

1.3.82 párer mr̥ṣaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] mr̥ṣ- 'endure, bear' (IV 55) co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

pári-mr̥ṣ-ya-ti 'endures', but *ā́-mr̥ṣ-ya-te* 'bears patiently'.

1.3.83 ¹ví-²ā́Ṅ-³páribhyaḥ=ramaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] ram- 'sport, play' (I 906) co-occurring with the preverbs ví-°, ā́Ṅ-°, or pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

rám-a-te: ví-ram-a-ti 'rests'; *ā́-ram-a-ti* 'delights'; *pári-ram-a-ti* 'sports', but *abhí-ram-a-te* 'reposes, dwells in, delights in'.

1.3.84 úpāt=ca

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram- 83] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° also (ca) [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

devadattám úpa-ram-a-ti 'causes D. to refrain' (= *úpa-ram-ay-a-ti* with implied causative sense).

1.3.85 vibhāṣā=a-karmákāt

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram- 83] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° 84] and is intransitive (akarmákāt).

bhójanād úpa-ram-a-ti/úpa-ram-a-te 'stops eating'.

1.3.86 [1]búdhA-[2]yudhA-[3]naśA-[4]jána-[5]iṄ-[6]pru-[7]dru-[8]srubhyo Ṇeḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 78] búdh- 'perceive' (I 911), budh- (IV 63), yudh- 'fight' (IV 64), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), jan- 'be born' (IV 41), iṄ- 'study' (II 37, co-occurring with preverb ádhi-°), pru- 'spring up' (I 1006), dru- 'run' (I 992) and sru- 'flow' (I 987), co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

An exception to 74 above.

1. *bodh-áy-a-ti pádmam* 'makes the lotus bloom'.
2. *káṣṭhám yodh-áy=a=ti* 'makes the bundles of firewood to strike against one another'.
3. *duḥkhám nāś-áy-a-ti* 'dispels unhappiness'.
4. *jan-áy-a-ti sukhám* 'brings in happiness'.
5. *vyākáraṇam adhy-āp-áy-a-ti* (6.1.48; 7.2.26) 'teaches grammar'.
6. *drāv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to run or melt'.
7. *srāv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to flow'.

1.3.87 [1]nigáraṇa-[2]cálana=arthebhyaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78] denoting 'swallowing' (nigáraṇa) or moving' (cálana=arthebhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *āś-áy-a-ti* 'causes to eat'.
2. *kamp-áy-a-ti* 'causes to tremble, shakes'.

1.3.88 áṆau=a-karmákāt=cittavát-kartṛkāt

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78, co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72], provided the primitive stem without

the causative marker Ṇí (áṆau) is intransitive (akarmákāt) and the agent of the action is an intelligent being (cittavát-kartr̥kāt).

. *śeté devadattaḥ* 'D. sleeps', but *śāy-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'causes D. to sleep'; *ās-té devadattaḥ* 'D. sits', but *ās-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'makes D. sit'.

1.3.89 ná [1]pā-[2]dámi̱=[3]ā́Ṅ-yamA-[4]ā́Ṅ-yasa̱-[5]pári-muha-[6]rúci̱-[7]nŕ̥ti̱-[8]vadA-[9]vasaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78] are not (ná) introduced after the verbal stems pā- 'drink' (I 872), dám- 'subdue' (IV 94), ā́+yam- 'extend' (I 1033), ā́+yas- 'exert oneself' (IV 101), pári+muh- 'be bewildered' (IV 89), rúc- 'shine' (I 781), nŕ̥t- 'dance' (IV 9), vad- 'speak' (I 1058) and vas- 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) [co-occurring with the causative marker ṆíC 86].

Exception to 87-88 above.

píb-a-ti (7.3.78) : *pā-y-áy-a-te* (7.3.37) 'causes to drink, makes one drink'; *dam-áy-a-te* 'causes to subdue': *ā́-yām-áy-a-te* 'causes to extend'; *pari-moh-ay-a-te* 'entices'; *roc-áy-a-te* 'makes agreeable'; *nart-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) dance'; *vād-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) speak'; *vās-áy-a-te* 'causes to reside'.

1.3.90 vā KyáṢaḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78] are optionally (vá) introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the affix KyáṢ (3.1.13).

lohita+KyáṢ+ŚaP+ti/te = lohitā-yá-a-ti/te (7.4.25) 'becomes red'.

1.3.91 dyudbhyo lUṄi

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the verbal stem class] whose first member is dyút- 'shine' (= I 777-99) co-occurring with the marker of the Aorist (lUṄi).

dyót-a-te : dyut+lUṄ = dyut+aṄ+t (3.1.43) = *áṬ+dyut-a-t* (6.4.71) = *á-dyut-a-t*, but before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes *á+dyut+iṬ-siC+ta* (3.1.44; 7.2.35) = *á-dyot-i-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59; 4.41).

1.3.92 vŕ̥dbhyaḥ [1]sya-[2]saNoḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the class of verbal stems] whose first member is vŕ̥t- 'exist' (= I 795-8) co-occurring with the markers syá and saN (respectively of the Future/Conditional and the desiderative derived stem).

várt-a-te : *vart-i-ṣyá-te/ti; á-vart-i-ṣya-ta/t; vr̥t+saN+ŚaP+ti/ta* = *ví-vr̥t-sa-ti/vívart-i-ṣa-te* (1.2.10; 7.2.59).

1.3.93 lUṬi ca kl̥p-aḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78 are optionaly 90 introduced] after the verbal stem kl̥p- 'be able' (I 799) co-occurring with the marker of lUṬ (= tā́s 3.1.33) and (ca) [markers syá and saN 92].

1. *kl̥p+tā́s+miP/iṬ = kalp-tā́s-mi/°tāh-é.*
2. *kl̥p+syá+tiP/te = kalp-syá-ti/-te; á-kalp-sya-t/ta.*
3. *kl̥p+saN+ŚaP+tiP/te = cí-kl̥p-sa-ti/cíkalp-i-ṣa-te.*

1.4.1 ā́ káḍārāt=ékā saṁjñā́

(In this section, beginning with this sū́tra) and ending with [káḍārāḥ karmadhārayé 2.2.38] only one (ékā) technical term (saṁjñā) applies (to a given item).

Thus 10 below defines the t.t. [laghú-] as a short vowel (hrasvá) (1.2.28) but the t.t. [gurú-] is defined as a long vowel (12) as well as a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus (11). Since two t.tt. now apply to a short vowel, viz. [laghú-, gurú-] only one of them can apply. This is provided by the following sūtra.

1.4.2 vipratiṣedhé páram kāryàm

When there is incompatibility (vipratiṣedhé) [between two rules which can equally apply in a given domain] what is provided by the subsequent rule (páram) should operate (kāryàm).

1. Since the short vowel has the option of two technical terms, a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus is uniquely [gurú] by this rule. The normal procedure adopted in framing the rules is to state the general rule (utsargá) first and the exception (apavādá) next, which blocks the utsargá within its particular domain.
2. There has been much discussion about the domain of this metarule as governed by the preceding rule. Patañjali and the later Pāṇinī́yas extend this metarule over the whole of the corpus of Aṣṭ., and not up to the end of the second pādá of the second chapter (i.e., from 1.1.1 to 8.1.74), and where this fails in a few instances, the word [pára-] is rendered by interpretation to mean [iṣṭá- 'desired'] as leading to realizing the correct surface form.
3. 6.1.77 [iKo ya̱Ṇ aCi] rules in that the vowels [i,u,r̥,l̥] are replaced by the corresponding semi-vowels [y,v,r,l] before a vowel (aCi), while 6.1.101 [aKaḥ sávarṇe dīrgháḥ] rules in that the vowels [a,i,u,r̥,l̥] and the following homogeneous vowels are both replaced by the corresponding long vowel. In the example *dádhi+idám* both 77 and 101 situations apply equally since the bracketed word homogeneous (sávarṇe) is not a part of the utsargá or general rule 77, but by this metarule 101 uniquely applies.

1.4.3 yū strī=akhyaú nadī́

(The t.t. [saṁjñā́ 1]) nadī́ designates uniquely feminine (strī=ākhyaú) nominal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the long vowels -ī or -ū.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.153; 6.1.173; 2.109; 3.44; 7.1.54,80; 3,107,112,116.
2. In its non-technical sense of 'river' occurs in 2.1.20; 4.7; 4.1.113; 2.88,97.
3. Examples of nadī́ type feminines: *nadī́* 'river', *vadhū́* 'daughter-in-law' which are uniquely feminine; exceptions are *grama-ṇī́* m.f. 'village head', *khala-pū́* m.f. 'sweeper' which are not uniquely feminine.

1.4.4 ná=iyaṄ=uváṄ-sthānau=á-strī

[The t.t. nadī́ 3] does not (ná) denote [uniquely feminine stems ending in long vowels -ī or -ū 3] if these endings are subject to replacement by -iy and -uv (respectively 1.3.10) [iyaṄ=uváṄ-sthānau] with the exception of the nominal stem strī́.

śrī́ f. 'glory', *bhrū́* f. 'eye-brow' are examples of this class: nom. voc. sing. *śrī́ḥ*, voc. sing. *bhrū́ḥ*, nom. voc. acc. dual *śríy-au, bhrúv-au* contra *nadī́+sU* = *nadī́+∅* (6.1.68); *nadī́+au* = *nady-au*; *nadī́+sU* (voc.) = *nádi+sU* (7.2.107) = *nádi+∅* (6.1.69) = *nádi*. Similarly voc. sing. (*he*) *strí*.

1.4.5 vā=āmi

[The t.t. nadī́ 3] optionally (vā) denotes [uniquely feminine stems ending in -ī or -ū 3 which are subject to replacement by -iy, -uv respectively 4] before the sUP triplet ām (6th or genitive plural).

śrī+ām = *śriy-ā́m* / *śrī-nuM+ām* (7.1.54) = *śrī-ṇ-ā́m* (8.4.2). *bhrū+ām* = *bhruv-ā́m* / *bhrū-ṇ-ā́m*.

1.4.6 ṄIT-i hrasváś ca

[The t.t. nadī́ 3 optionally 5 denotes uniquely feminine stems (ending in 1.1.72)] short vowels [-i, -u 3] and (ca) [those which end in long -ī, -ū 3 and are subject to replacement respectively by -iy, -uv 4] before sUP triplets with marker Ṅ as IT (= Ṅe, ṄasI, Ṅas and Ṅi).

1. *gáti-* f. 'movement', *dhenú-* f. 'cow': *gáti+Ṅe* = *gáte+e* (7.3.111) = *gátay-e* (6.1.78) / *gáti+āT+Ṅe* (7.3.112) = *gáty-ai* (6.1.88); similarly *gáti+Ṅas(I)* = *gáte+as* = *gáteḥ* (6.1.110)/ *gáty-āḥ; gati+Ṅi* = *gáta+au* (7.3.118-19) *gát-au* / *gáti+āT+ām* (7.3.112,116) = *gáty-ām; dhenáv-e, dhenóḥ, dhenaú* / *dhenv-aí, dhenvā́ḥ, dhenv-ā́m*.
2. *śriy-é/śriy-aí.*

1.4.7 śéṣo GHI=á-sakhi

(The t.t.) GHI denotes the remainder (śéṣaḥ) [= stems (ending in 1.1.72) short -i, -u which are not uniquely feminine, as well as uniquely feminine stems which are not covered by the t.t. nadī́] with the exception of sákhi- 'companion'.

agní- m. 'fire', *vāyú-* m. 'wind' are examples of this class, while *gáti-, dhenú-* which

are feminine but not members of the nadī́-class, are also members of this class, but , optionally belong to the nadī́-class before Ṅ-marked sUP triplets.

1.4.8 pátiḥ samāsé=evá

[The t.t. GHI 7] denotes the nominal stem páti- 'protector' when it occurs (at the end of) a compound (samāsé) only (evá).

páti+Ṅe = páty-e (6.1.77) *prajā-patí+Ṅe = prajā-paté+Ṅe = prajā-patáy-e* (6.1.78); *páti+Ṭā = páty-ā; prajā-patí+Ṭā = prajā-patí-nā* (7.3.120).

1.4.9 ṣaṣṭhī́-yuktaś chándasi vā

[The t.t. GHI 7] optionally (vā) denotes [the nominal stem páti-] co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī́-yuktaḥ) in the domain of Chándas.

kuluñcā́-n-ām pátay-e námaḥ 'homage to the lord of Kuluñcás'; *kṣétrasya páti-nā vayám* 'we, with the master of the field'.

1.4.10 hrasvám laghú

(The t.t.) laghú denotes a short (hrasvá) vowel (1.2.28).

1. A distinction is made here between a short (hrasvá) vowel and a metrically light (laghú) vowel. Whereas the absolute values of the vowel class are defined as one mora for the short, two for the long and three for the prolated, the concept of light (laghú) and heavy (gurú) has relevance only to the context of situation.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 5.1.131; 6.4.56-61; 7.2.7,94; 3.86; 4.93; 8.3.18.

1.4.11 saṁyogé gurú

(The t.t.) gurú denotes [a short vowel (hrasvá) 10] before a cluster (of consonants 1.1.7 saṁyogé).

1. The word [gurú] indicates a metrically heavy syllable. In the expression *agní-* m. 'fire', the initial phoneme (vowel) is gurú since it is followed by two consonants; similarly in the expression *mitrá-* n. 'friend' and in *yuddhá-* n. 'war strife' , *vr̥ddhá-* mfn. 'grown', *kl̥ptá-* mfn. 'formed, effected', the short vowels (hrasvá) are metrically heavy (gurú) in the context of being followed by consonant nexi.

1.4.12 dīrghám̐ ca

[The t.t. gurú 11] also (ca) denotes a long (dīrghá) vowel (1.2.28).

In the expression *īhā* f. 'desire' both vowels are metrically heavy (gurú) as the sonant vowel is in *pitṝn*.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.103; 4.1.78; 5.1.132; 8.2.86.

1.4.13 yásmāt pratyaya-vidhís tád-ādi pratyayé=áṅgam

In a unit after which (yásmāt) an affix is introduced (pratyaya-vidhíḥ), the unit beginning with that is denoted by the t.t. áṅga before that affix (pratyayé).

1. In the three-fold set-up of the Aṣṭ. consisting of nominal and verbal stems [prātipadiká 1.2.45, dhā́tu 1.3.1; 3.1.32 and affixes (pratyayá) 3.1.1ff.] the nominal or verbal pre-affixal stem after which the affixes are introduced is defined by this t.t. Since a sentence (vākyà), the unit of thought in articulate speech, is analyzed into its component units consisting of a concatenation of stems and affixes, the pre-affixal base (whether nominal or verbal) requires a single t.t. for indicating the morpho-phonological processes needed to generate the sentences. It will be seen that these stems, under defined situations, have technical terms associated with them; besides [áṅga] defined here, we have [padá 14] and [bhá 18] below.
2. The 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (lAṬ) form *su-nó-ti*, dual *su-nu-tás, su-* 'distil' is an áṅga before the class marker [Śnú] (= nú-), and the theme *su+nú-* is also an áṅga before the sUP triplets [tiP, tás].
3. As a t.t. occurs in 4.2.72; 6.4.1-7.4.97; 8.2.27; 3.78.

1.4.14 sUP-tíṄ=antam padám

[The t.t. 1] padá denotes an item terminating in (°-antam) (nominal ending) sUP or (l-substitute) tiṄ triplet.

1. In *hára+sU, hára+s* is a [padá], and so also *hará+am = harám, haréṇa, haréṣu* etc.
2. In *bhū́+ŚaP+tiP = bhó+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78), *bháv-a-ti* is a padá, and so also *bháv-a-tas, bháv-a+anti = bháv-a-nti* (6.1.97) are padás.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.1; 3.1.119; 8.1.16; 3.57; 4.1.38.

1.4.15 naḥ Kyé

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme n before affix Kyá (= KyáṄ 3.1.11, KyáC 3.1.8 and KyáṢ 3.1.13).

1. *rā́jan+KyáṄ+ŚaP+tá* = *rā́jaØ+yá+tá* (8.2.7) = *rājā-yá+ta* (7.4.25) = *rājā-yá-te* (3.4.79). By 18 below, normally a pre-affixal stem is defined as BHA before initial [y-°] of an affix, so this is a prior exception to that rule.
2. *rā́jan+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *rājaØ+yá-ti* (8.2.7) = *rājī-yá-ti* (7.4.23) 'treats like royalty'.
3. *várman+KyáṢ+ŚaP+tiP* = *varmaØ+yá+ti* (8.2.7) = *varmā́-ya-ti* (7.4.25) 'becomes like a coat of mail'.

1.4.16 S-IT-i ca

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] also (ca) denotes an item before an affix with marker S as IT.

bhávat+chaS (4.2.115) = *bhavat+ī́ya-* (7.1.2) = *bhavad-ī́ya-* 'your honor's'; voicing of an unvoiced consonant can only take place at the end of a padá (8.2.39).

1.4.17 sÚ=ādiṣu=á-sarvanamasthāne

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] denotes an item before the class of affixes whose first member is the sUP triplet sU (4.1.2) excluding those denoted by (the t.t. 1) sarvanāma-sthāná (= sUṬ 1.1.43 and Śi 1.1.42 = strong case affixes).

1. All affixes are dealt with in the three chapters of Aṣṭ. (3-5) and this class of affixes benning with sU (4.1.2) extends up to affix kaP (5.4.151).
2. *rā́jan+bhyām* = *rā́jaØ+bhyām* (8.2.7) = *rā́ja-bhyām*.

1.4.18 y-aCi BHAm

[The t.t. 1] BHA denotes an item before an affix with initial semivowel [y-°] or any vowel (aC).

1. *rā́jan+Śas* = *rā́jØn+as* (6.4.134) = *rā́jñ-as* = *rā́jñ-aḥ* (8.3.15); similarly *rā́jan+Ṅe* = *rā́jñ-e*, *rā́jan+Ṅas(I)* = *rā́jñ-as* = *rā́jñ-aḥ*.
2. *kata+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *kā́tØ-ya-* (6.4.148) 'gotra descendant of Kata'; since [t of kātØ] is not at the end of a padá by its being a BHA 8.2.39 is blocked.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 6.4.22-128; 129-75; 7.1.88; 8.2.79.

1.4.19 [1]ta̱-[2]sa̱u̱ matU=arthe

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phonemes (°-t, °-s) before an affix having the meaning of affix matU(P) (5.2.94).

vidyút+matUP = *vidyút+vatUP* (8.2.10) = *vidyút-vat-* 'possessed of lightning'; note that the stem-final unvoiced stop is not replaced by the voiced as required by 8.2.39 because the preaffixal stem is BHA and not a padá.

yáśas+vín- (5.2.121) = *yaśas-vín-* 'glorious' where stem-final [s] is not replaced by [rU] (according to 8.2.66).

1.4.20 ayasmaya=ādīni chándasi

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes the stem in the class of expressions whose first member is ayas-máya- 'made of metal (or iron)' before affixes introduced after them, in the domain of Chándas.

Some of these function as though both t.tt. apply to the pre-affixal stem: in [ayas-máya-] the pre-affixal stem functions like a BHA while in *ŕ̥c+vatUP* = *ŕ̥k-vat-* 'praising', the pre-affixal stem functions first as a padá in replacing the palatal stop by the corresponding velar unvoiced stop: *ŕ̥c+vat-* = *ŕ̥k-vat-* (8.2.30) and it then functions like a BHA stem in blocking out the operation of 8.2.39 which would have required *ŕ̥k : ŕ̥g* transformation.

1.4.21 bahúṣu bahu-vacanám

[The t.t. 1] bahu-vacaná 'plural' denotes plurality (bahúṣu) of units [functioning as subjects (kartŕ̥-) or objects (kárman-)].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.102; 4.3.100; 6.2.34; 7.3.103; 8.1.21; 2.28; 1.2.58,63.
2. By 4.1.2 a set of 21 affixes are introduced after nominal stems, divided into seven triplets; similarly by 3.4.78 a set of 18 affixes are introduced as replacements for the l-members (denoting tenses and moods), consisting of two sets of three triplets each. 102 below uses the three t.tt. [ekavacaná 'singular', dvi-vacaná 'dual' and bahuvacaná 'plural'] to denote the three members of each of these triplets. The present and the following sū̃tras define the meaning of these terms; [bahuvacaná] here denotes the third member of each of these triplets. Sanskrit is the only Indo-European language to maintain the system of three numbers throughout its history. Ex. *brāhmaṇá+Jas véda+am páṭh+ŚaP+jhi* = *brāhmaṇā́s* (6.1.102) *vḗdam* (6.1.107) *páṭh-a-anti* (7.1.2) = *páṭhanti* (6.1.97) = *brāhmaṇā́(∅)* (8.2.66; 2.17,22) *vḗdam páṭh-anti* 'brahmins recite the Veda'.

1.4.22 [1]dvi=[2]ekáyor [1]dvi-vacana=[2]eka-vacané

[The t.tt. 1] dvi-vacaná 'dual' and eka-vacaná 'singular' respectively (1.3.10) denote duality and singularity of units [functioning as subjects or objects].

1. *dví+au* = *dvá+au* (7.2.102) = *dvaú* (6.1.88,104) *hásta+au* = *hástau* (6.1.88,104) 'two hands'.
2. *ékā+sU nā́sikā+sU* = *ékā+∅ nā́sikā+∅* (6.1.68) = *ékā nā́sikā* 'one nose'.
3. *vidyút+sU pát+ŚaP+tiP* = *vidyút+∅ pát-a-ti* = *vidyút pát-a-ti* 'lightning falls'.
4. As a t.t. dvivacaná occurs in 1.1.11; 5.3.57; 7.1.77; 2.88,92; ekavacaná occurs in 1.2.61; 4.102; 2.3.49; 4.1; 5.4.43; 7.1.32; 2.87; 8.1.22.

1.4.23 kā́rake

In the domain of Kā́raka.

1. This is an adhikārá (1.3.11) 'governing rule' beginning here and extending up to 55 below. Since the principal meaning of an utterance is an action denoted by a verbal stem, those things which bring about the development of that action are referred to by this term. Six of these are enumerated below: apādā́na (24) 'point of departure'; sampradā́na (32) 'point of arrival'; kárana (42) 'instrument'; adhikárana (45) 'locus, sub-stratum'; kárman (49) 'direct object' and kartṝ (54) 'agent' and hetú (55) as 'causal agent' as its sub-type. The relationship between two or more kā́rakas can only occur through an action of which they are different kā́rakas. Thus, with the exception of the sixth or genitive (ṣaṣṭhī́) case, all the remaining sets of sUP triplets are kā́raka-forming affixes.
2. By the fact of this being a governing rule, the word [kā́rake] will recur in all subsequent rules of this sub-section.

1.4.24 dhruvám apāyé=apādā́nam

[The t.t. 1] apādā́na 'ablation' denotes [that kā́raka 23] which functions as a stable point (dhruvám) with respect to a movement away from itself (apāyé), i. e., a point of departure.

grā́ma+ṄasI = grā́ma+āt (7.1.12) = *grā́m-āt ā́-gacch-a-ti* 'comes from the village'; *párvat-āt=áva-roh-a-ti* 'descends from the hill'.

1.4.25 [1]bhī-[2]trā́-arthānām bhaya-hetúḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes a cause of fear (bhaya-hetúḥ) with reference to actions denoted by the verbal stems expressing fear (bhī-) or protection (trā́=arthānām).

1. *vṝka+bhyas =vṝke-bhyas* (7.3.103) *bí-bhe-ti* 'is afraid of wolves, fears from wolves'.
2. *vṝke-bhyas trā́y-a-te* 'protects from wolves'.

1.4.26 párā-jer á-soḍhaḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes what is unbearable (asoḍháḥ) with reference to the verbal stem párā+ji- 'overcome'.

adhyáyanāt párā-jay-a-te 'is overwhelmed by study', but *śátrūn párā-jay-a-te* 'overcomes enemies'.

1.4.27 vā́raṇa=arthānām īpsitáḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes what [an agent desires to reach (īpsitáḥ)] by means of actions meaning 'ward off' (vā́raṇa-arthānām).

yávebhyo gā́m vār-áy-a-ti 'wards off the cow from the barley (field)', but *gā́m vār-ay-a-ti kṣétre* 'wards off the cow in the field'.

1.4.28 antardhaú yéna á-darśanam iccháti

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes (the person) by whom (yéna) the agent wishes not to be seen (á-darśanam iccháti) when concealment (antaradhaú) is indicated (by the verbal stem).

upādhyāyā́t antárdhatte/ní-lī-ya-te 'hides from the teacher'.

1.4.29 ākhyātā́=upayogé

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes a reciter (**ākhyātā́**) where instruction is signified (upayogé) (by the verbal stem).

upādhyāyā́d ádhī-te/ā́-gam-ay-a-ti 'learns from the teacher'.

1.4.30 jani-kartúḥ prakṛ́tiḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes the source (prakṛ́tiḥ) from which the agent (kártṛ) of the verbal stem jan- 'be born' (IV 41) evolves.

śṛ́ṅgāt śaró jā-yá-te 'the arrow is produced from the horn'.

1.4.31 bhuváḥ prabhaváḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādā́na 24 kā́raka 23] denotes the source (prabhaváḥ) of the [agent 30] of the verbal stem bhū́- 'become' (I 1).

himávato gáṅgā prá-bhav-a-ti 'the river Ganges originates in the snow-clad mountain'.

As a t.t. apādā́na occurs in 3.4.52,74; 5.4.45; 8.2.48.

1.4.32 kármaṇā yám abhi-praíti sá sampradā́nam

[The t.t. 1] sampradā́na [kā́raka 23] denotes one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient (abhi-praí-ti) through the object (kármaṇā) of the action (of giving).

devadattā́ya gā́m dá-dā-ti 'gives a cow to D.' Here the object of the verb is the cow and the goal is Devadattá; in general sampradā́na is the indirect object.

1.4.33 rúci=arthānām prīyámāṇaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes one who is pleased (prīyámāṇaḥ) in relation to the verbal stem having the sense of 'to please' (rúci=arthānām).

devadattā́ya módako róc-a-te 'D. likes sweetmeats'.

1.4.34 [1]ślā́gha-[2]hnuṄ-[3]sthā-[4]śapām jñīpsyámānaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes one who is to be informed (jñīpsyámānaḥ) in relation to the verbal stems ślā́gh- 'praise' (I 118), hnuṄ 'hide' (II 72), sthā- 'express one's desire' (I 975) and śap- 'swear, curse' (I 1049).

1. *devadattā́ya ślā́gh-a-te* 'praises D. (and shows it to him)'.
2. *gopī́ kṛṣṇā́ya hnu-té* 'the gopī́ hides K. (from his co-wives and shows it to him)'.
3. *tíṣṭh-a-te* (1.3.23) *kanyā́ chāttrā́ya* 'the maiden reveals (her desires) to the pupil'.
4. *devadattā́ya śáp-a-ti* 'swears at or reviles D.'

1.4.35 dhārér uttamarṇáḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes a creditor (uttamarṇáḥ) in relation to the causative verbal stem dhār-í- 'owe' (VI 119+ṆíC).

devadattā́ya śatám dhār-áy-a-ti 'owes D. a hundred pieces'.

1.4.36 spṛhér īpsitáḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes the object desired (īpsitáḥ) in relation to the verbal stem spṛh- 'yearn for' (X 325).

phálebhyaḥ spṛh-áy-a-ti 'yearns for fruit'.

1.4.37 ¹krudhÁ-²druhÁ-³ī́rṣyÁ=⁴asūyā́nām

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes one towards whom (yám práti) anger (kópa) is felt in relation to the verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' (IV 82), druh- 'injure' (IV 88), īrṣy- 'not tolerate' (I 544) and asūy- 'find fault with'.

1. *devadattā́ya krudh-yá-ti* 'is angry with Devadatta'.
2. *devadattā́ya druh-yá-ti* 'injures D.'
3. *devadattā́ya ī́rṣy-a-ti* 'does not tolerate D.'
4. *yajñadattā́ya asūy-a-ti* 'finds fault with Y.'

1.4.38 ¹krudhÁ-²druhor úpasṛṣṭayoḥ kárma

[The t.t. 1] kárman (49 below) [kā́raka 23] denotes one [towards whom anger is felt 37] in relation to verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' and druh- 'injure' when they co-occur with preverbs (úpasṛṣṭayoḥ).

devadattám abhí-krudh-ya-ti 'is angry towards D.'
yajñadattám abhí-druh-ya-ti 'injures Y.'

1.4.39 ¹rādh-²īkṣyor yásya vipraśnáḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes one about whom (yásya) there is a questioning or inquiry (vipraśnáḥ) in relation to the verbal stems rādh- 'satisfy' (IV 71) and ī́ks- 'look' (I 641).

1. *devadattā́ya rādh-yá-ti* 'casts D's horoscope'.
2. *yajñadattā́ya īkṣ-a-te* 'looks into Y's horoscope'.

1.4.40 ¹práti=²ā́Ṅbhyāṁ śruváḥ pū́rvasya kartā́

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes the agent (kartā́) of the previous act (pū́rvasya) (of requesting) in relation to the verbal stems śru- 'listen, hear'; (I 989) co-occurring with preverbs práti-° or ā́Ṅ-° (and meaning 'promise').

The agent of the previous act (of requesting) is one who makes the request or demand, in response to which the subsequent promise is made. *devadattā́ya gā́m práti-śṛ-ṇo-ti/ā́-śṛ-ṇo-ti* '(on demand or request) promises a cow to D.'

1.4.41 ¹anu-²prati-gr̥̄ṇaś ca

[The t.t. 1 sampradā́na 32 kā́raka 23] denotes also (ca) [the agent of the previous act 46] (of uttering a praise) in relation to the verbal stem gr̥̄́- (IX 28) co-occurring with the preverbs ánu-° and práti-° meaning 'answer or respond to praise'.

hótre ánu-gr̥̄-ṇā-ti/práti-gr̥̄-ṇā-ti 'he responds to the Hótr̥ by praising in chorus'.

As a technical term occurs in 2.3.13,61; 3.4.73.

1.4.42 sā́dhakatamam káraṇam

(The t.t. 1) káraṇa (kā́raka 23) denotes the means par excellence (sā́dhaka-tamam) (in relation to the verbal stem).

asínā vyāghrám hán-ti [*asi+Ṭā* = *asi+nā* 7.3.120] 'kills a tiger with a sword'; *paraśú-nā kāṣṭhám chi-nát-ti* 'cuts the log with an axe'.

1.4.43 diváḥ kárma ca

[The t.t. káraṇa 43 kā́raka 23] as well as (ca) kárman (49 below) [kā́raka 23] denote [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the verbal stem dív- 'gamble, sport' (IV 1).

akṣaíḥ/akṣā́n dī́v-ya-ti 'gambles with dice'.

1.4.44 pari-kráyaṇe sampradā́nan anyatárásyām

[The t.t. 1] sampradā́na [kā́raka 23] optionally (anya-tarásyām) denotes [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the act of hiring (pari-kráyaṇe).

When this option is not operating the normal káraṇa kā́raka prevails: *śatā́-ya/śaténa pári-krītaḥ* 'hired for a hundred pieces'.

As a t.t. occurs in 3.1.102; 2.45,56,85,182; 3.82,117; 4.37; 4.4.97; 6.1.20; 4.27; 8.4.10; 2.3.18,33,51,63; 2.1.32; 4.1.50.

1.4.45 ādhāráḥ=adhikáraṇam

[The t.t. 1] adhikáraṇa [kā́raka 23] denotes the locus or substratum (ādhāráḥ).

káṭa+Ṅi = *káṭe=ā́s-te* 'sits on the mat'; *sthālī́+Ṅi=sthālī+āṬ+ām* (7.3.112,116) = *sthāly-ā́m pác-a-ti* 'cooks in the pot'.

1.4.46 ¹ádhi-śīṄ-²sthā=³āsāṁ kárma

[The t.t. 1] kárman (49 below) [kā́raka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stems śī́Ṅ- , 'lie down, sleep' (II 22), sthā- 'stay, stand' (I 975) and ā́s- 'sit' (II 11) all co-occurring with the preverb ádhi- ° .

grā́mam ádhi-śe-te 'lies down in the village'.
grā́mam ádhi-tiṣṭh-a-ti 'remains in the village'.
grā́mam ádhy-ās-te 'settles in the village'.

1.4.47 abhi-ní-viśaś ca

[The t.t. 1 kárman 49 kā́raka 23] also (ca) denotes [the locus or substatum 45] in relation to the verbal stem viś- 'enter' (VI 136) co-occcurring with the preverb abhi-ní- ° .

grā́mam abhi-ní-viś-a-ti 'enters the village'.

1.4.48 ¹úpa=²ánu=³ádhi-⁴ā́Ṅ-vasaḥ

[The t.t. 1 kárman 49 kā́raka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stem vas- 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) co-occurring with the preverbs úpa- ° , ánu- ° , ádhi- ° or ā́Ṅ- ° .

grā́mam úpa-vas-a-ti / *ánu-vas-a-ti* / *ádhi-vas-a-ti* / *ā́-vas-a-ti séná* 'the army remains at the village'.

1.4.49 kartúr īpsitátamam kárma

[The t.t. 1] kárman (kā́raka 23) denotes what the agent (kartúr) most desires to reach (īpsitá-tamam) (through his action).

1. *káṭa+am* = *káṭam* (6.1.97) *kar-ó-ti* 'makes a mat'; *pátram likh-á-ti* 'writes a letter'.

1.4.50 tathā-yuktáṁ ca=án-ipsītam

[The t.t. 1 kárman 49 kā́raka 23] also (ca) denotes what is so connected (tathā-yuktám) (with the agent's action like kárman) whether the agent wishes to reach or not (án-īpsitam).

víṣam bhakṣ-áy-a-ti 'eats poison'; *caurā́n páśy-a-ti* 'sees the thieves'; *grā́mam gácchan vṛkṣa-mūlā́ni úpa-sarp-a-ti* 'going to the vilage, meets with (protruding) roots of trees'.

1.4.51 á-kathitaṁ ca

[The t.t. 1 kárman 49 kā́raka 23] also (ca) denotes [that kā́raka to which no other kā́raka name 23] is assigned (á-kathitam) [from 24ff.].

In the example *gā́m dóg-dhi páyaḥ* [*duh+∅*[1]*+ti* = *dogh+ti* 8.2.32 = *dogh+dhi* 8.2.40 = *dog-dhi* 8.4.53] 'milks the cow', the cow is an optional object to which no other kā́raka name such as [apādā́na 24] etc, has been assigned, and therefore is assigned to this kā́raka, while the word for milk is what the agent most wishes to reach. This sentence can alternatively be expressed by **gó+Ṅasl* = *gó+as* = *gós* (6.1.110) = *góḥ* (8.3.15) *páyo dóg-dhi*.

Verbs of this type are designated [dvi-karmá-ka] 'having two objects (kárman)'; in addition to [duh-] 'milk' (II 4), we have the following stems belonging to this category: [yā́c] 'beg' (I 916), [pác-] 'cook' (I 187), [daṇḍ-] 'punish' (X 381), [rudh-] 'obstruct' (VII 1), [prach-] 'ask' (VI 120), [ci-] 'gather' (V 5), [brū-] 'speak' (II 35), [śā́s-] 'instruct' (II 66), [jí-] 'conquer' (I 593,993), [máth-] 'churn' (I 901), [muṣ-] 'steal' (IX 58), [nī-] 'lead' (I 950), [hṛ-] 'carry' (I 947), [kṛṣ-] 'draw, drag' (I 1039, VI 6), and [vah-] 'carry' (I 1053).

Exx.: (a) *balím yā̆c-á-te vasudhā́m* 'begs Bali for the earth'; (b) *taṇḍulā́n odanám pác-a-ti* 'cooks rice'; (c) *gargā̆n śatám daṇḍ-áy-a-ti* 'punishes the descendants of Garga a hundred pieces'; (d) *vrajám áva-ru-ṇad-dhi gā́m* 'confines the cow to the pen'; (e) *māṇavakám pánthān-am pṛcch-a-ti* 'asks the lad about the route'; (f) *vṛkṣám áva-ci-no-ti phálāni* 'picks fruit from the tree'. (g) *māṇavakám dhárma-m brū-té* 'instructs the pupil in law'; (h) *māṇavakám dhármam śā́s-ti* 'teaches the pupil law'; (i) *sátám jáy-a-ti deva-dattám* 'wins a hundred pieces from D.'; (j) *sudhā́m kṣīra-nidhím math-nā́-ti* 'churns the milky ocean for ambrosia'; (k) *devadattám śatám muṣ-ṇā́-ti* 'steals a hundred pieces from D.'; (l) *grā́mam ajám náy-a-ti/hár-a-ti/kárṣ-a-ti/ váh-a-ti* 'leads/carries/leads/carries the goat to the village'. In the case of the first twelve verbal stems (a-1), when the passive construction is employed, the accusative of the second object is replaced by the nominative: *gā́m dóg-dhi páyaḥ : gauḥ duh-yá-te páyaḥ*, and in the case of verbal stems referred to in (l) above, the principal object is replaced by the nominative: *ajám grā́mam náy-a-ti : ajá-ḥ grā́ma-m nī-yá-te*.

1.4.52 [1]gáti-[2]búddhi-[3]pratyavasā́na=artha-[4]śábda-karma=[5]a-karmákāṇām áṆi kartā́ sá Ṇau

[That kā́raka 23] which is called the agent (kartā́ 54) in relation to verbal stems which denote movement (gáti=artha), 'perception'

(búddhi=artha) or 'eating' (pratyavasāna-artha), or stems whose object is 'sound' (śabda-karman) and intransitive verbal stems, not co-occurring with the marker ṆíC (of the causative) becomes the [kárman 49 kāraka 23] of the causal action (Ṇaú) denoted by these stems co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí(C).

1. *gácch-a-ti devadattó grā́mam* 'D. is going to the village', but *yajñadattó devadattám grā́mam gam-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. go to the village'.
2. *devadattó dhármam budh-yá-te* 'D. understands the law', but *yajñadattó devadattám dhármam bodh-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. understand the law'. Similarly for the other categories.

1.4.53 [1]hr̥-[2]kror anyatarásyām

[That kāraka 23 which is called the agent (kartā) 52] in relation to the verbal stems hŕ̥- 'take, remove' (I 942) and kr̥- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [when not co-occurring with (causative marker) Ṇí(C) 52] is optionally (anyatarásyām) [the kárman 49 kāraka 23 of the causal action 52] (denoted by these stems) [co-occurring with the (causative marker) Ṇí(C) 52].

1. *devadattó bhārám hár-a-ti* 'D. fetches the load' but *yajña-dattó devadattám/devadatténa bhārám hār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. fetch the load'.
2. *devadattáḥ káṭam kar-ó-ti-* 'D. makes a mat', but *yajñadattó devadattám/devadatténa káṭam kār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. causes D. to make a mat'.
3. As a t.t. kárman- occurs in 1.4.32,38,43; 1.3.13,37,67; 2.2.14; 3.2,12,14,17,22,52ff.,65ff.; 3.1.7,15,66,67; 2.1ff.,86,92ff.,100,181; 3.12,93,116,127; 4.25,29,45; 6.2.48,150; 4.62.

1.4.54 svatantráḥ kartā́

[The t.t. 1] kartŕ̥ 'agent' denotes [that kāraka 23] which is independent (sva-tantráḥ) (relative to others).

devadattá+sU = *devadattáḥ* (8.3.15) *pác-a-ti* 'D. is cooking'; *sthālī́ pác-a-ti* 'the pot is cookng'.

1.4.55 tat-prayojakó hetúś ca

[The t.t. 1] hetú and (ca) [the t.t. kartŕ̥ 54 kārakas 23] denote the instigator (tat-prayojaká = kartŕ̥-°) of that agent.

Here [hetú] is the technical term for the agent of the causative stem-form, which

permits the derivation of such forms as *kṛ+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *kār-áy-a-ti* in which the agent affix [tiP] and the causal marker [ṆíC] are both introduced: [kurvāṇám prá-yuṅk-te] 'instigates the agent'.

(a) The t.t. kartṛ́ occurs in 1.3.14,37,67,78; 4.30,40,49; 2.1.32; 2.15,16; 3.18,24,71; 3.1.11,18,48,62,68; 2.19,21,57,79,86,186; 4.43,67,71; 5.4.50; 6.1.195,207.

The t.t. hetú occurs in 1.3.68; 6.1.56; 7.3.40. As a non-technical term it occurs in 1.4.25; 2.3.23; 3.2.20,126; 3.156 etc.

1.4.56 prā́k=iśvarā́t=nipātáḥ

[The t.t. 1] nipātá 'particle' denotes elements specified in the subsequent rules [in the sub-section beginning here and] preceding (prā́k) (the sūtra) [ádhir-īśvaré 1.4.97 below].

This is an adhikārá or governing rule and the word nipātá will recur in all subsequent rules prior to 97.

1.4.57 ca=ādayo=á-sattve

[The t.t. 1 nipātá 56] denotes members of the group beginning with ca 'and' when they do not signify things (á-sattve).

These are listed in the Gaṇapāṭha.

1.4.58 prá=ādayaḥ

[The t.t. 1 nipātá 56] denotes **the class of (preverbs or prepositions 59)** beginning with prá-° 'forth'.

The separate mention of this group of particles is in relation to the subsequent rules 59-60 which apply only to this group and not to the earlier group (57). Members of this group are: [pra-°] 'forth', [párā-°] 'away',[ápa-°] 'away', [śam-°] 'with', [ánu-°] 'after', [áva-°] 'off, down', [nís-°] 'away', [nír-°] 'away', [dús-°, dúr-°] 'bad, difficult, hard', [ví-°] 'apart, asunder', [ā́Ṅ-°] 'near', [ní-°] 'down', [ádhi-°] 'over', [ápi-°] 'proximate', [áti-°] 'beyond', [sú-°] 'good, excellent', [úd-°] 'up(wards)', [abhí-°] 'to, towards', [práti-°] 'against', [pári-°] 'round, around' and [úpa-°] 'towards, near'. The list is given here because of its importance arising from the subsequent two sūtras. Verbal stems by themselves have a variety of denotations, but they can be significantly modified by this class cooccurring with them.

1.4.59 upasargā́ḥ kriyā-yogé

[The t.t. 1] upasargá 'preverb, preposition' denotes [the group of particles (nipātá) 56 beginning with prá-° 58] when there is connection with the action (kriyā-yogé = 'co-occurrence with a verb').

[kriyā́] 'action' here stands for the verbal stem denoting an action: *gácch-a-ti* 'goes', but *ā́-gacch-a-ti* 'comes'; *nír-gacch-a-ti* 'sets out', *ánu-gacch-a-ti* 'follows', *sáṁ-gacch-a-ti* 'goes with, joins', *abhí-gacch-a-ti* 'goes towards'.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.43; 2.3.59; 3.1.71; 2.61,99,147; 3.22,59,92,106; 5.1.118; 4.85,119; 6.1.91; 2.154,177; 3.122; 4.96; 7.1.67; 4.24,47; 8.2.19; 3.65.

1.4.60 gátiś ca

[The t.t. 1] gáti also (ca) denotes [the group of particles 56 beginning with prá-° 58 when there is co-occurrence with the action 59].

1. A separate enumeration has become necessary because this t.t. includes much more than the [prá-°]-class of particles as indicated in the subsequent sūtras.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.18; 6.2.49,139; 7.3.63; 8.3.40.
3. The two t.tt. [upasargá] and [gáti] as applied to this class are never in competition since they are distinct.
4. *prá-kr̥-ta-* is a tatpuruṣa compound by virtue of 2.2.18 and bears the udātta accent on *prá-°*, proper to a member of the [gáti]-class according to 6.2.49. Similarly in *prá-kar-o-ti, pra-°* is an [upasargá] preceding the stem [kr̥-°] and retains its accent (8.1.28), but in *sam-ud-ā́-nay-a-ti* 'assembles' *nay-a-ti* loses its accent (8.1.28) while both preverbs *sám-°, úd-°* lose theirs by virtue of being assigned simultaneously the t.tt. [gáti] and [upasargá] by 8.1.70.

1.4.61 ūrī=ādi-Cvi̱-Ḍā́Caś ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also (ca) denotes the class [of particles 56] beginning with ūrī-° 'assent' and items (ending in 1.1.72) affixes Cvi̱ (5.4.50) and ḌāC (5.4.57).

1. *ūrī+kr̥+Ktvā́* = *ūrī+kr̥-t+LyaP* (6.1.71; 7.1.37).
2. *śuklá+Cvi̱+kr̥+Ktvā* = *śuklī+kr̥+LyaP* (7.4.26) = *śuklī-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having made white (what was not white before)'.
3. *paṭapaṭat+Ḍā́+kr̥+Ktvā́* = *paṭapaṭā-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having made the sound "paṭ, paṭ"'.

1.4.62 anukáraṇam ca=án=iti-param

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also (ca) denotes an expression imitating (anukáraṇam) (natural sound), provided it is not followed by the particle iti (án-iti-param).

khāṭ+kr̥+Ktvā́ = khāṭ-kŕ̥+LyaP = khāṭ-kŕ̥t-ya 'having made the sound "khāṭ"' but *khāṭ=iti kr̥+Ktvā́ = khāḍ iti kr̥-tvā́.*

1.4.63 [1]ādará=[2]án-ādarayoḥ [1]sát-[2]ásat-ī

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] denotes the particles sát- and ásat- when they (respectively 1.3.10) denote respect (ādará) and disrespect (án-ādara).

sát+kr̥+Ktvā́ = sat+kr̥+LyaP = sat-kŕ̥t-ya 'having shown respect'.
asat-kŕ̥t-ya 'having shown disrespect'.

1.4.64 bhū́ṣaṇe=álam

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] álam used in the sense of 'adornment' (bhū́ṣaṇe).

álam+kr̥+Ktvā́ = alam-kr̥+LyaP = alam-kŕ̥t-ya 'having adorned', but *álam bhuktvā́ odanáṁ gatáḥ* 'went away after eating sufficient (álam) rice'.

1.4.65 antár á-parigrahe

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] antár used in the sense of 'non-acceptance' (á-parigrahe).

antár+han+Ktvā́ = antar+ha∅+LyaP (6.4.24) = *antar-hát-ya* 'having abandoned', but *antár hat-vā́ mū́ṣikām śyenó gatáḥ* 'the hawk went away after seizing the mouse'.

1.4.66 [1]káṇe-[2]mánas-ī śraddhā-pratīghāté

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] káṇe and mánas used in the sense of 'quenching (pratīghāté) of desire (śraddhā́-°) (by full satisfaction)'.

káṇe+han+Ktvā́ = kaṇe-hát-ya / mano-hát-ya páyaḥ píb-a-ti 'drinks milk (or water) till one's desire is quenched', but *káṇe ha-tvā́ gatáḥ* where [káṇa- m.] denotes 'grain'.

1.4.67 purás=ávyayam

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] purás when it is indeclinable (ávyayam) (meaning 'in front').

purás+kr̥+Ktvā́ = *puras+kŕ̥+LyaP* = *puras-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having placed in front' (= honored). The indeclinable [purás] is derived from the word [pū́rva- 'front'] with affix [°-ás] 5.3.39; the word ávyaya is used to separate the nom. acc. pl. *pur-ás* from the fem. stem *púr-* 'fortified city' and so block the operation applicable to a gáti.

1.4.68 ástaṁ ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also denotes [the indeclinable 67 particle 56] ástam 'setting, disappearance'.

ástam+gam+Ktvā́ = *astam+ga∅+LyaP* = *astam-gát-ya* 'having set or disappeared' where [ástam] is an indeclinable ending in °-m. while astá- (as+Ktá) is the passive past participle of [as= 'toss, throw' IV 100].

1.4.69 áccha [1]gáti=artha-[2]vadéṣu

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 67 particle 56] áccha, used in the sense of 'movement' (gáty-artha) and 'speak' (vadá).

áccha+gam+Ktvā́ = *accha-gát-ya* 'having gone towards'.
áccha+vad+Ktvā́ = *accha-uad+LyaP* (6.1.15) = *acchód-ya* 'having saluted or greeted'. When it is not an indeclinable [áccha-] means 'pure' as a qualifying word (adjective).

1.4.70 adáḥ=án-upa-deśe

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 67 particle 56] adás when no communication to another (án-upadeśe) is implied.

adáḥ+kr̥+Ktvā́ = *adaḥ+kr̥+LyaP* = *adaḥ-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having reflected that', but *adáḥ kr̥-tvā́* 'having done that', where [adáḥ] is the neut. nom. acc. sing. of the pronominal base *adás-*.

1.4.71 tiráḥ=antardhaú

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] tirás used in the sense of 'disappearance' (antardhaú).

tirás+bhū́+Ktvā́ = tiras+bhū́+Lyap = tiro-bhū́-ya 'having disappeared', but *tiró bhū-tvā́* 'having gone aside'.

1.4.72 vibhāṣā kr̥Ñ-i

[The t.t. gáti 60] optionally (vibhāṣā) [denotes the particle 56 tirás 71] co-occurring wth the verbal stem kr̥Ñ 'do' (VIII 10).

tirás-kr̥+Ktvā́/tiras+kr̥+LyaP = tiras-kr̥-tvā́/tiras-kŕ̥t-ya 'having disappeared' (8.3.42), with alternative forms *tiraḥ-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya* but *tiráḥ kr̥-tvā́* 'having set aside'.

1.4.73 upājé=anvājé

[The t.t. gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] upājé, anvājé 'support, aid, assist' [optionally 72 when co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72].

upājé+kr̥+Ktvā́ = upāje+kr̥+LyaP = upāje-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya 'having supported' and similarly *anvāje-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya*.

1.4.74 sākṣā́t-prabhr̥tī́ni ca

[The t.t. gáti 60 denotes the class of particles 56] beginning with sākṣā́t 'before one's eyes' also (ca) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72].

sākṣāt-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya 'having made apparent before one's eyes'.

1.4.75 án-atyādhāne=[1]úrasi-[2]mánasī

[The t.t. gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] úrasi 'in the chest or heart', mánasi 'in the mind' except when used in the sense of 'placing upon' (án-atyādhāne) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72].

urasi-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya 'having assented', but *úrasi kr̥tvā́ pāṇím śe-té* 'lies down (or sleeps), having placed one's hands on the chest'.

manasi-kr̥-tvā́/°-kŕ̥t-ya 'having taken to heart', but *mánasi kr̥-tvā* 'having grasped in the mind'.

1.4.76 [1]mádhye-[2]padé-[3]nivácane ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] mádhye 'in the middle', padé 'in the foot' and nivácane 'leading to obstructing speech' [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72 except when used in the sense of 'placing upon' 75].

1. *madhye-kr̥-tvā́/madhye-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having placed in the middle (i.e., made an intermediary)'.
2. *pade-kr̥-tvā́/pade-kŕ̥t-ya* 'ib.', but *padé kr̥-tvā́ śíraḥ śe-té* 'having placed one's head under (the elephant's) foot'.
3. *nivacane-kr̥-tvā́/nivacane-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having ceased to speak'.

1.4.77 nítyaṁ háste pāṇaú=upayámane

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] necessarily (nítyam) [denotes the particles 56] háste and pāṇaú 'in the hand' [when co-cccurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72] to denote 'espouse, take a wife' (upayámane).

haste-kŕ̥t-ya/pāṇau-kŕ̥t-ya 'having espoused', but *háste kr̥-tvā́ kārṣāpaṇam gatáḥ* 'has departed, palming off a kārṣāpaṇa (coin)'.

1.4.78 prādhvám bándhane

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] prādhvám 'favorably' [co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72] when expressing the sense of 'bondage' (bándhane).

prādhvám+kr̥+Ktvā́ = prādhvaṁ-kŕ̥+LyaP = prādhvaṁ-kŕ̥t-ya 'having bound', but *prādhvaṁ kr̥-tvā́ śakaṭaṁ gatáḥ* 'has departed after making the cart suitable (for the road)'.

prādhvám is an indeclinable in the above sense as a gáti, ending in the phoneme [°-m] by 1.1.39, but *prādhva-* is a tatpuruṣa compound (2.2.18), in the counter-example.

1.4.79 [1]jīvikā́-[2]upaniṣádau=aúpamye

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56 expressions] jīvikā́- 'means of livelihood' and upaniṣád- 'the concluding part of a Vedic text' [co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ 72] when denoting comparison (aúpamye).

jī́vikā+kr̥+Ktvā́ = jīvikā+kŕ̥+LyaP = jīvikā-kŕ̥t-ya 'having made it as though a

means of livelihood', but *jī́vikā́ṁ kr̥-tvā́ gatáḥ* 'has left after earning his livelihood'.

upaniṣád+kr̥+Ktvā́ = upaniṣad+kŕ̥+LyaP = upaniṣat-kŕ̥t-ya páṭh-a-ti 'recites as though it were an upaniṣad'.

1.4.80 té prā́g dhā́toh

Those (té) [= upasargá 59 and gáti 60] occur before the verbal stem (with relation to which they have the status of upasargá or gáti).

Examples cited under sūtras 59ff., already illustrate this.

1.4.81 chándasi páre=ápi

In the domain of Chándas [those gáti 60 and upasargá 59] also (ápi) occur after (the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gáti or upasargá).

vā́yav índras ca sunvatá ā́ yātam úpa niṣkr̥tám (RV 1.2.6) 'O Vāyu and Indra, approach the rendezvous for the Soma pressing' where the preverb *úpa* follows the verbal stem *yā-tam*.

1.4.82 vyávahitāś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 81 they (= gáti 60 and upasargá 59)] occur separated (vyávahitāḥ) (from the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gáti or upasargá).

ā́ mandraír indra háribhir yāhí 'Come, O Indra, with the charming horses' (RV 3.45.1) where the preverb occurs before, but with intervention of three words.

gámad vā́jebhir ā́ sá naḥ 'may he come with gifts hither to us' (RV 1.5.3) where *ā́* occurs after the verbal stem with intervention of one word.

1.4.83 karma-pravacanīyāḥ

(Here begins the section on) karma-pravacanī́ya-s.

This section covers subsequent rules up to 97 below. The t.t. [karmapravacanī́ya] denotes particles (nipātá 56) mentioned in the following sūtras. They are truly governing prepositions (modifying substantive nominal stems) and modify a verbal stem, but differ from both upasargá and gáti. This is a governing rule, and the word [karma-pravacanī́ya] will recur in all subsequent rules up to 97 below.

1.4.84 ánur lákṣaṇe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] ánu when a characteristic (lákṣaṇe) is to be indicated.

Here the word [lákṣaṇa] does not signify a mere characteristic, but 'cause' (hetú), cf. 90 below. *parjányo jápam ánu prá-varṣ-a-t* 'rain began falling after (= as a result of) muttering prayers'. The accusative of [jápa] is ruled in by 2.3.8.

1.4.85 tr̥tī́yā=arthe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it has the value of the third sUP triplet (tr̥tī́yā=arthe).

nadī́m ánu=avasitā́ sénā 'the army is situated (= encamped) by the river'. The meaning of *ánu* here is equivalent to that of *sahá* which governs the instrumental case.

1.4.86 hīné

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it is used to indicate 'inferior' (hīné).

ánu śākaṭāyanám vaiyākaraṇā́ḥ '(all) grammarians are inferior to Ś.'; *ánu=árjunam yóddhāraḥ* 'all warriors are inferior to A.'

1.4.87 úpaḥ=ádhike ca

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] úpa when used to indicate 'superior' (ádhike) as well as (ca) ['inferior' 86].

(a) superior: *úpa niṣké kārṣāpaṇam* 'the k. is superior to n.' and in this sense governs the locative case (2.3.9).

inferior: *úpa śākaṭāyanám vaiyākaraṇā́ḥ*.

1.4.88 [1]ápa-[2]párī várjane

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particles 56] ápa and pári when they are used in the sense of 'exclusion' (várjane).

ápa[2]/pári[2] trígartebhyo vr̥ṣṭó devā́ḥ 'it rained (everywhere) except in the region of Trígarta', but *odanám pári-ṣiñcati* 'sprinkles rice (with water)' where the retroflexion of verb-initial by 8.3.59 indicates that [pári] here is not a karmapravacanī́ya. The ablative case is used by virtue of 2.3.10 and reduplication of the particles by 8.3.5.

1.4.89 ā́Ṅ maryādā-vacané

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] ā́Ṅ when it is used to show a limit (maryādā-vacané).

Normally two types of limits are involved: [maryā́dā] 'exclusive limit' and [abhividhí] 'inclusive limit', but by using the compound expression [maryādā-vacané] both types of limits are included here. *ā́ pāṭaliputrād vr̥ṣṭó deváḥ* 'it rained up to (but excluding) Pāṭaliputra; ablative by 2.3.10.

1.4.90 [1]lákṣaṇa=[2]ittham-bhūtá=ākhyāná-[3]bhāgá-[4]vīpsā́su [1]práti-[2]pári-[3]ánavaḥ

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particles 56] práti, pári and ánu when they are used to indicate (a) characteristic (lákṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (ittham-bhūta=ākhyāná), (c) division (bhāgá) and (d) distributive function (vīpsā́).

1. *vr̥kṣam práti/pári/ánu ví-dyot-a-te vidyút* 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.
2. *sādhúr devadattó mātáram práti* 'D. is good towards his mother'.
3. *yád átra mā́m práti/pári/ánu syā́t* 'that it may fall to my share'.
4. *vr̥kṣám vr̥kṣám práti siñc-á-ti* 'sprinkles tree after tree (= every tree with water)'.

Since [ánu] here is denoted by the t.t. karmapravacanī́ya as well as 84 above, the special meaning of [lákṣaṇa] is [hetú] 'reason, cause' and not a mere characteristic, and in this sense the kāraka would be the instrumental case (2.3.23) which, though subsequent to (2.3.8) ruling in the accusative with karmapravacanī́ya, becomes inoperative by the force of 1.4.84.

1.4.91 abhír á-bhāge

[The t.t. karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] abhí when it is used to indicate [(a) a characteristic (lákṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (itthambhūta=ākhyāná) and (c) distributive function (vīpsā́) 90] excluding 'division' (ábhāge).

Exx. as in 90 above, but when division (bhāgá) is denoted: *yád átra mā́m abhí-ṣyāt* 'whatever falls to my share, let that be given'; since [abhí-°] functions here as a preverb (upasargá), by 8.3.87 the initial [s] of the verbal stem is replaced by the retroflex sibilant.

1.4.92 [1]prátiḥ [1]pratinidhí-[2]pratidā́nayoḥ

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] práti when it is used in the sense of 'representative' (pratinidhí) or 'exchange' (pratidā́na).

1. *abhimanyúr arjunatáḥ práti* 'Abh. is the representative of Arj.'
2. *mā́ṣān asyá tilébhyaḥ práti yacch-á-ti* 'he exchanges (= barters) his mā́ṣa beans for sesame seeds'; [práti] in these meanings governs the ablative case (2.3.11).

1.4.93 [1]ádhi-[2]párī ánarthakau

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particles 56] ádhi, and pári when they do not convey any meaning (án-arthakau).

kútó yám ádhi/pári ā́-gacch-a-ti 'whence has he come?'. By being assigned this t.t. these particles are not subject to operations associated with them otherwise as upasargás [e.g., 8.3.87: *adhí-ṣyāt* or loss of accentuation 8.1.70].

1.4.94 súḥ pūjā́yām

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] sú when it indicates 'excellence, praiseworthiness' (pūjā́yām).

sú siktám bhávatā 'has been well sprinkled by you (honorific)'; *sú stu-tám bhávatā* 'has been praised well by your honor'; replacement of dental sibilant by the retroflex of the initial of the verbal stem after the particle is debarred (8.3.65).

1.4.95 átir atikrámaṇe ca

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] áti when it indicates 'overstepping, exceeding' (atikrámaṇe) and also (ca) [excellence 94].

1. *áti siktám evá bhávatā* 'you have only over-sprinkled'.
2. *áti stutám bhávatā* 'been praised well by your honor'.

1.4.96 ápiḥ [1]padārthá-[2]sambhā́vana=[3]anvavasargá-[4]garhā́-[5]samuccayéṣu

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] ápi when it indicates: (a) paucity of a substance (padārthá), (b) possibility or assump-

tion (sambhā̃vana), (c) permission to do as one likes (anvavasargá), (d) censure (garhā̃) or (e) aggregation (samuccayá).

1. *sárpiṣaḥ=ápi syā̃t* 'may be a drop of clarified butter'.
2. *ápi siñc-ét mūlaka-sahasrám* 'may be possible to sprinkle a thousand radishes'.
3. *ápi siñc-á* 'thou mayest sprinkle, if thou likest'.
4. *ápi stu-yā̃t=vr̥ṣalám* 'he might even praise a low-caste person'.
5. *ápi siñc-á ápi stu-hí* 'sprinkle as well as praise'.

In all these examples, as in the preceding sū̃tras, the initial dental sibilant of the verbal stem is not replaced by the retroflex as required by 8.3.65.

1.4.97 ádhir īśvaré

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 83 denotes the particle 56] ádhi when it indicates 'master, lord, ruler' (īśvaré).

ádhi pañcléṣu brahmadattáḥ/ádhi brahmadatté pañcālā́ḥ 'Br. is the rule of P.' (locative by 2.3.9).

1.4.98 vibhāṣā kr̥Ñ-i

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanī́ya 56] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the particle 56 ádhi 97] co-occurring with verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 'do' (VIII 10).

*ádhi kr̥-tvā́ / adhi-kŕ̥t-ya [*adhi+kr̥+LyaP]* where it functions as a preverb, but in *yád átra mā́m ádhi kar-i-ṣyá-ti* if it is [karmapravacanī́ya] it does not lose its accent as when it is [gáti] 8.1.71.

1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadám

[The t.t. 1] parasmaipadá denotes (the substitutes of) l-members.

1. The cover symbol [l] stands for various tenses and moods: (a) lAṬ 'present indicative'; (b) lIṬ 'perfect'; (c) lUṬ 'periphrastic future'; (d) lR̥Ṭ 'sigmatic future'; (e) lEṬ 'subjunctive mood'; (f) lOṬ 'imperative mood'; (g) laṄ 'imperfect tense'; (h) lIṄ 'optative or potential mood'; (i) lUṄ 'aorist'; and (j) lr̥Ṅ 'conditional'. A sub-variety of lIṄ (= āśī̃r-lIṄ) is the Benedictive or Precative mood.
2. The substitutes of l-members are by 3.4.77-8: tiP, tás, jhi; siP, thás, thá; miP, vás, más; tá, ā̃tām, jha; thā̃s, ā̃thām, dhvám; íṬ, váhi, máhiṄ, consisting of six triplets, each triplet representing in order the singular, dual and plural (1.4.101); the first and fourth belong to the third person (prathama-puruṣá), the second and fifth to the second person (madhyama-puruṣá) and the third and sixth to the first person (uttama-puruṣá) (1.4.102). This general rule (utsargá) stipulates that all these l-substitutes are denoted by the t.t. [parasmaipadá]. The following rule is an exception (apavādá) to this general rule.

1.4.100 [1]táṄ-[2]āmaú=ātmanepadám

[The t.t. 1] ātmanepadá denotes [the substitutes of l-members 99] indicated by [the siglum] táṄ [= tá ā́tām jha, thā́s ā́thām dhvám, íṬ váhi máhiṄ] and the affix °-āná- [=ŚānáC KānáC].

This is an exception to the preceding rule which constitutes the general rule (utsargá). Since by 99 táṄ is included within the t.t. [parasmaipadá] while this assigns it to [ātmanepadá], by rules 1-2 of this pādá the t.t. [ātmanepadá] will uniquely or exclusively denote [táṄ, āná] while the rest of l-member substitutes are uniquely [parasmaipadá].

1.4.101 tiṄas trī́ṇi trī́ṇi [1]prathamá-[2]madhyamá=[3]uttamā́ḥ

[The t.tt. 1] prathamá 'third', madhyamá- 'second' and uttamá 'first' respectively (1.3.10) denote the three (and) three triplets of tiṄ [parsmaipadá and ātmanepadá 99-100].

The repetition of the word [trī́ṇi] is to cover both [parasmaipadá and ātmanepadá] l-substitutes. It may be noted that what is 'third person' in western grammatical terminology is here prathamá (lit. 'first') while the 'first person' is [uttamá 'highest']. The word [púruṣa] associated with these triplets is considered by Pāṇinī́yas as a pre-Pāṇinian technical term.

1.4.102 tā́ni=[1]ekavacaná-[2]dvivacaná-[3]bahuvacanā́ni ekaśáḥ

Those (tā́ni) = [three and three triplets of tiṄ 101] taken one by one (ekaśáḥ) have the [t.tt. 1] ekavacaná 'singular, dvivacaná 'dual' and bahuvacaná 'plural' to denote them respectively (1.3.10).

[ekavacaná] 'denoting one', [dvivacaná] 'denoting two' and [bahuvacaná] 'denoting many' are represented respectively as follows: singular: tiP, siP, miP; tá, thā́s, íṬ; dual: tás, thás, vás; ā́tām, ā́thām, váhi; plural: jhi, tá, más; jha, dhvám, máhiṄ.

1.4.103 sUpaḥ

[The triplets 101] of the affixes denoted by the siglum sUP [= sU au Jas, am auṬ Śas, Ṭā bhyām bhis, Ṅe bhyām bhyas, ṄasI bhyām bhyas, Ṅas os ām, Ṅi os suP 4.1.2 taken one by one have the t.tt. ekavacaná, dvivacaná and bahuvacaná to denote them 102 respectively].

1. ekavacaná: sU, am, Ṭā, Ṅe, ṄasI, Ṅas,and Ṅi.
2. dvivacaná: au, auṬ, bhyām, bhyām, bhyām, os, and os.

3. bahuvacaná: Jas, Śas, bhis, bhyas, bhyas, ām and suP.
4. These seven triplets of sUP have respectively been given the t.tt. prathamā́ 'first' (nominative), dvitī́yā 'second' (accusative), tṛtī́yā 'third' (instrumental), caturthī́ 'fourth' (dative), pañcami 'fifth' (ablative), ṣaṣṭhī́ 'sixth' (genitive) and saptamī́ 'seventh' (locative) cases [vibhákti 104 below].

1.4.104 vibháktiś ca

[Each set of three triplets 101] has [t.t. 1] vibhákti to denote it [for tiṄ 101 as well as sUP 103].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38; 2.44,64; 3.4; 2.1.6,; 5.3.1-27; 6.1.168; 3.132; 7.1.73; 8.4.11.

1.4.105 yuṣmádi=upapadé samānā́=adhikaraṇe sthānı́ny= ápi madhyamáḥ

Madhyamá (second person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (the pronominal stem) yuṣmád 'you' co-occurs as an upapadá 'subordinate word' (= subjoined or complementary item) either expressed (sthānı́ni) (or implied) and denotes the same thing (samānā́=adhikaraṇé) (= or is in general grammatical agrement).

Thus: *(tvám) pác-a-si, (yuvā́m) páca-thas, (yūyám) pác-a-tha* 'thou art cooking, you two are cooking, all of you are cooking' respectively.

1.4.106 prahāsé ca mánya=upapade manyáter uttamá ekavát=ca

When irony (prahāsé) is indicated and the verbal theme mán-ya- 'think' (IV 97) co-occurs as an upapadá 'complementary word' [madhyamá triplets are introduced after (the principal) verbal stem 105] but the uttamá (first person) triplet singular (uttamá ekavát) is introduced after the verbal stem mán-ya.

ehí mánye odanám bhok-ṣyá-se 'come, thou thinkest: "I will eat the rice" (but there is no rice, all of it has been eaten by the guests)'. When irony is not intended the phrase will read as *ehí mányse odanám bhok-ṣy-é* 'come, thou art thinking: "I will eat rice" (thou thinkest well)'.

1.4.107 asmády uttamáḥ

Uttamá (first person) triplets are introduced [after a verbal stem] when (the pronominal stem) asmád- 'we' [co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed (or implied) and denotes the same thing 105].

(ahám) gácch-ā-mi, (āvā́m) gácchā-vas, (vayám) gácch-ā-mas respectively meaning 'I go, we two go, all of us go'.

1.4.108 śeṣé prathamáḥ

Prathamá (third person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (a pronominal stem) other than (śeṣe) [yuṣmád 105 and asmád 107] co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed or implied and denotes the same thing [= or is in grammatical agreement 105].

pác-a-ti, pác-a-tas, pác-anti '(he, she, it) cooks, they two cook, they all cook' respectively.

1.4.109 páraḥ saṁnikarṣáḥ sáṁhitā

[The t.t. 1] sáṁhitā 'placing together' denotes the maximum contiguity (sam-nikarṣáḥ) [of phonemes].

An interval of half a mātrā is supposed to denote this maximum contiguity: *dádhi+átra* = *dádhy-átra* (6.1.77) 'curds here'.

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.39; 6.1.72-157; 3.114-39; 8.2.108.

1.4.110 virāmáḥ avasā́nam

[The t.t. 1] avasā́na denotes cessation (virāmá of articulation = pause, pausa).

As a t.t. occurs in 8.3.15; 4.56.

2.1.1 samarthā́ḥ pada-vidhī́ḥ

An operation (vidhí) on padás (1.4.14ff.) (takes effect) only when they are semantically and syntactically connected (samarthā́ḥ).

This is a metarule (paribhāṣā) and whenever such operations are involved, the word [samarthá] 'semantically and syntactically connected' is to be understood. The compound *rāja-puruṣá-ḥ* alternates with *rā́jñ-aḥ púruṣa-ḥ* and both derive from the underlying deep structure [*rā́jan+Ṅas+púruṣa+sU] denoting 'servant of the king'; now in the string like *bhāryà rā́jñaḥ, púruṣo devadattásya* 'wife of the king, servant of Devadatta', although *rā́jñaḥ púruṣaḥ* are contiguous padás, the operation of compounding is blocked, despite 2.2.8, since there is no semantic relationship connecting these two. Similarly by 24 below we have the string *kaṣṭám śritáḥ [*kaṣṭá+am+śritá+sU] = kaṣṭá-śri-tah*, but in the string *paśyá dévadatta káṣṭam, śritó viṣṇudattó gurukulám* 'look at the trouble O Devatta, Visnudatta has taken refuge in the teacher's house' there is not any semantic relationship between the two contiguous padás *kaṣṭám śritáḥ* in this string which will permit the derivation of a compound.

2.1.2 sUP ā́mantrite para=aṅgavát sváre

[An expression ending in 1.1.72] sUP triplets occurring before a vocative (ā́mantrite) [with which it is semantically and syntactically connected 1] is treated as an integral part of the subsequent pre-affixal stem (para=aṅgavát) with respect to accentuation (sváre).

By 6.1.198 the initial syllable of a vocative bears the udā́tta accent; thus in the expression *ū́rjo napāt sahasvan* 'O mighty son of strength' the pada [ūrj+Ṅas] precedes the vocatives *napāt sahasvan* and bears the udā́tta accent on its first syllable.

2.1.3 prā́k káḍārāt samāsáḥ

[The t.t.] samāsá 'compound' denotes (all items resulting from the application of subsequent rules in this section) prior to (prā́k) [the sū́tra (káḍārāḥ karmadhārayé) 2.2.38].

This is a governing rule and the word [samāsá] recurs in the whole of this section.

2.1.4 sahá sUP-ā

[An item ending in (1.1.72) sUP triplets 2] combines with (sahá) another item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [to generate a compound 3].

This is also a governing rule and the three words [sUP 2] and śaha sUP-ā will also

recur along with [samarthá 1 and samāsá 3] in the subsequent rules of this section. Thus in 14 below [dvitī́yā śrita=atīta=° etc.] the ellipsis is filled in by [dvitī́yā(antam 1.1.72) sUP(antám 2) śritá=ādibhiḥ sUp(antaíḥ 1.1.72) samarthaíḥ 1 sahá 3 sámasyate 3].

2.1.5 avyayī-bhāváḥ

[The t.t.] avyayī-bhāvá [compound 2] denotes all items derived by the application of subsequent rules (up to 21 below).

This is also a governing rule. All such rules are deemed to have the svaritá accent (1.3.11). This t.t. will recur in all the rules from 6 to 21.

2.1.6 ávyayam [1]vibhákti-[2]samīpá-[3]samṛ́ddhi-[4]vy-ṛ́ddhi-[5]artha=abhāvá=[6]atyayá-[7]á-samprati-[8]śabda-prādurbhāvá-[9]paścā́t=[10]yáthā=[11]ā́nupūrvya-[12]yaúgapadya-[13]sā́dṛśya-[14]sampátti-[15]sā́kalya=[16]antavacanéṣu

An indeclinable (ávyaya) [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 2 combines with 4 a semantically and syntactically connected nominal padá (sUPā) 4 to form an avyayibhāvá 5 compound 3] if it is used to connotate: (1) what is denoted by a nominal (sUP) triplet (vibhákti 1.4.104), (2) proximity (samīpá), (3) prosperity (samṛ́ddhi), (4) adversity (vyṛ́ddhi), (5) absence of an object (artha=abhāvá), (6) a passing (away) (atyayá), (7) now is not the proper time (á-samprati), (8) the appearance of a sound (śabda-prādurbhāvá), (9) posteriority (paścā́t) (10) the sense of [yáthā], (11) sequence (ā́nupūrvya), (12) simultaneity (yaúgapadya), (13) similarity (sā́dṛśya), (14) fulfilment (sampátti), (15) completeness (sā́kalya) and (16) end or terminus (antavacaná).

1. *strīṣú ádhi-kṛt-ya = adhi-strí* 'with reference to women'.
2. *kumbhásya samīpé = upa-kumbhám* 'near the pitcher'.
3. *samṛ́ddhir madrā́ṇām = su-madrām* 'things are prospering with the Madrá-s'.
4. *yávanānām vy-ṛ́ddhiḥ (= ṛ́ddher ábhāvaḥ) = dur-yavanám* 'things are not prospering with the Yavana-s'.
5. *ábhāvo mákṣikāṇām = nir-makṣikám* 'absence from flies'.
6. *himásya atyayám = ati-himám* 'the time is now when snow is past'.
7. *nidrā́ samprati ná = ati-nidrám* 'not the proper time for sleep'.
8. *pāṇini-śabdó loké prá-kāś-a-te = iti-pāṇiní* 'the name Pā́ṇini (is being spread)'.
9. *ráthānām paścā́t (pādātám) = anu-rathám (pādātám)* '(the infantry) is behind the armed chariots'.
10. There are four meanings of [yáthā]: (a) fitness (yogyátā), (b) repetition (vīpsā́), (c) similarity (sā́dṛśya) and (d) not going beyond (án-ati-vṛtti) of something

(padārthá). (a) *anu-rūpám* = *rūpa-yogyám* 'fittingly'; (b) *praty-arthám* = *ártham ártham práti* 'object by object'; (c) *śáktim án-ati-kram-ya* = *yathā-śaktí* 'not going beyond one's ability' and (d) *háreḥ sā́dr̥śyam* = *sa-harí* 'like Hari'.

11. *jyéṣṭhasya ā́nupūrvyeṇa* = *anu-jyeṣṭhám* 'in the order of seniority'.
12. *cakréṇa yugapád* = *sa-cakrám* 'simulataneously with the wheel'.
13. *sadr̥śáḥ sákhy-ā* = *sa-sakhí* 'like a friend'. While normal similarity is already covered by the meaning (c) of [yáthā] under (10) above, [sā́dr̥śya] here means non-essential secondary similarity.
14. *kṣatrā́ṇām sampáttiḥ* = *sa-kṣatrám* 'as befitting a warrior'.
15. *tr̥ṇam ápi=á-pari-tyaj-ya* = *sa-tr̥ṇám* 'right down to a blade of grass'.
16. *agni-grantha-paryantám ádhī-te* = *sāgní=ádhī-te* 'studies up to the end of section on Agni'.

2.1.7 yáthā=á-sādr̥ye

[The indeclinable 6 nominal stem 2] yáthā [combines with a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padá 4 to form an avyayībhavá 6 compound 3] except when it signifies 'resemblance' (á-sādr̥śye).

yathā-vr̥ddhám brāhmaṇā́n ā́-mantr-ay-a-sva 'invite every old brahmin', but *yáthā devadattás táthā brahmadattáḥ* 'B. resembles D'. In the compound *sa-harí* illustrating 6 (10 d) above, the meaning of [sā́dr̥śya] in that compound is a property of [sahá] which is replaced by [sa-°] by 6.3.81 and not of [yáthā], since in this sense it is debarred from forming a compound.

2.1.8 yā́vad avadhā́raṇe

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2] yā́vat [combines with 4 a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padá 4 to form an avyayībhavá 6 compound 3] when it is used to signify 'limitation' (avadhā́raṇe).

yāvad-amatrám brā́hmaṇā́n ā́-mantr-ay-a-sva 'invite as many brahmins as there are pots', but *yā́vad dattáṁ tā́vad bhuktám* 'it was eaten so long as it was served' (i.e., one had no idea of how much was actually eaten).

2.1.9 sUP prátinā mātrā=arthé

An item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [combines with 4 the indeclinable nominal padá 2] práti [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when it indicates 'a bit' (mātrā=arthé).

śā́ka-pratí = *śā́kasya mātrā* 'a little (quantity) of vegetables'; *sūpa-pratí* 'a little of

soup', but *vṛkṣám práti ví-dyot-a-te* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

The repetition of the word [sUP] here while it was recurring from 2 above is to block the recurrence of [ávyaya 6] in the following sūtras.

2.1.10 [1]akṣa-[2]śalākā-[3]saṁkhyāḥ páriṇā

[The nominal padás 2] akṣá- 'dice', śalākā 'a small ivory stick used in gambling' and numerals (saṁkhyā) [combine with 4 the indeclinable nominal padá 4] pári [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

This particular formation is restricted to gambling games and has relevance to a game known as Pañcikā in which five dice or ivory sticks are thrown; in a given throw when all five face upwards or downwards the player wins, otherwise he loses. Thus *akṣa-parí* 'unlucky throw of dice'; similarly *śalākā-parí* 'unlucky throw of sticks'; *eka-parí, dvi-parí* 'unlucky by one, two, etc.'

2.1.11 vibhāṣā

The word [vibhāṣā] 'optionally' (governs the subsequent rules beginning with this section and ending with 2.2.35).

This governing rule provides that compounds are hereafter formed by subsequent rules optionally which implies that compounds thus formed alternate freely with the uncompounded string of [padás] from which the compounds are derived. It also implies that the compounds generated by rules 6-10 are obligatory (nítya) compounds.

2.1.12 [1]ápa-[2]pári-[3]bahís=[4]áñcavaḥ pañcamyā́

[The indeclinable nominal padás 2] ápa-°, pári-°, bahís-° and items (ending in 1.1.72) -°-añc- [optionally 11 combine with syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamyā́) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

1. *apa-trigartám vṛṣṭó deváḥ* 'it rained away from T.' or alternatively: *ápa trígartebhyo vṛṣṭó deváḥ*.
2. *pari-trigartam/pári trígartebhyaḥ* 'around Tr.'
3. *bahiḥ-śālám/bahíḥ śā́lāyāḥ* 'outside the school, extra-curricular'.
4. *prāg-grāmám/prā́g grā́māt* 'east of the village'.

2.1.13 ā́Ṅ [1]maryā́dā[2]abhividhyóḥ

[The indeclinable nominal padá 2] ā́Ṅ [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet 12 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when indicating exclusive (maryā́dā) or inclusive (abhividhí) limit.

1. *ā-pāṭaliputrám/ ā́ pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
2. *ā-kumarám/ā́ kumārā́t yáśáḥ pā́ṇineḥ* 'P's fame has reached even the young boys'; ablative by 2.3.10.

2.1.14 lákṣaṇena=[1]abhí-[2]prátī=ābhimukhye

[The indeclinable nominal padás 2] abhí-° and práti-° [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when they denote a direction towards (ā́bhimukhye) and the nominal padás imply the goal of that direction (lákṣaṇena).

abhy-agní/agním abhí śalabhā́ḥ pát-anti 'moths fly in the direction of the fire'; similarly *praty-agní/agním práti* but *srughnam práti gatáḥ* 'returning, he turned towards the direction of Sr.'

2.1.15 ánur yat-samayā́

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2] ánu-° 'after' [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] whose proximity is indicated by it (yat-samayā́) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

anu-vanám/vánam ánu aśánir gataḥ 'the thunderbolt fell near the forest', but *vṛkṣám ánu ví-dyot-a-te vidyút* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

2.1.16 yásya ca=āyāmáḥ

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2 ánu-° 15 optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] whose extent (āyāmá) is indicated by it [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

anu-gaṅgám/gáṅgām ánu vārāṇasī 'V. extends along the river G.' But *vṛkṣám ánu vídyot-a-te vidyút*.

2.1.17 tiṣṭhad-gú-prabhṛtīni ca

The class of words whose first member is tiṣṭhad-gú are [avyayībhāvá 6 compounds 3] also (ca).

tíṣṭhanti gā́vo yásmin kālé dóhanāya = tiṣṭhad-gú 'time for milking when the cows stand to be milked'.

2.1.18 pāré mádhye ṣaṣṭhyā́ vā

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padás 2] pāré and mádhye (respectively denoting 'across' and 'amid') [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72)] the sixth sUP triplet [to form an avayayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

pāre-gaṅgám/pāré gáṅgāyāḥ 'across the river G.'; or by 2.2.28 *gaṅgā-pārám*; the operation of this would have been blocked by the present rule if the particle [vā] were not used. Similarly *madhye-gaṅgám/mádhye gáṅgāyāḥ/gaṅgā-madhyám* 'in the midst of the river Ganges'.

2.1.19 saṁkhyā́ váṁśyena

A numeral (saṁkhyā́) [ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] denoting a 'lineal descendant' (váṁśyena) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

[váṁśya] 'lineal descendant' pertains either to (1) consanguinous group or family or (2) an intellectual or spiritual one.

1. *ekaviṁśati-bhāradvājám* 'a lineage of Bh. consisting of 21 members'.
2. *tráyo múnayo vyākáraṇasya váṁśyāḥ = tri-muní vyākáraṇam* 'a grammar of three seers'.

2.1.20 nadī́bhiś ca

[A numeral 19 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] denoting the name of a river (nadī́bhiḥ) [optionally 11 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

sapta-gaṅgám / saptā́nām gáṅgānām samāhārā́ḥ 'at the confluence of seven G.s'; *dvi-yamunám, pañca-nadám* respectively denoting 'at the confluence of two Y.s/five rivers'.

2.1.21 anya-padārthé ca saṁjñāyām

[A nominal padá 2 combines with 4 a nominal padá 4 denoting a river 20 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when signifying something distinct from the constituent members (anya-padārthé) to designate a name (saṁjñāyām).

> *un-matta-gaṅgám = unmattā́ gáṅgā yásmin pradéśe; lohita-gaṅgám = lohitā́ gáṅgā yámin pradéśe* are proper names of places where the river rages or is red in color.

2.1.22 tatpuruṣáḥ

[The t.t.] tatpuruṣá [samāsá 'compound 3] (denotes compounds formed by subsequent rules in the section beginning here and ending with 2.2.23 below).

> This is also a governing rule and the words [tatpuruṣáh samāsáḥ 3] will recur in each of the following sūtras up to 2.2.23.

2.1.23 dvigúś ca

[The t.t. tatpuruṣá 22 samāsá 3] also (ca) denotes [the compound 3] named Dvigú (52 below).

> By thus including Dvigú in this section the samāsānta rules 5.4. 68-160 apply to it: *pañca-rājám* 'an aggregate of five princes' [**páñca+Jas+rā́jan+Jas = páñca∅+rā́jan+Jas* 7.1.22 = *pañca+rājan+TáC+∅ 5.4.91 = pañca-rāja+á = pañca-rājá-* 6.1.97 = *pañca-rājá+am* 2.4.1]

2.1.24 dvitī́yā [1]śritá=[2]átīta=[3]patitá-[4]gatá=[5]átyasta-[6]prā́pta=[7]ā́pannaiḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) [optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) śritá- 'resorted to, attained', (2) átīta- 'gone beyond', (3) patitá- fallen', (4) gatá- 'gone', (5) átyasta- 'thrown beyond', (6) prā́pta- 'reached', (7) ā́panna- 'arrived at, attained' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *kaṣṭám śritáḥ/kaṣṭá-śritaḥ* 'fallen upon misfortune' (6.2.47 for accent).
2. *kāntāram átītaḥ/kāntārātītáḥ* 'gone beyond the forest'.
3. *nárakam patitáḥ/náraka-patitaḥ* 'fallen into hell'.
4. *grā́mam gataḥ/grā́ma-gataḥ* 'gone to the village' (6.2.47 for accent).
5. *taraṅgā́n átyastaḥ/taraṅgā́tyastaḥ* 'thrown beyond the waves'.

6. *sukhám prā́ptaḥ/sukhá-prāptaḥ* 'attained happiness'. *sukhám ā́pannaḥ/ sukhā́pannaḥ* 'ibid.' (Accent for 2, 3, 5, 6 by 6.2.144).

2.1.25 svayáṁ Kténa

[The nominal padá 2] svayám 'by oneself' [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá [to form a tat-puruṣá 22 compound 3].

svayaṁ-dhautaú/svayám dhautaú pādaú 'feet washed by oneself'.

2.1.26 khā́ṭvā kṣépe

[The nominal padá 2] khā́ṭvā 'bed' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 combines with an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 25 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] to denote censure (kṣépe).

khaṭvārūḍhá- 'gone astray', but *khā́ṭvām ā́rūḍhaḥ* 'ascended the bed' does not convey censure, and so when censure is to be implied, the compound is necessarily formed contra the governing rule 11 above. Cf. 6.2.147 for accent.

2.1.27 sāmí

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2] sāmí 'half' [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 25 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

sāmi-kṛtám / sāmí kṛtám 'half done'.

2.1.28 kālā́ḥ

[Nominal padás 2] denoting 'time' (kālā́ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 25 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

áhar-atisṛtaḥ (muhūrtáḥ)/áhar átisṛtaḥ 'which has passed through the day'; *mā́sa-pramitáḥ/mā́sam prámitaḥ (candrámāḥ)* 'new moon, engaged in measuring out the month'.

2.1.29 atyanta-saṁyogé ca

[Nominal padás 2 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with nominal padás 4] also (ca) when expressing a complete connection (atyanta-saṁyogé) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

muhūrtám sukhám/muhūrtá-sukham 'happiness lasting a muhūrtá'.

2.1.30 tr̥tī́yā tat-kr̥tá=arthena guṇa-vácanena

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tr̥tī́yā) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting a property (guṇa-vácanena) which is produced by what is signified by the prior member (tat=kr̥tá=arthena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

śaṅkuláyā khaṇḍáḥ/śaṅkulā́-khaṇḍaḥ 'cut by a pair of nippers'; *kiríṇā kāṇáḥ/ kirí-kāṇaḥ* 'blinded in one eye by a boar'.

2.1.31 [1]pū́rva-[2]sadŕ̥śa-[3]samá=[4]ūná=artha-[5]kalahá-[6]nipuṇá-[7]miśrá-[8]ślakṣṇaiḥ

[A nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] pū́rva- 'previous, prior', sadr̥śa- 'like', samá- 'same', words denoting 'lacking' (ūná=artha), kalahá- 'strife, quarrel', nipuṇá- 'skilful', miśrá- 'mixed' and ślakṣṇá- 'polished' [to form a tatpuruśá 22 compound 3].

1. *mā́sena pū́rvaḥ/mā́sa-pūrvaḥ* 'previous by a month'.
2. *mātrā́ sadŕ̥śaḥ/mātŕ̥-sadr̥śaḥ* 'resembling the mother'.
3. *pitrā́ samáḥ/pitŕ̥-samaḥ* 'equal to the father'.
4. *kārṣāpaṇena vikalam/kārṣāpaṇa-vikalam* 'short by a k.'
5. *asínā kalaháḥ/así-kalahaḥ* 'a fight with swords'.
6. *vācā́ nipuṇaḥ/vā́ṅ-nipuṇaḥ* 'skilful at words'.
7. *guḍéna miśráḥ/guḍá-miśraḥ* 'mixed with molasses'.
8. *ācāréṇa ślakṣṇáḥ/ācārá-ślakṣṇaḥ* 'polished in manners'.

2.1.32 [1]kartŕ̥-[2]káraṇe kŕ̥tā bahulám

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting the agent (kartári) or the instrument (kárane) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] a kŕ̥t affix (primary derivative affix) in various ways (bahulám) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. denoting an agent: *áhinā hatáḥ/áhi-hataḥ* 'killed by a snake'.
2. denoting an instrument: *paraśúnā chinnáḥ/paraśúc-chinnaḥ* 'chopped with an axe'.
3. compounds are not formed: *bhikṣā́bhir uṣitáḥ* 'lives on alms'; *dātreṇa lū-navā́n* 'has cut with a sickle'; *paraśúnā chinnávān* 'has chopped with an axe'.

2.1.33 kṛ̥́tyair adhika=ārtha-vacané

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 denoting the agent or instrument 32 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4 ending in 1.1.72] kṛ̥́tya (3.1.95-132) affixes when conveying the sense of exaggeration' (adhika=artha-vacané) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. denoting an agent: *kā́kena péyā/kā́ka-peyā nadī́* 'a shallow river (which has so little water in it that it can only be drunk by a crow)'.
2. denoting an instrument: *vā́tena chedyàm/vā́ta-c-chedyam tṛ̥́ṇam* 'grass (which is so tender that it) can be cut by the breeze'.

2.1.34 ánnena vyáñjanam

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a condiment (vyáñjana) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting food (ánnena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

dádhnā (úpasiktaḥ) odanáḥ / dádhy-odanah 'rice, (sprinkled with) curds'. The syntactic connection is provided by the alternative string of padás.

2.1.35 bhakśyèṇa miśrīkáraṇam

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting a 'relish' (miśrī-káranam) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting an item of food (bhakṣyèṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

guḍéna (miśrā́ḥ) dhānā́ḥ / guḍá-dhānāḥ 'barley mixed with molasses'; *guḍéna (miśrā́ḥ) pṛ̥́thukāḥ* 'fried rice mixed with molasses' = *guḍá-pṛ̥thukāḥ*

2.1.36 caturthī [1]tad-artha=[2]artha-[3]bali-[4]hita-[5]sukha-[6]rakṣitaíḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī́)

[optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] (1) signifying something for what is denoted by the prior member (tád-artha) or with (2) ártha- 'purpose', (3) balí- 'sacrificial offering', (4) hitá- 'beneficial', (5) sukhá- 'agreeable', and (6) rakṣitá- 'reserved, protected' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *yū́pāya dā́ru/yūpa-dārú* 'wood for sacrificial post'; *kuṇḍalā́ya híraṇyam/kuṇḍala-hiraṇyám* 'gold for ear-rings', but not from *rándhanāya sthālī́* 'pot for cooking'.
2. By an interpreting vārttika an obligatory compound is enjoined: *brāhmaṇārthám páyaḥ* 'milk (or water) for the brahmin'.
3. *kúberāya balíḥ/kubera-balíḥ* 'a sacrificial offering to K.'
4. *góbhyo hitám/gó-hitam* 'beneficial to cattle' (6.2.45 for accent).
5. *áśve-bhyaḥ sukhám/aśva-sukhám* 'agreeable or conducive to the happiness of horses'.
6. *gó-bhyo rakṣitám/gó-rakṣitam* 'reserved for cattle' (6.2.45).

2.1.37 pañcamī́ bhayéna

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī́) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] bhayá- 'fear' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

vṛ́ke-bhyo bhayám/vṛka-bhayám 'fear of wolves'; *cauré-bhyo bhayám/caura-bhayám* 'fear of thieves'. This rule also applies to synonyms of [bhayá] such as [bhītá-] 'was afraid of', [bhī́ti-, bhī́] 'fear'.

2.1.38 [1]apetá=[2]ápoḍha-[3]muktá-[4]patitá=[5]apatrastaír alpaśáḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) apetá- 'parted', (2) ápoḍha- 'carried away', (3) muktá- 'released', (4) patitá- 'fallen' and apatrastá- 'afraid of', in a very few cases (alpaśáḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sukhā́d apetáḥ/sukhāpetáḥ* 'parted from happiness'.
2. *kálpanāyāḥ=ápoḍhah/kalpanāpoḍháḥ* 'carried away by imagination'.
3. *cakrā́t=muktáḥ/cakra-muktáḥ* 'released from the wheel'.
4. *svargā́t patitáḥ/svarga-patitáḥ* 'fallen from paradise'.
5. *taraṅgé-bhyaḥ=apatrastáḥ/taraṅgāpatrastáḥ* 'afraid of waves'.

Governing rule 11 operates here.

2.1.39 ¹stoká=²antiká-³dūrá=artha-⁴kr̥cchrā́ṇi Kténa

[Nominal padas 2] denoting the sense of (1) stoká- 'a little', (2) antiká- 'near' (3) dūrá- 'far' and (4) the expression kr̥cchrá- 'difficulty' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combine with the nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Kta [to form a Tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

1. *stok-āt=muk-tá-ḥ/stokān-muk-tá-ḥ* 'barely released'.
2. *antik-āt=ā-ga-tá-ḥ/antik-ād-ā-ga-tá-ḥ* 'come from near'.
3. *dūr-āt=ā-ga-tá-ḥ/dūr-ād-ā-ga-tá-ḥ* 'come from far'.
4. *kr̥cchr-āt=lab-dhá-ḥ/kr̥cchr-āl-lab-dhá-ḥ* 'obtained with difficulty'.

These expressions constitute what are known as [a-luK-samāsas] (6.3.2) where the sUP triplet of the first member is not replaced by $\emptyset^1$ (luK) as required by 2.4.71.

2.1.40 saptamī́ śauṇḍaíḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP tiplet (saptamī́) [optionally 11 combines with the nominal padá 4 class] whose first member is śauṇḍá- 'adroit, skilful' [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

akṣe-ṣu śauṇḍáh/akṣá-śauṇḍah 'skilful at dice'. The list of words headed by [śauṇḍá] forms part of the Gaṇapāṭha.

2.1.41 ¹siddhá-²śuṣká-³pakvá-⁴bandhaíś ca

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) siddhá- 'perfected', (2) suṣká- 'dried', (3) pakvá- 'cooked' and (4) bandhá- 'binding, combination' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sā́ṁkāśye siddháḥ/sā́ṁkāśya-siddhaḥ* 'perfect in S.'
2. *ātapé śuṣkáht/ātapá-śuṣkaḥ* 'sun-dried'.
3. *śthalyā́m pakváh/sthālī́-pakvaḥ* 'cooked in a pot'.
4. *cakré bandháḥ/cakrá-bandhaḥ* 'bound on the wheel'.
5. A separate rule is necessary since these are not included in the śauṇḍá-list of Gaṇapāṭha.

2.1.42 dhvā́ṅkṣeṇa kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting the sense of dhvā́ṅksa- 'crow' when expressing the sense of 'derision, contempt' (kṣépe) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

tīrthé dhvāṅkṣa (iva) = tīrthá-dhvāṅkṣaḥ/tīrthá-kākaḥ, tīrthá-vāyasaḥ 'an unstable person (lit. a crow in a sacred bathing place)', but *tīrthé dhvāṅkṣas tíṣṭh-a-ti* 'a crow is remaining in the sacred bathing space'.

2.1.43 kŕ̥tyair r̥ṇé

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4 ending in 1.1.72] kŕ̥tya affixes [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when signifying a debt (r̥ṇé).

māsé déyam/māsá-deyam r̥ṇám 'a debt to be paid within a month'. The word [r̥ṇé] by implication extends the scope of this rule to other situations when an obligation of time is involved; thus *purvāhṇé-geyam/pūrvāhṇá-geyam sāma* 'a sā́man that is to be recited in the morning' in which the prior member retains its sUP triplet by 6.3.14.

2.1.44 saṁjñā́yām

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when denoting a name (saṁjñā́yām).

áraṇye-tilakāḥ 'wild sesamum' with non-replacement of sUP triplet of the prior member by 6.3.9.

2.1.45 Kténa=[1]aho-[2]rātra=avayavā́ḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40] denoting the divisions of day (áhan) and night (rā́trī́) [combines with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

pūrvahṇé kr̥tám/pūrvāhṇá-kr̥tam 'accomplished in the day'; *aparāhṇé kr̥tám/aparāhṇá-kr̥tam* 'accomplished in the afternoon'; similarly: *purvarātré kr̥tám/pūrva-rātrá-kr̥tam* 'performed in the first half of the night'; *apara-rātré kr̥tám/apara-rātrá-kr̥tam* 'done in the second half of the night'; but *áhani bhuktám* 'eaten in the morning'.

2.1.46 tátra

[The nominal padá 2] tátra [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 (5.3.10) combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

tátra-kṛtam 'done there', *tátra-bhuktam* 'eaten there'.

2.1.47 kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when indicating censure (kṣépe).

ávatapte-nakula-sthitam 'inconstancy (like that of mangoose on a hot plate)'; non-elision of the seventh sUP triplet by 6.3.14. Similarly *bhásmani-hutam* 'fruitess action (like offering an oblation in ashes)'.

2.1.48 pā́tre-samita=ādayas=ca

The class of expressions beginning with pā́tre-samita- 'constantly present at meals' (= a parasite) are [tatpuruṣá 22 compounds 3 when indicating blame or censure (kṣépe) 47].

2.1.49 [1]pūrva-kālá=[2]éka-[3]sarvá-[4]járat-[5]purāṇá-[6]náva-[7]kévalāḥ samāná=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padá 2] denoting something which precedes in time (pūrva-kālá) [and nominal padás 4] éka- 'one', sárva- 'all', járat- 'old', purāṇá- 'ancient', náva- 'new' and kévala- 'sole, alone' [combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] having a common frame of reference (samāná=adhikaraṇéna) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. The word [pūrva-kālá] 'previous time' is relative to the time referred to by the second member: *pū́rvam snātáḥ paścā́t=ánuliptaḥ = snātānuliptáḥ* 'first bathed and then perfumed'; the intention is to settle the order of these nominal padás in composition where the previous action becomes the prior member.
2. *ékā (evá) śāṭī = eka-śāṭī* 'one (sole) skirt'; *ékā bhikṣā́ = eka-bhikṣā́* '(only) one alms (in a day)'.
3. *sárve devā́ḥ = sarva-devā́ḥ* 'all divinities'
4. *járan hastī́ = jarad-dhastī́* 'old elephant'.
5. *purāṇám āvasathám = purāṇāvasathám* 'ancient habitation'.
6. *návam annám = navānnám* 'new rice'.
7. *kévalam annám = kevalānnám* 'mere or only rice'.
8. *kévalo vaiyākaraṇáḥ = kevala-vaiyākaraṇáḥ* 'unique grammarian'.

2.1.50 ¹dík-²saṁkhyé saṁjñā́yām

[Nominal padás 2] denoting directions (díś) or numbers (saṁkhyā́) [combine with 4 syntactically connected nominal padás 4, having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] provided the compound denotes a name (saṁjñā́yām).

1. *pū́rvā ca=asaú iṣukāma-śamī ca = purveṣukāmaśamī́* 'East Iṣukāmaśamī (n.pr. of a village)'; similarly *apareṣukāma-śamī́* 'Western Iṣukāmaśamī'.
2. *saptá ṛ́ṣayaḥ = saptarṣayáḥ* 'Ursa Major (n.pr. of a constellation: Great Bear)'.

2.1.51 ¹taddhita=arthá-²uttara-padá-³samāhāré ca

[Nominal padás 2 denoting direction (díś) or number words (saṁkhyā́) 50 optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having a common frame of reference with them 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhitá affix is introduced or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttara-padá) or (c) a collection (samāhārá)is to be denoted.

1. taddhita=arthá: *pū́rvasyām śā́lāyām bhávaḥ = [purva+∅+śālā+Ña* (4.1.107)] = *paúrva-śāl-a-ḥ* (7.2.117; 6.4.64) 'situated in the eastern house'; *pūrvā́ śā́lā priyā́ yásya = pūrva-śālā́-priyaḥ* results in a bahuvrīhi compound 'to whom the eastern house is dear' and the prior member *pūrva-sālā́-* 'eastern house' constitutes a tatpuruṣá compound and is accented on the final syllable.
2. *ṣaṇṇā́m mātṝ́ṇām ápatyam = [ṣaṭ+∅¹+mātṛ+áN* 4.1.115 = *ṣāṭ+mātur+áN* 1.1.51] = *ṣāṇ-mātur-á-ḥ* (7.1.117; 8.4.45) 'descendant of six mothers', where the nominal stem *ṣaṭ+mātṛ́* 'six mothers' forms a tatpuruṣá compound. *páñca gā́vo dhánam ásya = [pañca+∅¹+go+∅¹+dhana]* resulting in a bahuvrīhi compound *pañca-gavá-dhanaḥ* 'whose wealth consists of five cows', before the final member °*-dhana-*, *pañca-gavá-* constitutes a tatpuruṣá compound.
3. *pañcānā́m gáv-ām samāhāráḥ = [pañca+∅¹+go+∅¹+ṬáC* (5.4.92)] = *pañca-gav-á-m* (6.1.78) is accented on the final syllable (6.1.163), where *pañca+go* forms a Dvigu compound (52 below) and is assigned the singular sUP triplet (2.4.1) which is neuter (2.4.17). Similarly *aṣṭānā́m adhyāyā́nām samāhāráḥ = aṣṭa+adhyāya+ṄīP* (4.1.21)+*sU* = *aṣṭādhyāyī́* (6.4.148)+∅ (6.1.68): 'collection of eight chapters, title of the present work'.

2.1.52 saṁkhyā-pūrvo dvigúḥ

(The t.t.) dvigú denotes [a compound 3] whose first member is a number word (saṁkhyā) [optionally 11 combining with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having a common frame of reference 49 provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhita affix is introduced (taddhita=arthá) or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttarapadá) or (c) a collection is to be denoted 51].

1. *pañcasu kapāleṣu sáṁskr̥taḥ* 'a sacrifical offering prepared in five vessels' = [*pañca*+$\emptyset^1$+*kapāla*+*áṆ* (4.1.16) = *pañca-kapāla*+$\emptyset^1$ (4.1.88)] = *páñca-kapāla-ḥ* (6.2.29); since the affix replacement is by luK (=$\emptyset^1$) the operation of 7.2.117 is blocked out and there is no vr̥ddhi replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable of the compound expression.
2. *páñca nā́vaḥ priyā́ḥ=ásya* = [*pañc*+$\emptyset^1$+*nau*+$\emptyset^1$+*priya-* = *pañca*+*nau*+*ṬáC* (5.4.99)+*priya-*] since by this rule, before the posterior member *°-priya-*, *panca+nau-* is defined as a dvigú: = *pañca-nāvá-priya-ḥ*.
3. *pañcānā́m pūlā́nām samāhā́raḥ* = *pañca*+$\emptyset^1$+*pūlá*+*sU* (2.4.1) = *pañca-pūlá*+*am* (2.4.17) = *pañca*+*pūlá*+*ṄīP* (4.1.21)+$\emptyset$ (6.4.68) = *pañca-pūlī́* 'a collection of five bunches of grass'.

2.1.53 kutsitā́nai kútsanaiḥ

[Nominal padás 2] denoting despicable or contemptible objects (kutsitā́ni) [combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] denoting reproach (kútsanaíḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

vaiyākaraṇáś ca=asaú khasūcíś ca = *vaiyākaraṇa-khasūcí-ḥ* 'stupid grammarian'; the expression kha-sūcí- 'one who looks vacantly at the sky (when a response to a question is sought)' = 'a stupid or ignorant person' is indicative of contempt.

2.1.54 [1]pāpá=[2]aṇaké kutsitaíḥ

[The nominal padás 2] pāpá- 'bad, evil' and aṇaka- 'insignificant' [denoting reproach 53 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] denoting what is despised (kutsitaíḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

By the preceding rule these nominal padás would have heen posterior members of compounds, but the present rule reverses the order and they occur as prior members. *pāpáś ca=asaú nāpitáś ca* = [*pāpa*+$\emptyset^1$+*nāpita*+*sU*] = *pāpa-nāpitá-ḥ* 'an incompetent barber'; *aṇakaś ca=asaú kúlālaś ca* = *aṇaka-kulālá-ḥ* 'an inefficient potter'.

2.1.55 upamā́nāni sāmānaya-vacanaíḥ

[A nominal padá 2] denoting an upamā́na 'object of comparison' [optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] denoting objects possessing a shared feature (sāmānya-vacanaíḥ) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

ghaná iva śyāmáḥ = ghaná-śyāma-ḥ 'dark as a cloud'; similarly *kúmuda iva śyení = kúmuda-śyenī* 'lily-white' (6.2.2 for accent).

2.1.56 upamitám vyāghrá=ābibhiḥ sāmānya=a-prayogé

[A nominal padá 2] denoting an upamitá 'subject compared' [optionally 11 combines with the class of nominal padás 4] beginning with vyāghrá- 'tiger' [as objects of comparison 55] provided an expression implying that common feature (sā́mānya) is not employed (á-prayoge) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

This is a prior exception to rule 57 below. *púruṣo vyāghrá iva = puruṣa-vyāghráḥ* 'strong like a tiger' but not when we have a string like *púruṣo vyāghrá iva śū́-raḥ* 'a person strong as a tiger'.

2.1.57 viśéṣaṇam viśeṣyèṇa bahulám

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a qualifier (viśéṣaṇam) [optionally combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4, having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting the item qualified (viśeṣyèṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] variously (bahulám).

nī́lam utpalám = nīlotpalám 'blue lotus'; the word [bahulám] implies that in certain cases the compound is obligatory, despite the governing rule 11 above: *kṛṣṇa-sarpá-* 'cobra', and in others like *rāmó dā́śarathiḥ* 'Rama, son of Daśaratha' no composition takes place.

2.1.58 [1]pū́rva=[2]ápara-[3]prathamá-[4]caramá-[5]jaghanyà-[6]samāná-[7]mádhya-[8]madhyamá-[9]vīrā́ś ca

[The nominal padás 2] pū́rva- 'prior', ápara- 'another', prathamá- 'first', caramá- 'last', jaghanyà- 'hindermost, lowest', samāná- 'equal', mádhya-, madhyamá- 'middle' and vīrá- 'hero' also (ca) [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *pūrva-vaiyākaraṇá-ḥ* = *pū́rvaś ca=asaú vaiyākaraṇā́ś ca* 'ancient or older grammarian'.
2. *apara-puruṣá-ḥ* 'another person, successor'. *carama-puruṣá-ḥ* 'last person'. *jaghanya-puruṣá-ḥ* 'lowest person'. *samāna-puruṣá-ḥ* 'equal person'. *madhya-puruṣá-ḥ/madhyama-puruṣáḥ* 'middle person' and as a t.t. for the second person. *vīra-puruṣá-ḥ* 'heroic person'.

2.1.59 śréṇi=ādayaḥ kr̥tá=ādibhiḥ

[The class of nominal padás 2] beginning with śréṇi- 'line' [optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padá class 4] beginning with kr̥tá- 'fashioned, made' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

By a vārttika this usage is restricted to indicate the meaning of affix Cvi̲ (5.4.50): *á-sreṇayaḥ śréṇayaḥ kr̥tā́ḥ* = *śréṇi-kr̥tāḥ* 'arranged in a line or tier' (6.2.46 for accent).

2.1.60 Kténa náÑ-viśiṣṭena=á-naÑ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá not co-occurring with particle náÑ [optionally 11 combines with the same nominal stem 4 ending in 1.1.72] affix Ktá co-occurring with particle náÑ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kr̥táṁ ca tad ákr̥tam ca = *kr̥tākr̥tám* 'partially done' and similarly *bhuktābhuktám* 'partially eaten', but no composition takes place from the string *siddháṁ ca tád ábhuktaṁ ca* 'prepared but not eaten'.

2.1.61 [1]sát=[2]mahát-[3]paramá=[4]úttama=[5]útkr̥ṣṭāḥ pūjyámanaiḥ

[The nominal padás 2] sát- 'good', mahát- 'great', paramá- 'highest', úttama- 'best' and útkr̥ṣṭa- 'eminent, excellent' [optionally 11 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting persons deserving of respect (pūjyámānaiḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sán vaidyáḥ* = *sad-vaidyáḥ* 'good physican'.
2. *mahā́ṁś ca=asaú vaiyākaraṇā́ś ca* = *mahā-vaiyākaraṇáḥ* (6.3.46) 'great grammarian'.
3. *paramaś ca=asaú haṁsaś ca* = *parama-haṁsá-ḥ* 'highest swan', a designation of the highest class of monks.

4. *uttama-puruṣá-ḥ* ‘highest person’ and as t.t. ‘first person’.
5. *ut-kr̥ṣṭa-puruṣá-ḥ* ‘most eminent or excellent person’.

2.1.62 [1]vr̥ndāraka-[2]nāgá-[3]kuñjaraiḥ pūjyámānam

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a person deserving of respect (pūjyámānam) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] vr̥ndāraka- ‘excellent’, nāgá- ‘elephant’ and kuñjara- ‘elephant’ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *go-vr̥ndāraká-ḥ* ‘excellent bull’.
2. *go-nāgá-ḥ/go-kuñjará-ḥ* ‘excellent bull’.

2.1.63 [1]katara-[2]katamaú jāti-pari-praśné

[The nominal padás 2] katará- ‘which of two’ and katamá- ‘which of many’ with reference to a question regarding genus or class (jāti-pari-praśné) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *anáyoḥ káḥ kaṭháḥ = katara-kaṭhá-ḥ* (for alternate accentuation cf. 6.2.57: *ka-tará-kaṭha-ḥ?*) ‘which of these two is an adept in the Kaṭhá school of Vedic studies?’.
2. *eṣā́m káḥ kalāpáḥ = katama-kalāpá-ḥ* ‘which among these many is an adept of the Kalāpá school of Vedic studies?’.

2.1.64 kíṁ kṣépe

[The pronominal padá 2] kíṁ ‘who, what, which’, when indicating censure (kṣépe) [combines with 1 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kutsitó rā́jā = kiṁ-rājā́ (yó ná rákṣ-a-ti) a bad king (who does not protect his subjects)’. Here the samāsānta affix [ṬáC] introduced by 5.4.91 is blocked by 5.4.70, thus generating the compound stems like *kíṁ-rājan-*, *kiṁ-sakhi-* ‘a vile friend (who hates)’, *kíṁ-go-* ‘an ox (who does not carry)’ etc. Here the word [kím] functions like an indeclinable, but *kásya rā́jā = kiṁ-rājá-ḥ, kásya sákhā = kim-sakhá-ḥ, kásya gaúḥ = kiṁ-gavá-ḥ*.

2.1.65 [1]poṭā-[2]yuvatí-[3]stoká-[4]katipayá-[5]gr̥ṣṭí-[6]dhenú-[7]vaśā́-[8]vehát-[9]baṣkayaṇī-[10]pravaktŕ̥-[11]śrótriya=[12]adhyā́paka-[13]dhūrtaír jā́tiḥ

[A nominal padá 2] denoting species (jā́tiḥ) [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] poṭā 'hermaphrodite', yuvatí- 'young female', stoká- 'a little', katipayá- 'some', gr̥ṣṭí- 'a cow which has had only one calf', dhenú- 'milch cow', vaśā́- 'barren cow', vehát- 'a cow that miscarries or aborts', baṣkayaṇī 'a cow that has a half adult calf', pravaktŕ̥- 'promulgator, expounder', śrótriya- 'a brahmin who studies the Veda' (5.2.88), adhyā́paka- 'teacher' and dhūrtá- 'clever' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *ibhī́ ca asaú poṭā ca* = [*ibha+ṄĪṢ* (4.1.63)+*poṭṭā* = *ibha+∅+poṭā́* (6.2.34)] = *ibha-poṭā́* 'a hermaphrodite elephant'.
2. *ibha-yuvatí-ḥ* 'a young female elephant'.
3. *agni-stoká-ḥ* 'a little fire'.
4. *udaśvit-katipayá-m* 'a little buttermilk'.
5. *go-gr̥ṣṭí-ḥ* 'a cow having a single calf'.
6. *go-dhenú-ḥ* 'milch cow'.
7. *go-vaśā́* 'a barren cow'.
8. *go-vehát* 'a cow that miscarries'.
9. *go-baṣkayaṇī́* 'a cow having a half adult calf'.
10. *kaṭha-pravaktŕ̥-* 'propagator of Kaṭhá'.
11. *kalāpa-śrotriyá-* 'a student of Kalāpá'.
12. *kaṭhādhyāpaká-* 'a teacher of Kaṭhá'.
13. *kaṭha-dhūrtá-* 'clever in Kaṭhá'.

2.1.66 praśaṁsā-vacanaiś ca

[A nominal padá 2 denoting species (jāti) 65 optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and signifying praise (praśaṁsā) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

matallikā- ca asaú gaúś ca = *go-matallikā́* 'an excellent cow; similarly *aśva-prakāṇḍám* 'an excellent horse'.

2.1.67 yúvā [1]khalatí-[2]palitá-[3]valina-[4]járatībhiḥ

[The nominal padá 2] yúvan- 'young, youthful' [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] khalatí- 'bald', palitá- 'grey-haired',

valina- 'wrinkled' and járatī 'old' (f.) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *yúvā khalatí-ḥ = yuva-khalatí-ḥ* 'a bald youth', similarly *yuvatíḥ khalatī́ = yuva-khalatī́* 'a bald maiden'.
2. *yuva-palitá-ḥ, yuva-palitā́* 'grey-haired young person'.
3. *yuva-valiná-ḥ, yuva-valinā́* 'a wrinkled young person'.
4. *yuva-jarán, yuva-jaratī́* 'prematurely old young person'.

Note: By using the form [járatī] in the sūtra the following maxim of interpretation is introduced: "When a nominal padá is introduced it includes all the genders associated with it".

2.1.68 [1]kṛ́tya-[2]túlya=ākhyā́ á-jātyā

[Nominal padás 2 ending in 1.1.72] kṛ́tya (3.1.95ff.) affixes as well as synonyms of túlya- 'equivalent' [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] not denoting a species (á-jātyā) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *bhojyàṁ ca tád uṣṇáṁ ca = bhojyoṣṇám* 'hot food'; *pānī́yaṁ ca tat śītáṁ ca = pānīya-śītám* 'cold drink'.
2. *tulya-śvetáḥ/sadṛśa-śvetáḥ* 'equally white'.
3. But *bhojyà odanáḥ* 'edible rice'.

2.1.69 várṇo várṇena

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a color (várṇaḥ) [combines with another nominal padá 4] denoting color (várṇena) [syntactically connected with it 1 and having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kṛṣṇáś ca asaú sāráṅgaś ca = kṛṣṇa-sāraṅgá-ḥ 'black and dappled, a spotted deer'.

2.1.70 kumāráḥ śramaṇā=ādibhiḥ

[The nominal padá 2] kumārá- 'lad, boy' [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 class of nominal padás 4] beginning with śrámaṇā 'lady ascetic' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

kumārī́ śrámaṇā = kumāra+ṄīP+śramaṇā = kumāra+∅+śramaṇā́ (6.3.34) = *kumāra-śramaṇā́* 'young lady ascetic or mendicant'.

2.1.71 cátuṣpādo garbhíṇyā

[Nominal padás 2] denoting quadrupeds (cátuspādaḥ) [combine with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] garbhíṇī 'pregnant' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

garbhíṇí ca asaú gaúś ca = go-garbhiṇí 'a pregnant cow'. Composition here is restricted to words denoting species (jāti), hence no composition takes place in the string *kālākṣī garbhíṇī* 'the cow named Kālakṣī is pregnant'.

2.1.72 mayūra-vyaṁsaká=ādayaś ca

[The class of compound padás 2] beginning with mayūra-vyaṁsaká- are also (ca) designated [tatpuruṣá 22 compounds 3].

mayūraś ca asaú vyáṁsakaś ca = mayūra-vyaṁsaká-ḥ 'a cunning peacock'.

2.2.1 [1]pū́rva=[2]ápara=[3]ádhara=[4]úttaram ekadeśínā=eka= adhikaráṇe

[The nominal padás 1.2] pū́rva- 'front, fore', ápara- 'back', ádhara- 'lower' and úttara- 'higher' [combine with a nominal padá 1.4] denoting a single substance (eka=adhkaraṇé) consisting of parts (eka-deśínā) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

Since the single substance with parts is referred to as forming the posterior member of a compound, the sixth sUP triplets are introduced after it (technically known as [avayava-ṣaṣṭhī́]). This rule is a prior exception to 8 below.

1. *pū́rvaṁ kāyásya = pūrva-kāyá-ḥ* 'front of the body'.
2. *áparam kāyásya = apara-kāyá-ḥ* 'back of the body'.
3. *adhara-kāyá-ḥ* 'lower part of the body'.
4. *uttara-kāyá-ḥ* 'upper part of the body'.

In a Karmadhāraya compound *pū́rvaś ca asaú kāyáś ca = pūrva-kāyá-ḥ* the reference is not to a part of the body but to the whole body.

2.2.2 ardhám nápuṁsakam

[The nominal padá 1.2] ardhám (used as a neuter: nápuṁsakam) 'half' (but not as a qualifier) [combines with a nominal padá 1.4 denoting a single substance consisting of parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

ardhám pippalyā́ḥ = ardha-pippalī́ 'half a pepper'; when not neuter we have the string *grā́masya ardháḥ = gramārdhá-ḥ* 'half the village' where it is the posterior member.

2.2.3 [1]dvitī́ya-[2]tr̥tī́ya-[3]caturthá-[4]túryāṇi anyatarásyām

[The nominal padás 1.2] dvitī́ya- 'second', tr̥tī́ya- 'third', caturthá- and túrya- 'fourth' optionally (anyatarásyām) [combine with a nominal padá 1.4 denoting a single substance with parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

dvitī́yam bhikṣā́yāḥ = dvitīya-bhikṣā́ 'a second alms-giving' or alternately *bhikṣā-dvitīyám*; similarly: *tr̥tīya-bhikṣā́/bhikṣā-tr̥tīyám; caturtha-bhikṣā́/ bhikṣā-caturthám; turya-bhikṣā́/bhikṣā-turyám* 'third/fourth alms-giving'.

2.2.4 ¹prā́pta=²ā́panne ca dvitī́yayā

[The nominal padás 1.2] prā́pta- and ā́-panna- 'gained, attained' also (ca) [combine with nominal padás 1.4] co-occurring with the second sUP triplets [optionally 3 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

prā́pto jī́vikām = *prāpta-jīvikā́-ḥ/jīvikā-prāptáḥ* (1.24) 'who has gained his livelihood'; = *āpanna-jīvikā́-ḥ/jīvikāpanná-ḥ*.

2.2.5 kālā́ḥ partimāṇínā

[Nominal padás 1.2] denoting time (kālā́ḥ) [combine with nominal padás 1.4] denoting objects which are measured (parimāṇínā) by time [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

mā́so jātáḥ=asyá = *māsa-jātá-ḥ* 'born a month back'.

2.2.6 náÑ

[The negative particle] náÑ [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

ná brāhmaṇá-ḥ = *á-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* (6.3.73) 'not a brahmin'; *ná kúśala-ḥ* = *á-kuśala-ḥ* 'not dextrous or clever'.

2.2.7 īṣát=á-kr̥t-ā

[The indeclinable padá 1.2] īṣát 'a little, slightly' [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4] not (ending in 1.1.72) a kŕ̥t (3.1.93ff.) affix [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

īṣat-piṅgalá-ḥ 'slightly brownish'; *īṣat-kaḍārá-ḥ* 'a little tawny'. (Cf. 6.2.54 for alternative accent *īṣát-kaḍāra-*.)

Note: A vārttika modifies this rule by replacing [á-kr̥t-ā] by [guṇa-vácanena]: Pāṇini himself has the compound [īṣad-a-samāptí] 'slight incompleteness' (5.3.67).

2.2.8 ṣaṣṭhī́

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī́) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

rā́jñaḥ púruṣa-ḥ = *rāja-puruṣá-ḥ* 'king's man, royal servant'.

2.2.9 yā́jaka=ādibhiś ca

[A nominal padá 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 9] also (ca) [combines with 1.4 the class of nominal padás 1.4] beginning with yā́jaka- 'sacrificer' [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

Words forming this class end in the affix [°-tr̥̥C or °-aka-] and by 16 below do not combine with a prior member ending in the sixth sUP triplet, and so this rule is a prior exception to that: *brāhmaṇśsya yā́jaka-ḥ* / *brāhmaṇá-yājaká-ḥ* 'performer of a sacrifice for a brahmin'.

2.2.10 ná nirdhā́raṇe

[A nominal padá 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced (by 2.3.42) to denote a setting apart (nirdhā́raṇe) does not (ná) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

nr̥̥-ṇā́m dvijáḥ śréṣṭhaḥ 'among men the twice-born is the best'; *kr̥̥ṣṇā́ gávāṁ sámpanna-kṣīra-tamā* 'the black cow is the most bounteous of milch-cows'.

By a vārttika an item ending in the sixth sUP triplet introduced by a rule other than 2.3.50 never combines to form a compound.

2.2.11 [1]pū́raṇa-[2]guṇá-[3]súhita=artha-[4]SAT=[5]ávyaya-[6]távya-[7]samāná=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4] consisting of (a) ordinals (pū́raṇa), (b) qualifying expressions (guṇá), (c) a word denoting 'satisfaction' (súhita=artha), (d) a participle ending in the affix SAT (= ŚátR̥̥-, ŚānáC 3.2.127), (e) an indeclinable, (f) padás ending in °-távya- and (g) a padá having the same frame of reference (samāná=adhikaraṇena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

1. *chātrā́ṇām pañcamáḥ* 'fifth among pupils'.
2. *kā́kasya kā́rṣṇyam* 'blackness of the crow'.
3. *phálānām súhitaḥ/tr̥̥ptáḥ* 'satisfied with fruit'.
4. *brāhmaṇásya kurván/kurvāṇáḥ* 'working for a brahmin'.
5. *brāhmaṇásya kr̥̥-tvā* 'having worked for a brahmin'.
6. *rā́jñaḥ kar-távya-m* 'duty of a king'.

7. *pā́ṇineḥ sūtra-kārásya* 'of Pāṇini, author of the sūtras'.

2.2.12 Kténa ca pūjā́yām

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 7 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.2 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá denoting homage (pūjā́yām 3.2.188) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

rā́jñām matáḥ/buddháḥ/pūjitáḥ 'respected, honored or recognized by the king'.

2.2.13 adhikaraṇa-vācínā ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 12] introduced as a locus signifier (adhikarana-vācínā 3.4.76) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

idám eṣā́m bhuktám 'this is their place for eating'; *idám eṣā́m āsitám* 'this is their place of sitting'.

2.2.14 kármaṇi ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an object marker (kármaṇi 3.26) also (ca) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

āścaryò gávām dóhaḥ á-gopālakena 'wonderful is the milking of cows by one who is not a cowherd'.

2.2.15 ¹tr̥C=²akābhyām kartári

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an agent marker (kartári 3.65) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes °-tŕ̥C- or °-aka- [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

bhávataḥ śā́yikā/ā́sikā 'your honor's turn for sleeping/sitting'. The affix [°-aka-] is a replacement of [vu 7.1.1] occurring in the following affixes: [(a) kr̥t: ṆvuC, ṆvuL, vuÑ[1], vuN[1], ṢvuN and (b) taddhita: ḌvuN, vuK, vuC, vuÑ[2] and vuN[2]]. All kr̥t affixes are markers of the agent (3.4.76) and so do not enter into com-

position with a genitive having the value of an agent (16 below); its inclusion here is with reference to the taddhitá affixes only. Similarly [tr̥C] is an agent marker (3.1.133) and has its domain in the subsequent sūtra.

2.2.16 kartári ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4. syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padás 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-tŕ̥C- or -°aka- 15] introduced as agent markers (kartári) [to form tatpuruṣá 1.22 compounds 1.3].

[°-tŕ̥C] is a kr̥t affix (3.1.133) as are [ṆvuC] and [ṆvuL], [vuÑ[1]], [vuN[1]] and [ṢvuN], and all kr̥t affixes are agent markers (3.4.670).

1. *apā́m sraṣṭā́* 'creater of waters'; *vájrasya bhartā́* 'bearer of the thunderbolt'; *púrām bhettā́* 'destroyer of fortified cities'.
2. *yávānām lā́vakaḥ* 'reaper of barley'; *odanásya pā́cakaḥ* 'who cooks rice'.

2.2.17 nítyaṁ [1]krīḍā́-[2]jī́vikayoḥ

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP tripet 8] necessarily (nítyam) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-tŕ̥C or °-aka 15 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3] when denoting a sport (krīḍā́) or livelihood (jī́vikā).

Since the affix [tŕ̥C] does not occur in these two senses, the affix involved is [aka] only, though both are present by anuvr̥tti.

1. sport: *úddālaka-puṣpa-bhañjikā* 'n.pr. of a sport in which Uddālaka flowers are crushed' (6.2.74 for accent).
2. livelihood: *danta-lekh-aká-ḥ* 'dentist', *nakha-lekh-aká-ḥ* 'manicurist'.

2.2.18 [1]kú-[2]gáti-[3]prá=ādayaḥ

[The indeclinable padá 1.2] kú- 'bad, worthless', items of the gáti-class (1.4.60ff.) and prá-class (1.4.58) [combine with 1.4 syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padás 1.4 necessarily 17 to form tatpuruṣá 1.22 compounds 1.3].

1. *kutsitáḥ púruṣaḥ = kú=puruṣaḥ* 'worthless person'.
2. *ūrī-kŕ̥t-ya* 'having accepted'.
3. *sú-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'worthy brahmin'; *áti-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'excellent brahmin', *ā́-kaḍāraḥ* 'slightly tawny'.

A set of vārttikas on this indicate the case relationship of the nominal padás co-occurring with the preverbs.:

(a) first sUP triplet: *pra-gatá ācāryàḥ = prā́cāryaḥ* 'professor, excellent teacher'; *prā́ntevāsin-* 'excellent pupil'.

(b) second sUP triplet: *atikrāntaḥ khátvām* = *áti-khatvaḥ* 'gone beyond the bedstead (i.e., able to do without one)'.
(c) third sUP triplet: *áva-kruṣṭaḥ kokiláyā* = *áva-kokilaḥ* 'announced by the song of the cuckoo'.
(d) fourth sUP triplet: *pari-glānáḥ adhyáyanāya* = *páry-adhy-ayanaḥ* 'weary of study'; *álaṁ kumaryaí* = *álaṁ-kumārih* 'suitable for the maiden'.
(e) fifth sUP triplet: *niṣ-krāntáḥ kauśāmbyāḥ* = *níṣ-kauśāmbiḥ* 'departed from Kauśāmbī'.

2.2.19 upapadám á-tiṄ

An upapadá (3.1.92) which does not terminate (1.1.72) in a verbal personal ending (l-substitute tiṄ) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 necessarily 17 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

kumbháṁ kar-ó-ti = [*kumbhá+Ø+kr̥+áṆ* 3.2.1] = *kumbha-kār-á-* 'a potter'; *nagara-kār-á-* 'a builder of cities'.

2.2.20 amā=evá=ávyayena

[When an upapadá which does not terminate 1.1.72 in tiṄ 19 combines with 1.4] an indeclinable (ávyayena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3] it does so only (evá) with one ending in (1.1.72) the affix °-am.

svādúm+kŕ̥+ṆamuL (3.4.26) = *svāduṁ-kā́r-am bhuṅk-té* 'eats making (one's food) palatable'. *lavaṇaṁ-kā́r-am bhuṅk-té* 'eats after adding salt (to one's food)'. But *ágre bhū-tvā́*.

2.2.21 tr̥tī́yā-prabhr̥tīni=anyatárasyām

[Upapadás 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) optionally (anyatarásyām) [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable ending in 1.1.72. °am (=ṆamuL) 20 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

3.4.47: *mū́lakena=upa-dáṁś-am* = *mū́lakopa-daṁś-am bhuṅk-té* 'eats with radish as a relish'. 3.4.49: *pārśváyor upa-pī́ḍ-am* = *pārsvópa-pīḍ-aṁ śe-té* 'lies down pressing on one's sides'.

2.2.22 Ktvā́ ca

[Upapadás 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) 21 [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable 20 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktvā́ [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3] optionally (anyatárasyaṁ).

uccaíḥ kṛ-tvā́ / uccaiḥ-kṛ́t-ya 'loudly (with a high-pitched voice)'.

2.2.23 śéṣo bahuvrīhíḥ

(The t.t.) bahuvrīhí denotes residual (śéṣaḥ) [compounds 1.3] (with respect to those provided by 2.1.6-2.22).

This is a governing rule up to 28 below. Since only padás ending in sUP triplets other than the first have been dealt with in the preceding section 2.1.6-2.22, the first sUP triplet constitutes this residue.

2.2.24 ánekam anya-pada=arthé

Two or more (án-ekam) [nominal padás 1.2 can combine with 1.4 each other] to denote something distinct (from what is implied by the constituent padás) (anyapada=arthé) [to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3].

1. *prā́ptam udakám yám grā́mam = prā́ptodako grā́maḥ* 'an inundated village'; 2. *ūḍhó rátho yéna sá = ūḍhá-rathaḥ (= anaḍvā́n)* 'a bull by which the chariot has been drawn'; 3. *úpa-hṛtaḥ paśúḥ yásmai sá = úpa-hṛta-paśuḥ (rudráḥ)* 'Rudrá, to whom an animal has bean offered as sacrifice'; 4. *úddhṛtaḥ=odanó yásyāḥ sā́ = úddhṛtaudanā sthālī́* a vessel from which rice has been lifted'; 5. *citrā́ gā́vo yásya sáḥ = citrá-gur devadattáḥ* 'D. who owns brindled cows'; 6. *vīrā́ḥ púruṣāḥ yásmin grā́me sa = vīrá-puruṣa-ko grā́maḥ* (5.4.154) 'a village in which heroic persons live'.

2.2.25 saṁkhyáyā=[1]ávyaya=[2]ā́sanna=[3]ádūra=[4]ádhika-[5]saṁkhyā́ḥ saṁkhyéye

An indeclinable (ávyaya) and [the nominal padás 1.2] ā́sanna- 'near', ádūra- 'not distant', ádhika- 'surplus' and numerals (saṁkhyā́) [combine with 1.4] another numeral (saṁkhyáyā) used for enumeration (saṁkhyéye) [to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3].

1. indeclinable: *viṁśatéḥ samīpé yé = upa-viṁś-ā́-ḥ* 'about ten (= nine or eleven)'.
2. *viṁśatér ā́sannāḥ yé = té āsanna-viṁśā́ḥ* (5.4.73; 6.4.142) 'near 20 (= 19 or 21)'.

3. *adūra-viṁśāḥ* 'not far from 20 (= 19 or 21)'.
4. *viṁśatér ádhikāḥ = adhika-viṁśāḥ* 'exceeding 20'.
5. *dvaú vā tráyo vā = dvi-trāḥ* 'two or three'; *dvír āvṛttā daśa = dví-daśāḥ* 'twice ten (= twenty)'.

2.2.26 díṅ-nāmāny antarālé

[Nominal padás 1.2] denoting names of directions (díṅ-nāmāni) [combine with one another 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3] denoting the intermediate (antarālé) direction.

dásiṇasyāś ca pūrvasyāś ca diśoḥ=antarālám = dákṣiṇa-pūrvā 'south-east'.

2.2.27 tátra téna=idám iti sárūpe

Two identical (sárūpe) nominal padás 1.2 ending in the seventh or third sUP triplet (tátra, téna) [combine with (one another) 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3] to express the meaning 'in this'.

The expression [iti] in the sūtra indicates the meaning of the compound is to be understood from popular usage; these are seizing (gráhaṇa), striking (prahā́raṇa) and fighting mutually (karma-vyatīhārá in a yuddhá).

1. *kéśeṣu kéśeṣu gṛh-ī-tvā idám yuddhám pra-vṛttám = keśākeśí yuddhám* 'a fight in which there is mutual pulling of hair'.
2. *daṇḍaíś ca daṇḍaíś ca pra-gṛ́h-ya idám yuddhám pra-vṛttám = daṇḍādaṇḍí yuddhám* 'a fight in which there is mutual striking with staffs'. (Samāsāanta íC 5.4.127).
3. In both cases the affix íC (5.4.127) is introduced at the end of the compound.

2.2.28 téna sahá=iti tulya-yogé

The indeclinable [padá 1.2] sahá 'with' [combines with a padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (téna) [to form a bahuvrīhí 13 compound 1.3] provided both the person accompanied and the accompanying person have the same relation to the action (tulya-yogé).

sahá putréṇa ā-ga-táḥ = sá-putra-ḥ=ā-ga-tá-ḥ 'has come with (his) son' where [sahá] is replaced by [sa-°] in composition by 6.3.82. When [tulya-yogá] is not denoted no composition takes place: *sahaívá dáśabhiḥ putraír bhārám váhati gardabhī́* 'the she-ass carries the load, accompanied by (her) ten sons'.

2.2.29 ca=arthé dvaṁdváḥ

[An unrestricted number (áneka) 24 of nominal padás 1.2 combine with (one another) 1.4] to form a Dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] (and a part of the meaning is that expressed by) the particle [ca] 'and'.

plakṣáś ca nyagródhás ca = plakṣa-nyagrodhaú 'the trees P. and Ny.' *vā́k ca tvák ca = vāk-tvac-ám* 'voice and skin' [+*ṬáC* 5.4.106].

The meaning of particle [ca] is fourfold: (a) samuccayá 'co-ordinate conjunction', (b) anvācayá 'subordinate conjunction', (c) itaretara-yogá 'mutual connection; and (d) samāhārá 'aggregation'. Composition takes place only in the last two meanings.

2.2.30 upasárjanam pū́rvam

An upasárana (1.2.43: an item indicated with the first sUP triplet in the section on compounds) occurs as the prior (pū́rvam) member [in a compound 1.3].

1. 2.1.4: [dvitī́yā] : *kaṣṭám śritá-ḥ = kaṣṭá-śrita-ḥ.*
   2.1.6: [avyayam] : *adhi-strí = strīṣú.*
2. This rule fixes the position of members constituting compounds like those following it below.

2.2.31 rāja-dantá=ādiṣu páram

In the class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with rāja-dantá- 'principal tooth' [the upasárjana 30] occurs as the posterior (páram) member [of a compound 1.3].

dántānām rā́jā = rāja-dantá-ḥ 'chief or principal tooth'.

2.2.32 dvaṁdvé GHI

In a dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3 nominal padás 1.2] defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) occur [as prior members 30].

háriś ca haraś ca = hari-haraú 'Hári and Hara'; *gurúś ca śukráś ca = guru-śukraú* 'the planets Gurú (Jupiter) and Sukrá (Venus)'.

2.2.33 áC=adi=áT=antam

[In a dvaṁdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādi) and ending with a short vowel a(T=antam) occurs as a [prior member 30].

úṣṭraś ca kháraś ca = uṣṭra-kharaú 'the camel and the donkey'; *Iśáś ca kṛṣṇáś ca = Iśa-kṛṣṇaú* 'I. and K.'

2.2.34 álpa=aC-taram

[In a dvaṁdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] containing the fewer number of vowels (álpa=aC-taram) occurs [as a prior member 30].

plakṣáś ca nyagródhaś ca = plakṣa-nygrodhaú 'the trees P. and Ny.'

2.2.35 [1]saptamī́-[2]viśéṣaṇe bahvrīhaú

In a bahuvrīhí [compound 1.3 a nominal stem 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī́) or one denoting a qualifier (viśéṣaṇa) occurs [as a prior member 30].

Since the constituent members of such compounds are all upasárjanas, this rule provides for the regulation of their order: *kaṇṭhé kāló yásya sá-ḥ = kaṇṭhé-kāla-ḥ* '(Śiva) on whose throat there is a black mark' (cf. *nī́la-kaṇṭha-ḥ*). *úrasi lómāni ásya = úrasi-lomā* 'on whose chest there is hair'. *citrā́ gáv-aḥ=asyá = citrá-gu-ḥ* 'owner of brindled cows'.

2.2.36 niṣṭhā́

[In a bahuvrīhí 35 compound 1.3 nominal padás 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] affixes designated by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ [Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26] occur [as prior members 30]

kṛtáḥ káṭo yéna sáḥ = kṛtá-kaṭa-ḥ 'who has made a mat'.

2.2.37 vā=ā́hita=agni=ādiṣu

[In the class of bahuvrīhí 35 compounds 1.3] beginning with ā́hita = agni- [a nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 niṣṭhā́ affixes 36] optionally (vā) occurs [as a prior member 30].

ā́hitā agnáyo yéna = ā́hitāgni-ḥ/agny-ā̀hita-ḥ 'who has consecrated the (sacrificial) fires'.

2.2.38 káḍārāḥ karmadharāyé

[The class of nominal padás 1.2] beginning with káḍāra- 'tawny' [optionally 37 occurs as a prior member 30] in a karmadhārayá (1.2.42) [compound 1.3].

káḍāraś ca asaú jaiminiś ca = kaḍāra-jaiminí-ḥ/jaimini-kaḍārá-ḥ 'tawny Jaimini'. But *káḍāraḥ púruṣāḥ yásmin grā́me saḥ = káḍāra-puruṣ-o grā́maḥ* (35 above) 'a village of tawny persons'.

2.3.1 ánabhihite

The expression án-abhi-hite 'when unexpressed or unspecified' (is a governing rule up to 70 below and recurs in every subsequent element in this section).

[án-abhi-hite] 'when unexpressed or unspecified' by tiṄ 'personal l-substitutes', [kṛ́t] 'primary affixes', [taddhitá] 'secondary nominal affixes' and [samāsá] 'compound forms'.

2.3.2 kármaṇi dvitī́yā

The second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) is introduced [when not specified otherwise 1] to denote the object (kárman) [káraka 1.4.23].

By 1.4.49 [kárman] is defined as what the agent [kartṛ́] most desires to reach and corresponds to 'direct object'.

káṭa+am kar-ó-ti = *káṭaṁ* (6.1.97) *kar-ó-ti* 'makes a mat'. *grā́maṁ gácch-a-ti* 'goes to the village'.

2.3.3 tṛtī́yā ca hos chándasi

In the domain of Chándas (chándasi) the third sUP triplet, as well as [the second 2] are introduced [to denote the kárman 2 kā́raka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem hu- 'sacrifice' (111 1).

yavāgū́+Ṭā/am = *yavāgv-ā́/yavāg-ū́-m agnihotrám ju-ho-ti* 'offers barley meal as an oblation to Agni'.

2.3.4 [1]antarā́=[2]ántareṇa yukté

[The second sUP triplet 2] is introduced (after an item) [to denote the kárman 2 kā́raka 1.4.23] when it is combined with the indeclinables antarā́ 'between' or ántareṇa 'without or between'.

1. *antarā́/ántarena tvā́ṁ ca mā́ṁ ca kamaṇḍaluḥ* 'the water jug is between you and me'.
2. *ántarena puruṣakārám ná kíṁcit=labh-yá-te* 'without personal exertion nothing is gained'.

2.3.5 [1]kālá=[2]ádhvanor atyanta-saṁyogé

[The second sUP triplet 2 is introduced after] words denoting time (kālá) or distance (ádhvan) to express total connection (atyanta-saṁyogé).

1. *mā́sam adhī-té* 'studies during (the entire) month'.
2. *krós̒am kuṭilā́ nadī́* 'the river is (entirely) crooked for the distance of a krośa'.
3. but *mā́sasya dvír adhī-té* 'studies twice during the month'.

2.3.6 apavargé tṛtī́yā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtī́yā) is introduced [after items denoting time or distance when there is total connection 5] and the action is completed within that (time or distance) (apavargé).

1. *mā́sena=anuvākáḥ=adhī-taḥ* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within a month'.
2. *krós̒ena=anuvākáḥ=ádhī-taḥ* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within the distance of a krośa'.

2.3.7 [1]saptamī́-[2]pañcamyaú kāraka-madhyé

The seventh (saptamī́) or the fifth (pañcamī́) sUP triplet is introduced [after items denoting time or distance 5] when these expressions occur between two kā́rakas (kāraka-madhyé).

1. *adyá bhuk-tvā́ dvy-ahé/dvy-ahā́t bhok-tā́* 'having dined today, will dine after two days'.
2. *ihastháḥ=ayám iṣv-āsá-ḥ krós̒e/krós̒āt lakṣyàm vídh-ya-ti* 'the archer, standing here, strikes the target at a distance of a krośa'.

2.3.8 karmapravacanī́ya-yukte dvitī́yā

The second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) is introduced [after an item] co-occurring with a karmapravacanī́ya (1.4.83ff).

śā́kalyasys sáṁhitām ánu prā́-varṣ-a-t devá-ḥ 'immediately following upon (ánu 1.4.84) (the recitation of) the Sáṁhitā of Śā́kalya it rained'. Here [ánu], the karmapravacanī́ya signifies [lákṣaṇa] or characteristic of the rain.

2.3.9 yásmād ádhikam yásya ca=īśvara-vácanam tátra saptamí́

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamí́) is introduced [after a nominal stem when it co-occurs with a karmapravacanī́ya 8] if it denotes something relative to which (yásmāt) there is an excess (ádhikam) or about which (yásya) rulership (īśvara-vácanam) is stated.

1. *úpa khāryā́m dróṇa-ḥ* 'a droṇa measure is greater than a khārī́ measure'; *úpa niṣké kārṣāpaṇam* 'a kārṣāpana is more than a niṣká'.
2. *ádhi pañcāléṣu brahmadattá-ḥ* 'Br. is the ruler of P.'

2.3.10 pañcamī́=¹ápa-²ā́Ṅ-³pári-bhiḥ

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī́) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with karmapravacanī́yas 8] ápa, ā́Ṅ and pári.

1. *ápa trígarte-bhyaḥ=vr̥ṣṭó deva-ḥ* 'it rained up to (but excluding Trígarta)' (1.4.88).
2. *ā́ pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
3. *pári pāṭaliputrāt* 'around Pāṭaliputra'.

2.3.11 ¹pratinidhí-²pratidā́ne ca yásmā́t

[The fifth sUP triplet 10 is introduced after a nominal stem cooccurring with a karmapravacanī́ya 8] when signifying a proxy (pratinidhí) or barter (pratidā́na).

1. *abhimanyú-r árjuna-taḥ práti* 'Abh. is Arj.'s proxy'.
2. *mā́ṣān tilé-bhyaḥ práti yácch-a-ti* 'exchanges or barters beans for sesamum'.

2.3.12 gaty-artha-karmaṇí ¹dvitī́yā-²caturthyaú ceṣṭā́yām án-adhvani

The second (dvitī́yā) or the fourth (caturthī́) sUP triplet is introduced after the object of an action denoted by a verb of movement (gaty-artha-karmaṇí) when an actual movement is involved (ceṣṭā́yām) and is not itself a path (án-adhvani).

grā́mam/grā́mā-ya gácch-a-ti 'is going to the village'; but *mánasā pāṭaliputram gácch-a-ti* 'mentally goes to P.' and *mārgam/pánthān-am gácch-a-ti* 'goes on the street'.

2.3.13 caturthī́ sampradā́ne

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote sampradā́na (kā́raka 1.4.23).

The t.t. [sampradā́na] has already been defined by 1.4.32 as one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient through the object of the action of giving. It is the indirect object.

upādhyāyā́-ya gā́m dádā-ti 'gives a cow to the teacher'; 1.4.33: *phále-bhyaḥ spr̥h-áy-a-ti* 'yearns for fruit'.

2.3.14 kriyā=arthā́=upapadasya ca kármaṇi stānínaḥ

[The fourth sUP triplet 13 is introduced after a nominal stem] to signify the object (kármaṇi) of a verbal stem which is not actually used (sthānánaḥ) but serves as an upapadá to the verbal stem actually used.

By rule 3.3.10 affixes [°-tumuN and °-ṆvuL] are introduced in connection with verbal stems whose actions refer to the future, for realization of which another action is actually performed. The stem which operates with [°-tumuN or °-ṆvuL] is referred to in this rule as [kriyā=arthā́=upapada] and is not actually used: *édhe-bhyaḥ=vráj-a-ti* = *édhān ā-hár-tum vráj-a-ti* 'goes to fetch firewood'; *édha-* is the obiect of *ā́-har-tum*. Thus *édha+Śas+ā-hŕ̥+tumuN+vráj+ŚaP+tiP* = *édha+bhyas+vráj-a-ti* = *édhe-bhyo vráj-a-ti* (7.3.103).

2.3.15 túm-arthāt=ca bhāva-vácanāt

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) [introduced after a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 an affix] denoting bhāvá (3.3.11 : abstract noun, notion of the verb) and used to indicate the meaning of the affix °-tum (3.3.10).

pác+tumuN vráj+ŚaP+tiP = *pākā́+Ṅe vráj-a-ti* = *pākā́-ya vraj-a-ti* 'goes to cook'.

2.3.16 [1]námas-[2]svastí-[3]svā́hā-[4]svadhā́=[5]álam=[6]váṣaṭ=yogāt=ca

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with námas 'obeisance', svastí 'well-being' (a term of salutation), svā́hā, svadhā́ 'ritual interjections', álam 'equal to, a match for' and váṣaṭ 'ritual interjection'.

1. *námo devḗ-bhyaḥ* 'salutation to the divinities'.

2. *svastí prajā́-bhyaḥ* 'well-being to the subjects'.
3. *svā́hā agnáy-e* 'a sacrificial offering to Agni'.
4. *svadhā́ pitṝ́-bhyaḥ* 'a sacrificial offering to the Manes'.
5. *álam mallo mallā-ya* 'a wrestler is a match for (another) wrestler'. [álam] here is also indicative of its synonyms: *prabhúr mallo mallā-ya* 'a wrestler lords over (another) wrestler'.
6. *váṣaṭ=índrā-ya* 'a sacrificial offering to Índra'.

2.3.17 manya-karmaṇí=án-ādare vibhāṣā=á-prāṇiṣu

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced (after a nominal stem) which functions as the object of the co-occurring verbal stem mán(ya-) 'know, perceive' (IV 67) when conveying the sense of scorn (án-ādare) provided that object is not animate (á-prāṇiṣu).

The option is with regard to the normal use of the accusative to denote the direct object. *ná tvā́m tṝ́ṇ-am/tṝ́ṇā-ya man-y-é* 'I do not consider thee as worth (even) a straw', but with animate obiects only the accusative occurs: *ná tvā́m śṛgālá-m many-é* 'I do not consider thee as a jackal'.

2.3.18 [1]kartṛ'-[2]káraṇayos tṛtī́yā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtī́yā) (is introduced after a nominal stem) to denote the agent [kartṝ́-° 1.4.54] and the instrument (°-káraṇa 1.4.42) [kārakas 1.4.23].

1. *devadatt-éna kṛtám* 'made by Devadatta'.
2. *dātr-éṇa lu-nā́-ti* 'cuts with a sickle'.

2.3.19 sahá-yukte=á-pradhāne

[The third sUP triplet 18] is introduced (after a nominal stem co-occurring with) the indeclinable sahá 'with, accompanied by', provided the nominal stem does not denote the principal (agent) [ápradhāne].

sahá putréṇa pitā́ ā-ga-tá-ḥ 'the father has come with the son'.

2.3.20 yéna=aṅga-vikāráḥ

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18] after a nominal stem denoting a part of the body (áṅga) with respect to which the body has been deformed (vikāráḥ)

akṣṇ-ā́ kāṇá-ḥ 'blind of one eye'; *pād-éna khañjá-ḥ* 'lame in one foot'.

2.3.21 ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇé

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] denoting the characteristic of a state realized (ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇe).

jáṭā-bhis tāpasá-ḥ 'an ascetic, by virtue of having matted hair'; *śíkhay-ā parivrā́jaka-ḥ* 'Ibid.'

2.3.22 sáṁ-jñaḥ=anyatarásyām kármaṇi

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it is the direct object (kármaṇi) of the compound verbal stem sám+jñā 'recognize, acknowledge' optionally (anyatarásyām).

pitr-ā́/pitár-am sáṁ-jā-nī-te 'recognizes the father'.

2.3.23 hetaú

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes a cause (hetaú).

dhán-ena kúlam 'a family, on account of wealth'; *vidyáy-ā yáśaḥ* 'fame (results from) learning'.

2.3.24 á-kartári=ṛṇé pañcamī́

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting a debt (ṛṇé) [considered as a cause 23] but not as the agent (kartári) of a causative verb (hetaú 1.4.55).

śat-ā́t=baddhá-ḥ 'imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces', but *śaténa bandh-i-táḥ* 'caused to be imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces'.

2.3.25 vibhāṣā guṇé=á-striyām

[The fifth sUP triplet is introduced 24] optionally (vibhāṣā) (after a nominal stem) which is not feminine (á-striyām), denoting a quality (guṇé) [serving as a cause 23].

jā́ḍy-āt/jā́ḍey-ena baddhá-ḥ 'arrested on account of his stupidity', but *prajñáy-ā muk-tá-ḥ* 'released on account of (one's) intelligence'.

2.3.26 ṣaṣṭhī́ hetu-prayogé

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú [when it indicates a cause 23].

annásya hetór vás-a-ti 'remains for the purpose of food'.

2.3.27 sarvanāmnas tṛtī́yā ca

The third sUP triplet as well as (ca) [the sixth 6] are introduced (after 1.1.68) a pronominal stem (sarvanāmnaḥ) [co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú 26 when it denotes a cause 23].

kéna hetú-nā/ká-sya hetóḥ=vás-a-ti 'for what reason is (one) staying?'.

2.3.28 apādā́ne pañcamī́

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the apādā́na (1.4.24) [kā́raka 1.4.23].

grā́m-āt ā́-gacch-a-ti 'comes from the village'; *vṛ́ke-bhyo bíbhe-ti* 'fears wolves' (1.4.25); *adhyáyan-āt párā-jay-a-te* 'overcome by study' (1.4.26).

2.3.29 [1]anyá=[2]ārā́t=[3]ítara=[4]ṛté-[5]dik-śabdá=[6]ancÚ=uttarapada=[7]ā́C=[8]ā́hi-yukte

[The fifth sUP triplet 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem] co-occurring with anyá- 'other than', ārā́t 'near to, remote from', ítara- 'different from', ṛté 'without', direction words (dik-śabdá-°), a compound with °-anc- as final member (ancÚ-uttara-pada-°) and words ending in °-ā́C or °-ā́hi.

1. *anyó devadatt-ā́t* 'other than Devadatta'.
2. *ārā́t=devadatt-ā́t* 'near to/far from D.'
3. *ítaro devadatt-ā́t* 'different from D.'
4. *ṛté devadatt-ā́t* 'without D.'
5. *pū́rvo grā́m-āt-párvataḥ* 'the hill east of the village'.
6. *prā́g grā́m-āt* 'east of the village'.
7. *úttaro grā́m-āt* 'north of the village'.
8. *dakṣiṇā́hi grā́m-āt* 'south of the village'.

2.3.30 ṣaṣṭhī́=atas-artha-pratyayéna

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with °-atás (uC 5.3.28).

dakṣiṇ-atás=grā́ma-sya 'south of the village'; *pur-ás/pur-atás= grā́ma-sya* 'east of the village' (5.3.39); *upári/upári-ṣṭhāt=nágara-sya* 'above the city'.

2.3.31 enaPā dvitī́yā

The second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) the affix °-enaP (5.3.35).

úttar-eṇa grā́m-am 'north of the village'.

2.3.32 [1]pṛ́thak-[2]vínā-[3]nā́nā-bhis tṛtī́yā=anyatarásyām

The third sUP triplet (tṛtī́yā) is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after (nominal stems) as well as the fifth 28, co-occurring with 29] pṛ́thak 'separately', vínā 'without', nā́nā 'without, different from'.

Through the anuvṛtti from the preceding sūtra, the second sUP triplet also is optionally introduced.

1. *pṛ́thak rām-éṇa/rām-ā́t/rām-ám* 'separate from Rāma'.
2. *vínā vāt-éna/vāt-ā́t/vāt-ám* 'without wind'.
3. *nā́nā devadatt-éna/devadatt-ā́t/devadatt-ám* 'different from D.'

2.3.33 káraṇe ca [1]stoká=[2]álpa-[3]kṛcchrá-katipayásya á-sattva-vacanasya

When denoting the káraṇa (1.4.42) [kā́raka 1.4.23 the third sUP triplet is optionally 32 introduced] as well as (ca) [the fifth 28] after (the nominal stems) stoká- 'a little', álpa- 'a little', kṛcchrá- 'difficult', and katipayá-'a few' when these do not denote a substance (á-sattva- vacanasya).

1. *stók-ena/stók-āt=muktá-ḥ* 'got off easily'.
2. *álp-ena/álp-āt=muktá-ḥ* 'got off easily', but *stók-ena/álp-ena viṣ-éṇa hatá-ḥ* 'killed by a little poison'.

(c) *kṛcchr-éṇa/kṛcchr-ā́t=muktáḥ* 'released with difficulty'.

(d) *katipay-éna/katipay-ā́t=muktá-ḥ* 'released with a few'.

2.3.34 ¹dūrá=²antiká=arthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhī́=anyatarásyām

The sixth sUP triplet [as well as the fifth 28] are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with synonyms of dūrá- 'distant, far', and antiká- 'proximate, near'.

The repetition of the word [anyatarásyām] when it is already recurring from 32 above is to include the fifth sUP triplet and exclude the third (32).

1. *dūr-am grā́ma-sya/grā́m-āt* 'far from the village'.
2. *antik-ám grā́ma-sya/grā́m-āt* 'near the village. The form *dūr-ám* is by 35 below.

2.3.35 ¹dūra=²antiká=arthebhyo dvitī́yā ca

The second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) and (ca) [the fifth 28 as well as the third 32] are introduced (after nominal stems) synonymous with dūrá- 'distant' and antiká- 'proximate' [when they do not imply a substance 33].

1. *dūr-ám/dūr-ā́t/dūr-éṇa grā́masya* 'far from the village'.
2. *anitik-ám/antik-ā́t/antik-éna nágarasya* 'near the city'.

2.3.36 saptamī́=adhikáraṇe

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the adhikáraṇa (1.4.48) [kā́raka 1.4.23] and (ca) [also after synonyms of dūrá- and antiká- 35].

1. *káṭ-e ā́s-te* 'sits on the mat'; *sthā́ly-ām pác-a-ti* 'cooks in a pot'.
2. *dūr-é nágarasya* 'far from the city'; *antik-é grā́ma-sya* 'near the village'. With synonyms of these two words four sets of sUP triplets are thus introduced: second, third, fifth and seventh.

2.3.37 yásya ca bhāvéna bhāva-lakṣaṇám

[The seventh sUP triplet 36 is introduced after a nominal stem] denoting an action (bhāvéna) which serves to characterize another action (bhāva-lakṣaṇám).

This is the locative absolute construction. *gó-ṣu duh-yá-m-ānā-su gatá-ḥ, dugdhā́-su ā́-ga-ta-ḥ* 'went away while the cows were being milked (but) returned after they were milked'.

2.3.38 ṣaṣṭhī́ ca=án-ādare

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī́) and (ca) [the seventh 37] are introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting an action which serves to characterize another action 37] to denote the sense of 'not-withstanding, in spite of' (án-ādare).

rudát-aḥ/rudát-i prā́-vrāj-ī-t 'in spite of (her) weeping renounced the world'. This is the genitive absolute construction.

2.3.39 1svāmí(n)=2īśvará=3ádhipati-4dāyādá-5sākṣí(n)-6pratibhū́-7prásutaiś ca

[The seventh sUp triplet 36 and the sixth 38 are introduced after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] [the nominal stems] svāmín- 'master', īśvará- 'lord', ádhipati- 'ruler', dāyādá- 'heir', sākṣín- 'witness', pratibhū́- 'surety' and prásūta- 'engendered, born'.

1. *gáv-ām/go-ṣu svāmī́* 'master (=owner) of cattle'.
2. *náre-ṣu/nárā-ṇām īśvaráḥ* 'lord of men'.
3. *nára-ṇām/náre-ṣu ádhipatiḥ* 'ruler of men'.
4. *háre-r/hár-au dāyādáḥ* 'heir of Hari'.
5. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu sākṣī́* 'witness regarding cattle'.
6. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu prati-bhū́ḥ* 'surety for cattle'.
7. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu prásūta-ḥ* 'born to enoy cattle'.

2.3.40 1ā́yukta-2kúśalā́bhyām ca=āsevā́yām

[The seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] ā́yukta- 'employed' and kúśala- 'adroit, skilful' to denote assiduous performance (āsevā́yām).

1. *ā́-yukta-ḥ kaṭa-karaṇ-é/kaṭa-karaṇá-sya*' completely absorbed in the making of mats'.
2. *kúśala-ḥ kaṭa-karaṇ-é/kaṭa-karaṇá-sya* 'skilful in the making of mats'.

2.3.41 yátas ca nirdhā́raṇam

[Ihe seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (a nominal stem)] denoting something from which (yátaḥ) something else is set apart (nirdhā́raṇam).

náre-ṣu/nárā-ṇām kṣatríya-ḥ śū́ra-tama-ḥ 'among men the warrior is the bravest'.

2.3.42 pañcamī́ víbhakte

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting a thing from which something else is set apart 41] which is completely separate (from itself) (víbhakte).

māthurā́ḥ pā́ṭaliputrake-bhyaḥ súkumāratarāḥ 'the inhabitants of M. are more delicate than those of P.'

2.3.43 [1]sādhú-[2]nipuṇā́bhyām arcā́yāṁ saptamī́ á-prateḥ

The seventh sUp triplet (saptamī́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] sādhú- 'good for' and nipuṇá- 'skilful' when they denote respect (arcā́yām) provided (the karmapravacanī́ya) práti is not employed.

mātár-i sādhú-ḥ 'well-behaved towards the mother', but *mātár-am práti sādhúḥ*.
pitár-i nipuṇá-ḥ / pitár-am práti nipuṇá-ḥ 'friendly towards the father'.

2.3.44 [1]prásita=[2]utsukā́bhyām tr̥tī́yā ca

The third sUP triplet (tr̥tī́yā) as well as (ca) [the seventh 43 are introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with 29 the nominal stems] prásita- 'occupied with' and utsuká- 'avid, eager for'.

1. *keś-aiḥ/keśe-ṣu prá-sita-ḥ* 'occupied with one's hair'.
2. *sā=utsukā́ suta-janmán-ā/suta-janmán-i* 'she is eagerly expecting the birth of (her) son'.

2.3.45 nákṣatre ca luPi

[The third 44 and the seventh 43] sUP triplets are introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the name of an asterism (nákṣatre) (ending in 1.1.72) the affix lUP (4.2.4).

puṣy-èṇa/puṣy-è pāyasám aś-nī-yā́-t 'one should drink a milkshake when the asterism puṣyà is in conjunction with the moon'. Here the affix [áṆ] introduced after the name of the asterism (4.2.3) is replaced by [luP 4.2.4] when there is no specification of this time as day or night.

2.3.46 ¹prātipadika=arthá-²liṅgá-³parimā́ṇa-⁴vácana-mātre prathamā́

The first sUp triplet (prathamā́) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to designate only (°-mātré) (a) the meaning of the nominal stem (prātipadika=arthá-°) (b) its gender (liṅgá-°), (c) measure (parimā́ṇa-°) and (d) its number (vácana-°).

1. *uccaís+sU* = *uccaís+∅* (6.1.68) = *uccaíḥ* (B.3.15) 'high', *nīcaíḥ* 'low'. Both are indeclinables (derived with the inst. plur.) sUP affix from qualifying words *uccá-*, *nīcá-*.
2. Three genders are associated with a nominal stem: masculine (m.), feminine (f.) and neuter (n.), and only the first sUP triplets enable one to distinguish these, since in other cases there is convergence of forms. Thus *vṛkṣá+sU* = *vṛkṣá-ḥ* m., *kumarī́+sU* = *kumarī́+∅* (6.1.68) = *kumarī́* f., (= *kumārá+ṄīP* 4.1.10); *vána+sU* = *vána+am* (7.1.13) = *ván-am* (6.1.107) n. Nominal stems which are indeclinable or with invariable gender are examples of (1) while those with no specific gender are examples of (2) as in: *taṭa+sU* m., *taṭa*+(f. °-*ī*)+*sU* (→ ∅ 6.1.68) = *taṭī* f.; *taṭa+sU* (→ *am* 7.1.23) = *taṭ-am* n.
3. *dróṇa+sU* = *dróṇa-ḥ* m.; *khārī́+sU* = *khārī́+∅* = *khārī́* f.; *āḍhaka+sU* = *āḍhaka+am* = *āḍhak-am* n. 'names of measures'.
4. *éka+sU* = *ékaḥ* 'one', *dví+au* = *dvá+au* (7.2.102) = *dv-aú* 'two', *trí+Jas* = *tré+Jas* (7.3.109) = *tráy-aḥ* (6.1.68) 'three' respectively representing the singular, dual and plural.

2.3.47 sambódhane ca

[The first sUP triplet 46] is also introduced after a nominal stem for denoting the vocative (sambódhane).

devadattá+sU = *devadattá+∅* (6.1.69) = *he devadattá*; *hári+sU* = *háre+sU* (7.3.108) = *háre+∅* (6.1.69) = *háre*.

devadattá+au = *dévadattau*; *devadattá+Jas* = *dévadattāḥ*.

2.3.48 sā́=ā́mantritam

(The t.t.) ā́mantrita denotes (a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) [the first sUP triplet 46] used in addressing (= vocative [sambódhane]).

As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.2; 6.1.198; 8.1.8,19,55,72,73.

2.3.49 ekavacanám saṁbúddhiḥ

(The t.t.) sambúddhi denotes the singular (ekavacanám) [of the āmantrita 48 = first sUP triplet].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.16; 6.1.69; 4.9; 7.1.92,99; 8.2.8; 3.1.

2.3.50 ṣaṣṭhī́ śéṣe

The sixth sUP triplet is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote residual relationships (śéṣe = those not specified such as kárman [2ff. above]).

In general, the relationship is between nominal stems without the intervention of verbal stems representing kārakas and covers such instances as that between a master and servant (sva-svāmi-bhāvá) or between the possessor and the thing possessed: *rā́jñ-aḥ púruṣa-ḥ* 'king's servant', or *pit-úḥ putrá-ḥ* 'father's son'.

2.3.51 jnáḥ=á-vid-arthasya káraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the instrument (káraṇe) of the verbal stem jñā- (IX 36) when it is not used in the meaning of 'knowing' (á-vid-arthasya).

[jñā-], when not denoting the sense of 'know' conveys the sense of (a) 'engages in' or (b) 'misunderstands':

sárpiṣ-o jā-nī-té = *sárpiṣ-ā káraṇena jā-nī-té* 'engages in sacrifice with clarified butter'/'mistakenly recognizes as butter (what is not butter)'.

2.3.52 [1]ádhi=iK=artha-[2]dáyA=[3]ī́śām kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it serves as the direct object (kármaṇi) of the verbal stems ádhi+iK (III 8) 'remember' and its synonyms (ádhi=iK=artha-) and dáy- (I 510) 'allot' and īś- (II 10) 'rule'.

1. *māt-úr ádhy-eti/smár-a-ti* 'remembers the mother'.
2. *sárpiṣ-o dáy-a-te* 'allots clarified butter'.
3. *mádhu-n-aḥ=ī́ṣ-ṭe* 'possesses honey'.

2.3.53 kr̥Ñaḥ pratiyatné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem] kr̥Ñ- (VIII 10) denoting the sense of 'transform existing quality' (prati-yatné 1.3.32).

édho daká-sya=úpas-kur-u-te 'The wood transforms the quality of the water', but *kát-am kar-ó-ti* 'makes a pot'.

2.3.54 rujā́=arthānām bhāva-vácanānām á-jvareḥ

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems signifying affliction (rujā=arthānām) and denoting a condition or state (bhāva-vácanānam) [i.e., when the agent is an abstract agent noun] except of the causative verbal stem jvar-í- (= jvar+ṆíC) (á-jvareḥ I 813).

caurá-sya ruj-á-ti rógaḥ 'the malady afflicts the thief'; here the word *róga-* is derived from the underlying string *ruj-yá-te anéna = ruj+GHaÑ = rógà-ḥ* and is an abstract noun, but *nadī́ kū́lāni ruj-á-ti* 'river breaks the banks' and *caur-ám jvar-áy-a-ti jváraḥ* 'fever burns the thief'.

2.3.55 āśíṣi nā́thaḥ

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem nā́th- (I 7) signifying 'bless' (āśíṣi).

sárpiṣ-as=nā́th-a-te = sárpiṣ-o nā́th-a-te 'blesses the curd', but *māṇavakám úpa-nāth-a-ti 'aṅgá pútraka=adhī́-ṣva'* 'he solicits his son: "O son, study!"'.

2.3.56 ¹jāsí-²ni-pra-haṇÁ-³nāṭa-⁴krātha-⁵piṣāṁ hiṁsā́yām

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems jās-í (= jas+ṆíC X 130), ni+prá+han- (II 2) 'strike, injure', nāṭa- (= náṭ+ṆíC I 332) 'injure', krātha (kráth+ṆíC I 838) and piṣ- (VII 15) 'crush, bruise, pound' when denoting the sense of 'injure' (hiṁsā́yām).

caurá-sya új-jās-ay-a-ti/ní-pra-han-ti/ní-hanti/prá-han-ti/pra-ṇí-han-ti/ ún-nāṭ-ay-a-ti/krāth-áy-a-ti/pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi 'injures the thief'.

2.3.57 ¹vy-avá-hṛ-²páṇoḥ sám-arthayoḥ

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems vi+avá+hṛ (I 947) and páṇ- (I 466) when they have identical meanings (i.e., 'gamble' or 'buy and sell').

śatà-sya vy-avá-har-a-ti/páṇ-a-te 'bets a hundred pieces' or 'buys and sells for a hundred pieces', but *śalā́k-ām vy-avá- har-a-ti* 'throws the dice', and *brāhmaṇā́n paṇ-ā́y-a-te* 'praises the brahmins'.

2.3.58 dívas tád-arthasya

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem dív- (IV 1) [having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems vy-ava-hṛ- and páṇ- 57].

sahásra-sya dī́v-ya-ti 'stakes or deals with a thousand pieces' but *brāhmaṇám dī́v-ya-ti* 'praises a brahmin'.

2.3.59 vibhāṣā=upasárge

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem dív- 58 having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems vy-avá-hṛ- and páṇ 57] when co-occurring with a preverb (upasárge).

śatá-sya/śat-ám práti-dīv-ya-ti 'he deals in or stakes a hundred pieces', but *śatá-sya dīv-yá-ti* 58.

2.3.60 dvitī́yā brāhmáṇé

In the domain of the Brāhmaṇá the second sUP triplet (dvitī́yā) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem dív- 58 having the same meaning as that of vy-avá-hṛ and páṇ- 57].

gā́m asyá tád áhaḥ sabhā́yāṁ dī́v-yey-uḥ (M.S.) 'they should stake a cow for him that day in the assembly'.

2.3.61 [1]préṣya-[2]bruvor háviṣo devatā-sampradāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal padas préṣya (2nd. pers. sing. Imperative of pra+is IV 19) and brū-hí (of brū- II 35), denoting a sacrificial offering (háviṣaḥ) when it is offered to a divinity (devatā-sampradāne).

agnày-e chā́ga-sya hávis-o vapā́-yā médas-aḥ pré3-ṣya/ánu-brū3-hi 'offer to Agni the goat, fat and marrow' but *agnáy-e chā́g-am hávir vapā́m médo ju-hu-dhí.*

2.3.62 caturthy-arthé bahulám chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced diversely (bahulám) in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy=arthé).

puruṣa-mṛgá-ś candrámas-aḥ/candrá-mas-e 'a male deer for the Moon divinity', but *kṛṣṇo rā́try-ai* 'a black deer for Rātrī' or *himavát-e hastī́* 'an elephant to H.'

2.3.63 yajeś ca káraṇe

[In the domain of Chándas 62 the sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) diversely 62] when it servs as a káraṇa [kā́raka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

sóm-ena yáj-a-te/sóma-sya yáj-a-te 'sacrifice with soma juice'.

2.3.64 kṛtvas=artha-prayogé kālé=adhikáraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting time (kālé) co-occurring with (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with °-kṛtvás (uC 5.4.17) to denote a locus or substratum (adhikáraṇe 2.3.36).

panca-kṛtvás=áhn-o bhuṅk-té 'eats five times a day'; *dvír áhn-aḥ=ádhī-te* 'studies twice a day', where *dvís = dví+suC* (5.4.18), but *áhan-i śe-té* 'sleeps during day' and *dvíḥ kāṁsya-pātry-ā́m bhuṅk-té* 'eats twice in a bronze plate', where time is not indicated.

2.3.65 [1]kartṛ́-[2]kármaṇoḥ kṛ́t-i

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the agent (kartṛ́-°) or the direct object (°-kármaṇoḥ) of the action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛ́t affix.

1. [kartṛ́] : *bhávat-aḥ śā́yikā* [= *śī+ṆvuL+ṬāP] 'your turn to lie down'.
2. [kárman] : *ap-ā́m sraṣṭā́* 'creator of waters', but *śástr-eṇa bhettā́* 'destroying with a weapon', against *pur-ā́m bhettā́* 'destroyer of city-forts', since *śástr-eṇa* is káraṇa kā́raka.

2.3.66 ubhaya-prāptaú kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the direct object (kármaṇi) [of an action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛ́t affix 65] which involves both [= an agent and an object 65] (ubhaya-prāptaú).

āścáryo gav-ām dóh-o=á-gopālakena 'the milking of cattle by one who is not a cowherd is a wonder'; *róc-a-te me odaná-sya bhójan-am devadatt-éna* 'it pleases me (to see) D. eating (some) rice'. The word *dóha = (*duh+GHaÑ)*, and *bhój-ana= (*bhuj+LyuṬ)* both affixes being kṛ́t; cows and rice are respectively direct objects of milking and eating while the cowherd and Devadattá are respectively the agents of the actions.

2.3.67 Ktásya ca vartamāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes the agent or the direct object 65] of a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the (kṛ́t) affix Ktá and the action is referred to the present time (vartamāné 3.2.187-8).

rā́jñ-ām matá-ḥ/buddhá-ḥ/pūjitá-ḥ 'honored by the king', but *odan-ám páca-m-āna-ḥ* 'cooking rice'; *grā́m-am gatá-ḥ* 'has gone to the village' (past tense). This is a prior exception to 69 below.

2.3.68 adhikarana-vācínaś ca

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 (kṛt) affix Ktá 65] as a locus indicator (adhikaraṇa-vācínaḥ 3.4.76).

This is also an exception to 69 below. *idám e-ṣā́m ās-i-tám* 'this is where they sit'; *idám e-ṣā́m śay-i-tám* 'this is where they sleep'; *idám e-ṣā́m bhakṣ-i-tám* 'this is where they eat.

2.3.69 ná [1]la=[2]ú=[3]uka-[4]ávyaya-[5]niṣṭhā́-[6]KHáL-artha-[7]tṚNām

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is not (ná) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending 1.1.72 in the (kṛ́t) affix 65] if it is (a) an l-substitute (=ŚátṚ, ŚānáC 3.2.124, KānáC 3.2.106, KvásU 3.2.107, Kí, KiN 3.2.171), (b) ú (3.2.168), (c) úka (3.2.154), (d) indeclinable (ávyaya : Ktvā́, tosuN, KasuN 1.1.40), (e) niṣṭhā́ (Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26), (f) synonyms of KHaL (3.3.126) and (g) tṛN.

1. l-substitutes: *odan-ám pácan* 'who is cooking rice' and similarly *odan-ám pác-a-mānaḥ/pec-āná-ḥ/pec-i-vā́n/; pap-í-ḥ sóm-am* 'has drunk Soma juice'; *dad-ír gā́ḥ* 'donated cattle'.
2. [ú] : *káṭ-am cikīrṣ-ú-ḥ* 'wishing to make a mat'.
3. [uka]: *daityā́n ghā́t-uka-ḥ* 'habitually destroying demons'; *pāṭaliputram ā-gā́m-uka-h* 'habitually coming to Pāṭaliputra'.
4. [ávyaya] : *káṭ-am kr̥-tvā́* 'having made a mat'.
5. [niṣṭhā] : *odan-ám bhuk-távān* 'has eaten rice'. *devadatt-éna kr̥tám* 'made by Devadatta'.
6. [KHaL-artha] : *su-kár-aḥ káṭo bhávat-ā* 'the mat can be made easily by your honor'.
7. [tR̥N] : This is to be understood to be a siglum formed with the tR̥ of ŚatR̥ (3.2.124) and ending with the IT marker N of tr̥N (3.2.135), comprising the following affixes: ŚátR̥, ŚānáC (3.2.124), ŚānaN (3.2.128), CānáŚ (3.2.129) and tr̥N. EXamples are: *sóm-am páv-a-m-āna-h* 'straining Soma juice'; *naṭ-ám ā-dhm-āná-ḥ* 'calling an actor'; *adhī-y-án pārā́yaṇ-am* 'practicing a recitation'; *kártā káṭān* 'maker of mats'.

2.3.70 ¹aka=²inór ¹bhaviṣyád=²ā́dhamarṇyáyoḥ

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is not introduced (after a nominal stem) 69 when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a kr̥t affix 65] if it is °-aka- (ṆvuL 3.3.10) denoting an action taking place in the future (bhaviṣyád-°) or °-in- (= Ṇíni 3.3.170) denoting an action taking place in the future or pertaining to the state of being a debtor (¹bhaviṣyát=²ā́dhamarṇyáyoḥ).

1. *odan-ám bhój-ak-o vráj-a-ti* 'goes for the purpose of eating rice'.
2. *grā́m-am gamī́/gāmī́* 'he has to go to the village'.
3. *śat-ám dāyī́* 'obliged to repay a debt of 100 pieces'.

2.3.71 kr̥̄tyānāṁ kartári vā

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (vā) introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes an agent of a verbal stem [ending in 1 1.72 a kr̥̄t affix 65] when it belongs to the kr̥̄tya sub-class (3.1.95ff.)

bhávat-aḥ/bhávat-ā káṭa-ḥ kartávya-ḥ 'you have to make a mat', but if the affix is an object signifier, by 65 the sixth sUP triplet alone is introduced: *gé-yo māṇavaka-ḥ sā́mn-ām* 'the lad has to chant the sāmans'.

2.3.72 túlya=arthair a-¹tulā́=²upamā́bhyāṁ tr̥tī́yā=anyatarásyām

The third sUP triplet (tr̥tī́yā) is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [as an alternate to the sixth 50] when cc-occurring with synonyms of túlya- 'similar, comparable', except the nominal stems tulā́ and upamā́ 'comparison'.

túlya-ḥ/sadŕ̥śa-ḥ devadatt-éna/devadattá-sya 'equal to D.' but *tulā́/upamā́ devadattá-sya ná víd-ya-te* 'there is no comparison with Devadattá'.

The use of [anyatarásyām] when [vā] already recurs from the preceding sū́tra is to block the recurrence of [tr̥tī́yā] from this rule to the next on account of the particle [ca] there.

2.3.73 caturthī́ ca=āśíṣi=¹āyuṣyà-²madrá-³bhadrá-⁴kúśala-⁵sukhá=⁶ártha-⁷hitaíḥ

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī́) [is optionally 72 introduced (after a nominal stem) as an alternate to the sixth 50] when co-occurring with (nominal stems) -āyuṣyà- 'longevity', madrá-, bhadrá- 'good fortune', kúśala- 'welfare', sukhá- 'happiness', ártha- 'prosperity, wealth' and hitá- 'benefit' do denote benediction (aśíṣi).

1. *āyuṣyàm tú-bhyam/táva bhū-yā́t* 'may you (sing.) enjoy long life'.
2. *madrás/bhadrás tá-smai/tá-sya bhūyā́t* 'may good fortune befall him'.
3. *kúśalam devadattā́-ya/devadattá-sya* 'may D's welfare be assured'.
4. *sukhám túbhyam/táva bhūyā́t* 'may you be happy'.
5. *ártho yajñadattā́-ya/yajñadattá-sya* 'may Y. be prosperous'.
6. *hitám devadattā́-ya/devadattá-sya* 'may it be beneficial to D.'

2.4.1 dvigúr ekavacanám

A divgú [compound 1.3] is treated as though it signified a single thing (ekavacanám = ékasya vácanam).

Since it is treated as though signifying a single thing, the singular of sUP triplets is introduced after a dvigú. The present rule is applicable only to collective or [samāhāra] dvigú-s.

2.4.2 dvaṁdváś ca [1]prāṇí(n)-[2]tū́rya-[3]sénā=aṅgā́nām

A dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] if the constituent members denote parts (áṅgānām) of (a) a living being (prāṇín-), (b) a musical group (tū́rya-) and (c) an army (sénā).

1. *pāṇi-pād-ám* 'hands and feet'; *śiro-grīvám* 'head and neck'; neuter by 17 below.
2. *mārdaṅgika-pāṇāvikám* 'a group of mṛdanga and paṇava players'.
3. *rathika=aśvārohám* 'an army unit consisting of carioteers and cavaliers'.

2.4.3 anuvādé cáraṇānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of persons belonging to different Vedic schools (cáraṇānām) to denote the repetition of a given text (anuvādé).

úd-a-gā-t kaṭha-kālāpám 'transmitters of Kaṭha and Kalāpa branches (of Vedic schools) arose', but *úd-a-g-uḥ kaṭha-kālāpā́ḥ* 'when the texts are recited for the first time'.

2.4.4 adhvaryu-kratúr á-napuṁsakam

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of sacrifices prescribed in the Yajurveda (adhvaryu-kratúḥ) which are not neuter (á-napuṁsakam).

arkáś ca áśva-medhaś ca = arkāśvamedhám 'the Árka and Áśvamedha sacrifices', but *iṣu-vajraú* 'Íṣu and Vájra sacrifices prescribed in the Sāmaveda' or *rājasū́yaś ca vājapéyaṁ ca = rājasūya-vājapeyé* 'since the second member is neuter, though both sacrifices belong to the Yajur Veda'.

2.4.5 adhyayanatáḥ=á-vi-pra-kr̥ṣṭa=ākhyānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of persons (ākhyā́-nām) derived from the subjects studied (adhyayanatáḥ) by them which are not far from each other (á-vi-pra-kr̥ṣṭa- °).

pada-kramakám 'an adept in the Padapāṭha and an adept in the Kramapāṭha (of Vedic recitation)', but *pitā-putraú* 'father and son' (names not so derived) and *yājñika-vaiyākaraṇaú* 'a performer of sacrifices and a grammarian', experts in unrelated subjects.

2.4.6 jā́tir á-prāṇinām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing] when the constituent members denote names of species (jā́tiḥ) of inanimate beings (á-prāṇinām).

ā́rā ca śastrī ca = ārā-śastrí 'the probe and the knife'; similarly *dhānā-ṣaṣkulí = dhānā́ś ca śaṣkulay-aś ca* 'fried rice and barley cakes', but *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriy-aú* 'brahmins and warriors'.

This rule applies only to words denoting substances and not quality or action: (a) quality: *rūpa-ras-aú* 'form and taste'; (b) action: *gamana=ā-kuñcan-é* 'going and bending'.

2.4.7 víśiṣṭa-liṅgo nadī́ deśáḥ=á-grāmāḥ

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote river-names (nadī́) and place-names (deśáḥ) excluding village-names (a-grā́māḥ), of different genders (víśiṣṭa-liṅgaḥ).

1. river-names: *uddhyaś ca írāvatī ca = uddhyerāvatí; gáṅgā ca śóṇaś ca = gaṅgā-śoṇám*.
2. *kúrav-as ca kurukṣetráṁ ca = kuru-kurukṣetrám.*
3. But *gáṅgā ca yamúnā ca = gaṅgā-yamun-é; jāmbavā́ś ca (nág-aram) śālū́kinī ca (grā́maḥ) = jāmbava-śālūkiny-aú.*

2.4.8 kṣudra-jantávaḥ

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of small animals (kṣudra-jantávaḥ).

By interpretation small animals include up to the mongoose. *daṁśa-maśakám* 'bug and mosquito'; *yūkā-līkám* 'the louse and nits', but *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriy-aú*.

2.4.9 yéṣāṁ ca viródhaḥ śā́śvatikaḥ

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote items between which there is perennial (śā́śvatikaḥ) conflict (viródhaḥ).

mārjāra-mūṣikám 'cats and mice'; *ahi-nakulám* 'the snake and mongoose'; *kākolūkám* 'crows and owls'; *aśva-mahiṣám* 'horses and buffalos', despite the option introducad by 12 below.

2.4.10 śūdrā́ṇām ánirvasitānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constitutent members are names of śūdrás who are not excluded from (social) contact with higher caste members (á-nir-ava-sitānām).

takṣáś ca ayaskāráś ca = takṣāyaskārám 'carpenter and blacksmith'; *rajaka-tantuvāyám* 'washermen amd weavers', but *cāṇḍāla-mṛtap-aú* 'outcastes and morticians'.

2.4.11 gavāśvá-prabhṛtīni ca

[The class of dvaṁdvá 2 compounds 1.3] beginning with gavāśvá- 'cows and horses is also treated (as though denoting a single thing 1).

gavāvikám 'cows and sheep'; *ajaiḍakám* 'goats and rams'.

2.4.12 vibhāṣā [1]vṛkṣá-[2]mṛgá-[3]tṛ́ṇa-[4]dhānyà-[5]vyáñjana-[6]paśú-[7]śakúni-[8]aśva-vaḍavá-[9]pūrvāpará=[10]adharottarā́ṇām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members are names of (1) trees (vṛkṣá) (2) animals (mṛgá) (3) grasses (tṛ́ṇa), (4) cereals (dhānyà), (5) condiments (vyáñjana), (6) domestic animals (paśú), (7) birds (śakúni), (8) and the irregular (compounds 1.3) aśva-vaḍavá- 'horses and mares', pūrvāpará- 'first and last' and adharottará- 'lower amd upper'.

1. trees: *plakṣa-nyagrodhám/plakṣa-nyagrodhā́ḥ* 'P and N trees'.

2. animals: *ruru-pr̥ṣat-ám/ruru-pr̥ṣatā́ḥ* 'ruru and spotted antelopes'.
3. grass: *kuśa-kāś-ám/°kāśā́ḥ* 'kuśa and kāśa grasses'.
4. cereals: *vrīhi-yav-ám/°-yavā́ḥ* 'rice and barley grains'.
5. condiments: *dadhi-ghr̥t-ám/°-ghr̥t-é* 'curds and ghee'.
6. domestic animals: *go-mahiṣ-ám/°-mahiṣé* 'cows and buffalos'.
7. birds: *tittiri-kapiñjal-ám/°-kapiñjal-ā́ḥ* 'partridges and heathcocks'.
8. *aśva-vaḍav-ám/°-vaḍav-ā́ḥ; purvāpar-ám- °paré; adharottar-ám/°uttaré.*

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule, in the case of fruit (phála), army units (sénā), herbs (vánaspáti), animals (mr̥gá), birds (śakúni), small animals (kṣudra-jantú), cereals (dhānyà) and grass (tŕ̥ṇa) to tha plural forms of the constituent members only: thus when these members are in the singular the resulting compounds will be in the dual: *badara=āmalaké, rathika=aśvārohaú, plakṣa-nyagrodhaú, ruru-pr̥ṣataú, haṁsa-cakravākaú, yūkā-likṣe, vrīhi-yavaú, kuśa-kāśau.*

2.4.13 viprátiṣiddhaṁ ca=án-adhi-karaṇa-vāci

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3] is also (ca) [optionally 12 treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote opposites (vi-práti-ṣiddham) which are not substances (án=adhi-karaṇa-vācin-).

śītoṣṇ-ám/°-uṣṇ-é 'cold and hot', *sukha-duḥkh-ám/°-duḥkh-é* 'happiness and misery', *jīvita-maraṇ-ám/°-maraṇ-é* 'life and death, but *kāma-krodh-aú* 'desire and anger' (as they are not opposites) and *śītoṣṇ-e udake* 'cold and hot water' (as denoting a substance: water).

2.4.14 ná dadhi-payá=ādīni

[The class of dvaṁdvá 1 compounds 1.3] beginning with dadhi-payásī 'curd and milk (or water)' is not (ná) [treated as though it denoted a single thing l].

sarpir-madhú-n-ī 'clarified butter and honey' = *madhu-sarpíṣī; brahma-prajāpatī́* 'B. and Pr.'

2.4.15 adhikaraṇa=etāvattvé ca

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is not 14] also (ca) [treated as though it represented a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote the quantity of concrete things (adhikarana=etāvattvé).

dáśa dántāś ca óṣṭhāś ca = dáśa dantauṣṭhā́ḥ 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; *dáśa mārdaṅgika-pāṇavikā́ḥ* (cf. 2 above).

2.4.16 vibhāṣā samīpé

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote a proximate (samīpé) [quantity of concrete objects 15].

upadaś-ám dantauṣṭh-ám/úpadaśá dantauṣṭhā́ḥ 'approximately nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'.

2.4.17 sá nápuṁsakam

That (sáḥ) [= dvigú 1 and dvaṁdvá 2-16 compounds 1.3] [which is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] is neuter in gender (ná-puṁsakam).

1. *dvigú: pañca-gavám/daśa-gavám* 'a collection of 5/10 cows'.
2. *dvaṁdvá: pāṇi-pādám, śiro-grīvám* etc., (cf. 2 above).
3. By a vārttika the famimine affix is introduced after a dvigú compound ending in short -a: cf. *aṣṭan+adhyāya+ṄīP = aṣṭa∅+adhyāya+ī = aṣṭādhyāy∅+ī́ = aṣṭaādhyāyī́* 'title of this corpus, consisting of 8 adhyāyás "chapters"'.

2.4.18 avyayībhāváś ca

[An] avyayībhāvá [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [neuter in gender 17].

adhi-strí, adhi-kumārí, úpakumbham, súmadram etc., cf. 1.6 above.

2.4.19 [1]tatpurusáḥ=á-naÑ-[2]karmadhārayaḥ

A tatpuruṣá [compound 1.3] not co-occurring with the negative particle náÑ or a karmadhārayá (1.2.42) [compound 1.3] [is neuter in gender 17].

This is a governing rule operating up to 25 below.

2.4.20 saṁjñāyāṁ kanthā=uśīnareṣu

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náÑ and a karma-dharāyá 19 compoumd 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it [ends in 1.1.72] the word kanthā 'town' denoting a proper name (saṁjñāyām) of a place in the Uśīnara country.

sauśami-kántham, āhvara-kánth-am 'placenames in Uś. country', but *vīraṇa-kanthā́* 'a patched garment made of vīraṇa' and *dākṣi-kanthā́* 'a placename outside Uś. country'. Cf. 6.2.124.

2.4.21 ¹upajñā=²upakrámaṁ tad-ādi=ācikhyāsā́yām

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náÑ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when (ending in 1.1.72) the words upajñā́ 'original propagation' and upakráma 'initiative' and signifying the desire to express (ācikhyāsā́yām) its beginning or starting point (tad-ādí-°).

pāṇiny-upajñ-ám vyākáraṇam 'grammar first taught by Pā́ṇini'; *nandopakramā́ṇi mā́nāni* 'measures first standardized by (king Nanda)'.

2.4.22 chāyā́ bā́hulye

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náÑ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it (ends in 7.1.72) the word chāyā́ 'shadow' to express profusion (bā́hulye) of the preceding member.

śalabha-cchāyám 'shadow (cast by a huge cloud) of locusts'; *ikṣū́ṇām chāyā́* = *ikṣu-cchāyám* 'shadow (cast by a thick grove) of sugar-cane', but *kuḍya-cchāyā́* f. 'shadow of a wall'.

2.4.23 sabhā́ ¹rā́ja(n)=²a-manuṣyá-pūrvā

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with náÑ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3. is neuter in gender 17] provided it (ends in 1.1.72) the word sabhā́ 'assembly' and co-occurs after (synonyms of) the word rā́jan 'king, ruler' or a word denoting a non-human being (a-manuṣyá-pūrvā).

In this rule tha word [rā́jan], contra metarule 1.1.68 does not represent itself, but only includes its synonyms: *iná-sabham* 'royal court or assembly', but *rāja-sabhā́*. Similarly *piśā-ca-sabhám* 'assembly of piśācas', but *devadatta-sabhā́*. Cf. 6.2.98.

2.4.24 á-śālā ca

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3, not co-occurring with náÑ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the word sabhā́ 23] provided it does not denote a hall or mansion (á-śālā).

Here the word [sabhā́] denotes 'a concourse': *strī́-sabham* 'a concourse of women';

dāsī-sabham 'a group or crowd of maid-servants', but *á-nātha-sabhā* 'a poor house'. Cf. 6.2.98.

2.4.25 vibhāṣā [1]sénā-[2]súrā-[3]chāyā́-[4]śā́lā-[5]níśā́nām

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with náÑ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the words] sénā 'army', súrā 'liquor', chāyā́ 'shadow', śā́lā 'hall, mansion' and níśā 'night'.

1. *rāja-senám/°-senā́* 'royal army'.
2. *yava-surám/°-surā́* 'barley liquor'.
3. *kuḍya-cchāyám/°-chāyā́* 'shadow thrown by a wall'.
4. *go-śā́lam/°-śālā́* 'cow-stall, cow-pen'. Cf. 6.2.123.
5. *śva-niśám/°-niśā́* 'dog-night (when dogs howl)'.

2.4.26 paravát=liṅgám [1]dvaṁdvá-[2]tatpuruṣáyoḥ

The gendar of a dvaṁdvá or tatpuruṣá compound 1.3 is that of the final member (parval-liṅgám).

1. dvaṁdva : *kukkuṭás ca mayūrī́ ca = kukkuṭa-mayūry-aú* f. 'cock and peahen' = *mayūrī-kukkuṭaú* m. 'peahen and cock'.
2. tatpuruṣá : *ardhám pippalyāḥ = ardha-pippalī́* f. 'half a berry'.
3. By a vārttika this rule is blocked in the case of dvigú compounds and those occurring with *prā́pta-*, *ā́pamna-* and *álam* as prior members, as also gáti compounds: *pañcásu kapā́leṣu sáṁskr̥táḥ = pañca-kapālá-ḥ puroḍāśá-ḥ; prā́to jī́vikām = prāpta-jīviká-h; ā́panno jī́vikām = āpanna-jīviká-ḥ; álam jī́vikāyai = alam-jīviká-ḥ; niṣ-krānta-ḥ kauśāmbyāḥ = níṣ-kauśāmbi-ḥ.*

2.3.27 pūrvavát=áśva-vaḍavau

[The gender of the dvaṁdvá 26 compound 1.3] áśva-vaḍavau is that of the prior member (pūrvavát).

This is an exception to 26 by which the string *áśvaś ca váḍavā ca* would have been realized as **áśva-vaḍav-e* (f.) 'stallion and mare'.

2.4.28 [1]hemanta-śiśiraú=[2]aho-rātré ca=chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [in the dvaṁdva 29 compounds 1.3] hemanta-śiśiraú and aho-rātré [the gender is that of the prior member 27].

The word [śiśira-] is both m. and n. and when it is n. the string *hemantáś ca śíśiraṁ ca = hemanta-śiśiraú* m. 'autumn and winter seasons', and the string *áhas ca rā́tris ca = aho-rātrám* n. day and night', contra *hemanta-śiśire* n., and *aho-rātraú* m. in the spoken language.

2.4.29 ¹rātrá=²ahná=³ahā́ḥ púṁsi

[The gender of a dvaṁdva 26 compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) the (samāsānta 5.4.87,88,89) words °-rātrá-, °-ahná- or °-ahá- is masculine (púṁsi).

This blocks the rule 26 above.

1. *dvi-rātrá-ḥ, tri-rātrá-ḥ* 'a period of two/three days'.
2. *pūrvahṇá-ḥ/aprāhṇá-ḥ/madhyāhná-ḥ* 'forenoon/afternoon/noon'.
3. *dvy-ahá-ḥ, try-ahá-ḥ* 'two or three days'.

2.4.30 ápathaṁ nápuṁsaksm

[The tatpuruṣá 26 compound 1.3] á-patham is neuter (napuṁsakam).

na pánthāḥ = náÑ+pathin+a (5.4.76) = *á-pathin+a* (6.3.73) = *á-pathØØ+a* (6.4.144) = *á-path+a+sU* = *á-path-a+am* (7.1.73) = *á-path-am* (6.1.107) = *ápatham idám* 'this is a wrong/bad road or path'; but in a bahuvrīhí compound: *á-path-o déśa-ḥ* 'a pathless tract'.

2.4.31 ardharcā́ḥ púṁsi ca

The class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with ardharcá- 'half a strophe of ṛk', is masculine in gender (púṁisi) and also (ca) [neuter 30].

ardharcá-ḥ/ardharc-ám; gomayá-ḥ/gomay-ám 'cow-dung'; *kaśāya-ḥ/kaśāy-am* 'decoction'.

2.4.32 idámaḥ=anvādeśé=aŚ=ánudāttas tṛtī́yā=ādau

The low-pitched (ánudātta) substitute aŚ replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) idám- 'this' before all sUP triplets beginning with the third (tṛtī́yā=ādau) when it is used anaphorically (anvādeśé).

ābhyā́m chātrā́bhyām rātrír ádhītā, athó ābhyām áhar ápy ádhītam 'These two pupils studied the whole night, and then they studied the whole day'. When [idám-] is used the first time, by 6.1.168 and 171 the udātta accent falls on the sUP triplets from the instrumental singular onwards, but not when it occurs anaphorically with aŚ replacement. The proper purpose of this rule, however, is

in connection with forms ending in °ákaC- (5.3.71): *imákābhyām chātrābhyām rātrír ádhītā, athó ābhyām áhar ápy ádhītam*

2.4.33 etádas ¹tra-²tasós ¹tra-²tasaú ca=ánudāttau

[The low-pitched (ánudātta) substitute aŚ 32 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] etád- 'this' before the affixes °tra- (5.3.10)and °-tas- = (tasiL 5.3.7) and both affixes °tra- and °tas- become low-pitched (ánudāttau) [when etád is used anaphorically 32].

1. *etásmin grāme sukhám vás-ā-maḥ, athó atra yuktā adhī-mahe* 'we are living happily in this village, therefore let us study here diligently', where [a-tra] is a substitute for *etá-smin.*
2. *etásmāt=chātrāt=chándaḥ=adhī-ṣva, athó a-to vyākáraṇam ápy adhī-ṣva* 'study Veda (or metrics) from this pupil, and also study grammar (vyākáraṇa) from him', where *a-tas* is the anaphoric substitute for *etá-smāt.*

2.4.34 ¹dvitīyā-²Tā=³ós-su=enaḥ

[The low-pitched substitute 32] ena- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [idám-32 and etád- 33 when used anaphorically 32] before sUP triplets of the second (dvitīyā vibhakti 1.4.104) as well as before Ṭā (= 3rd sing.) and os (= 6th and 7th dual).

1. *imám chātrám chándaḥ=ádhyāp-ay-a, athó enam vyākáraṇam ápy ádhy-āp-ay-a* 'teach this pupil chándas, and teach him grammar also'; simlarly *etám chātrám chándo=ádhy-āp-ay-a, athó enam vyākáraṇam ápy ádhy-āp-ay-a.*
2. *anéna/eténa rātrír adhītā, athó en-ena áhar ápy adhītam.*
3. *anáy-oḥ/etáy-oḥ chātráy-oḥ śóbhanam śīlam, athó enayoḥ prabhūtám svám* 'the disposition of these two pupils is brilliant and hence they have great wealth'.

2.4.35 ārdha-dhātuke

Before an ārdhadhatuka verbal affix (3.4.114).

This is a governing rule (adhikārá) heading this section beginning here and ending with 58 below, and the expression [ārdhadhātuke] will recur in every subsequent statement of this section.

2.4.36 ado jagdhir LyaP ti K-IT-i

The substitute jagdh- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem ad- 'eat' (II 1) [before the ārdhadhātuka affix 35] LyaP (7.1.37) and those beginning with °ta- with marker K as IT.

1. *pra+ad+ktvā* = *pra+ád+LyaP* (7.1.37) = *pra-jágdh-ya*, but *ad+yaK+te* = *ad-yá-te* 'is eaten'.
2. *ad+Ktá* = *jagdh+tá* = *jagdh+dhá* (8.2.40) = *jagd-dhá-* (8.2.53).

2.4.37 [1]lUṄ-[2]saNor ghasḶ̥

The substitute ghasḶ̥ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem ad- 36 before ārdhadhatuka l-substitutes 25] of lUṄ (Aorist) and the desiderative marker saN.

The markers of the Aorist tense are all ārdhadhatuka, introduced before the l-substitutes (3.1.43ff).

1. *ad+lUṄ* = *ad+t (3.4.100)* = *ad+Cli̱+t* (3.1.43) = *ghasḶ̥+aṄ+t* (3.1.55) = *áT+ghas-a-t* (6.4.71) = *á-ghas-a-t* 'has eaten'.
2. *ad+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68; 4.78) = *ghas+saN+a+ti* = *ghá-ghas+sa+a+t* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) = *jhá-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.62) = *já-ghas-sa-a-ti* (8.4.54) = *jí-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.79) = *jí-ghat-sa-a-ti* (7.4.49) = *jíghat-sa-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes to eat'.

2.4.38 [1]GHaÑ-[2]áPoś ca

[The substitute ghasḶ̥ 37 replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem ad- 36 before ārdhadhatuka 35] affixes GHaÑ (3.3.18) and aP (3.3.59).

1. *ad+GHaÑ* = *ghasḶ̥+GHaÑ* = *ghās-á-* (7.3.115; 6.1.159) 'grass, nourishment'.
2. *pra+ad+aP* = *pra+ghasḶ̥+aP* = *pra-ghas-á-* (6.1.144) 'voracious'.

2.4.39 bahulám Chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute ghasḶ̥ replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem ad- 36 diversely (bahulám).

1. *ghástām nūnam* 'they two have just eaten' derived from *(á)-ghas-tām* with ∅ replacement of the initial augment by 6.4.75, being the 3rd pers. dual of the Imperfect or *(a)+ghas+Cli̱+tam* = *(∅)+ghas+∅+tām* (80) being similarly the alternate Aorist form.
2. *sa+ad+KtiN* = *sa+ghásḶ̥+KtiN* = *sá-gh∅s+ti* (6.4.100) = *sá-gh∅∅+ti* (B.2.26) = *ságh+dhi* (8.2.40) = *ság+dhi* (8.4.53) 'common meal'.
3. no replacement: *ad+lUṄ* = *ad+Cli̱+tām* = *á+ad+si̱C+tām (3.1.43,44 6.4.76; 8.2.26)* = *á+ad+∅+tām (8.2.26)* = *āttām* 'they two have eaten'.

2.4.40 lIṬy anyatarásyām

[The substitute ghasḶ 36] optionally (anyatarásyām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem ad- 36 before ārdhadhatuka l-substitutes of] lIṬ (Perfect Tense).

ad+lIṬ = *ad-ad+ṆaL* (6.1.8; 3.4.82) = *a-ád+ṆaL* (7.4.60) = *a+ā́d+ṆaL* (7.2.115) = *ā́d-a/ghas+lIṬ* = *ghas+ṆaL* = *ghas-ghás+ṆaL* (6.1.8) = *ga-ghás+ṆaL* (8.4.54) = *ja-ghás+ṆaL* (7.4.6Z) = *ja-ghā́s-a* (7.1.115).

2.4.41 veÑo vayiḥ

[Before ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of lIṬ 40] the substitute vay- [optionally 40 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055).

1. *veÑ+lIṬ* = *veÑ+ṆaL* = *vay+ṆaL* = *vay-vay+ṆaL* (6.1.8) = *va-vay+ṆaL* (7.4.60) = *u-vay+ṆaL* (6.1.17) = *u-vā́y-a* (7.2.115).
2. *veÑ+lIṬ* = *veÑ+ṆaL* = *vā+lIṬ+ṆaL* (6.1.45) = *vā-vā́+ṆaL* = *va-vā́+ṆaL* (7.4.59) = *va-vā́+au* (7.1.34) = *vav-aú*.

2.4.42 hano vadhá lIṄ-i

The substitute vadhá- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [before ārdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of lIṄ (Precative 3.4.116).

han+lIṄ = *vadhá+lIṄ* = *vadha+yā́s(uT)+s(uT)+t* (3.4.103,107) = *vadh∅+yā∅+∅+t* (8.2.29) but *vadh-yā́s-s-tām* = *vadh-yā́-s-tām, vadh-yā́-s-uh*. 8.2.29 stipulates that [s] occurring as initial of a conjunct is replaced by ∅ at the end of a padá or before jhaL.

2.4.43 lUṄ-i ca

[The substitute vadhá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem han- 42] also (ca) before [the ārdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of lUṄ (Aorist).

han+lUṄ = *á-vadha+Cli+t* (3.1.43; 6.4.71) = *á-vadh∅+siC+t* (3.1.44; 6.4.8) = *á-vadh+iṬ+s+t* (7.2.35) = *á-vadh-i-s+īṬ+t* (7.3.96) = *á-vadh+i+∅+ī-t* (8.2.28) = *á-vadh-ī-t*. The rule 7.2.3 whereby the stem vowel of [vadh-] should have been replaced by vṛddhi is blocked by the fact that the substitute of verbal stem [han-] ends in a vowel and is not a haL-anta as required by that rule, though that vowel is replaced by ∅ through the operation of the metarule 1.1.62.

2.4.44 ātmanepadéṣu=anyatarásyām

[The substitute vadhá- 43] optionally (anyatarásyām) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [the verbal stem han- 42 before ā́rdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of lUṄ 43] when they are ātmanepadá (middle voice) (1.4.100).

á+han+luṄ = *á-han+ta* = *á-han+Cli̱+ta* (3.1.43) = *á-han+si̱C+ta* (3.1.44) = *á-ha∅+s-ta* (1.2.14; 6.4.37) = *á-ha-∅-ta* (8.2.27) = *á-ha-ta* / *á+vadh+si̱C+ta* = *á-vadh+iṬ-si̱C+ta* = *á-vadh-i-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59; 4.41).

2.4.45 iṆo gā lUṄ-i

The substitute gā replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iṆ- 'go' (II 36) [before ā́rdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of lUṄ (Aorist).

iṆ+lUṄ = *iṆ+Cli̱+tiP* (3.1.43) = *gā+Cli̱+t* (3.4.100) = *gā+si̱C+t* (3.1.44) = *gā+∅+t* (77) = *áṬ+gā-t* (6.4.71) = *á-gā-t*.

2.4.46 Ṇaú gami̱r á-bodhane

[Before the ā́rdhadhātuka 35] affix Ṇí(C) the substitute gam- replaces [the verbal stem iṆ- 45] when it does not signify 'understanding' (á-bodhane).

iṆ+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = *gam+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *gam-í-a-ti* = *gam-é-a-ti* (7.3.84) = *gam-áy-a-ti* 'makes one go'. Here the vr̥ddhi replacement of penultimate [aT of gam-] (7.2.116) is blocked by 6.4.92 as Dhp. I 866 includes verbal stems ending in [am] as M-ITs. When 'understanding' is to be denoted we have: *prati+iṆ+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *prati+ai-i+a+ti* (7.2.115) = *práti+āy-i+a=ti* (6.1.78) = *práty-āy+e+a+ti* = *práty-āyay-a-ti* 'communicates'.

2.4.47 saN-i ca

Also (ca) [before the ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affix] saN [the substitute gam- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iṆ- when it does not signify 'understanding' 46].

iṆ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *gam+saN+Śap+tiP* = *gám-gam+sa+ti* (6.1.8) = *gá∅-gam+iṬ+sa-ti* (7.2.35; 4.60) = *gí-gam-i-ṣa-a-ti* (7.4.79; 8.3.59) = *jí-gam-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.62) 'wishes to go'; but *práti+iṆ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *práti+is+iṬ-saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.1.2) *pratīsi-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to communicate'.

2.4.48 iṄ-aś ca

[The substitute gam-46] also (ca) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iṆ (with ádhi-°) 'study' (II 37) [before the ā́rdha-dhātuka 35 affix saN 47].

ádhi+iṄ+saN+ŚaP+te (7.4.79) = *ádhi+gam+saN+ŚaP+te* = *ádhi-ji-gam+sa-te* = *ádhi-ji-gām̐-sa-te* (6.4.16) 'wishes to study'.

2.4.49 gāṄ lIṬ-i

The substitute gāṄ- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iṄ (with ádhi-°) 48 before the ā́rdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of lIṬ (Perfect).

ádhi+iṄ+lIṬ = *ádhi+i+eŚ* (3.4.81) = *ádhi-gā-gā+eŚ* (6.1.8) = *ádhi-ga-gā+e* (7.4.59) = *ádhi-ja-gā+e* (7.4.62) = *ádhi-ja-g∅+e* (6.4.64) = *ádhi-ja-ge* 'has studied' and similarly the dual and plural forms are *ádhi-ja-g-āte* / *ádhi-ja-g-ire*.

2.4.50 vibhāṣā [1]lUṄ-[2]lṚṄ-oḥ

[The substitute gāṄ- 49] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iṄ- 49 before the ā́rdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of lUṄ (Aorist) and lṚṄ (Conditional).

1. *lUṄ: ádhi+iṄ+lUṄ* = *ádhi+gāṄ+lUṄ* = *ádhi-gā-siC+ta* (3.1.44) = *ádhi+gī+s=ta* (6.4.66) = *adhi+áṬ+gī-s-ta* (6.4.71) = *adhy-á-gī-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59) / *adhi+āṬ+i+s-ta* = *adhy-ai-ṣ-ṭa* (6.4.90; 8.3.59; 4.41).
2. *lṚṄ: adhi+iṄ+lṚṄ+ta* = *adhi-gāṄ+lṚṄ+ta* = *adhi-gā+sya+ta* (3.1.33) = *adhi+áṬ+gī-ṣya-ta* (6.4.66; 8.3.59); *adhi+ā́Ṭ+i+sya+ta* = *ádhy-ai-ṣya-ta* (6.1.90 4.72; 8.3.59).

2.4.51 Ṇaú ca [1]saN=[2]CaṄ-oḥ

[The substitute gāṄ- 49 optionally 50 replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iṄ- 49] co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí(C) (3.1.26) [before ā́rdhadhātuka 35 markers] saN and CaṄ.

1. *ádhi+iṄ+ṆiC+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ádhi+gā+ṆiC+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ádhi+gā+p(uK)+i+sa+a+ti* (7.3.36) = *ádhi-ji-gāp=i=iṬ+sa+a+ti* (7.2.35) = *ádhi-ji-gāp-e+i-sa-ti* (7.3.84) = *ádhi-ji-gāp-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78; 8.3.59) / *ádhi+ai+ṆiC+saN+ŚaP+ti* (7.2.115) = *adhi+ā+p(uk)+ṆiC+saN+ÁaP+ti*

(6.1.48; 7.3.36) = *adhy-āpi-pi+iṬ+sa+a+ti* (6.1.2; 7.2.35) = *adhy-āpi-pe-i-sa-a-ti* (7.3.86) *adhy-āpi-pay-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78, 97; 8.3.59).

2. *ádhi+iṄ+Ṇi+CaṄ+t* = *ádhi+gā+p(uk)+Ṇi+CaṄ+t* = *ádhi+gāp-i+CaṄ+t* = *ádhi-ji-gāpi+CaṄ+t* (6.1.11; 7.4.79,91) = *adhy+áṬ+jī-gap∅-a-t* (6.4.51,71; 7.4.1,94) = *adhy-á-jī-gap-a-t* / *adhy-áṬ+iṄ+ṆiC+CaṄ+t* = *adhy-á+ai+i+CaṄ+t* = *adhy-á+ā+p(uK)+i+CaṄ+t* = *adhy-á- api-p+∅-a-t* = *adhy-ápi-p-a-t*.

2.4.52 aster bhū́ḥ

The substitute bhū́- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before ā́rdhadhātuka affixes 35].

1. non-sigmatic future *lUṬ* : *as+tās* (3.1.33)+*Ḍā* (2.4.85) = *bhū+iṬ+tā́s+Ḍā* (7.2.35) = *bho-i-t∅+á* (6.4.143; 7.3.84) = *bhav-i-tá* (6.1.78), *bhav-i-tā-rau* (7.4.51), *bhav-i-tā-raḥ*.
2. *as+tumu̱N* = *bhū́+tum* = *bhū́+iṬ+tum* = *bháv-i-tum*.
3. *as+tavya-* = *bhū+iṬ+távya-* = *bhav-i-távya-*.

2.4.53 bruvo vaci̱-ḥ

The substitute vac- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem brū- 'speak' (II 35) [before ā́rdhadhātuka affixes 35].

brū́+tumuN = *vác+tum* = *vák-tum* (8.2.30); *brū+tā́s+Ḍā* = *vac+tā́s+Ḍā* = *vak-t∅∅-á* = *vak-tá*; *brū+távya-* = *vac+távya-* = *vak-távya-*.

2.4.54 cakṣi̱Ṅaḥ khyāÑ

The substitute khyāÑ- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣi̱Ṅ- 'tell, inform' (II 7) [before an ā́rdhadhātuka affix 35].

á+caks+tās+miP = *á-khyā+tās+mi* 'I am about to proclaim'; similarly *ā-khyā́-tum*, *ā-khyā-távya-*.

2.4.55 vā lIṬ-i

[The substitute khyāÑ- 54] optionally (vā) replaces [(the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣi̱Ṅ 54 before the ā́rdhadhātuka] l-substitutes of lIṬ (Perfect).

ā-cakṣ+lIṬ = (a) *á-khyā+lIṬ* = *á-ca-khyā+au* (6.1.8; 7.4.59,60,62; 7.1.34) = *á-ca-khyau*, *á-cakhy∅-atuḥ* (6.4.64) = *á-cakhy-atuḥ*. (b) *á-ca-cakṣ-e*, *á-ca-cakṣ-āte*, *á-ca-cakṣ-ire*.

2.4.56 ájer vī=á-¹GHaÑ-²aP-oḥ

The substitute vī- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem áj- 'drive, lead' (I 248) [before an ā́rdhadhātuka affix 35] other than GHaÑ (3.3.18) and aP (3.3.57).

prá+aj+ṆvuL = *pra+vī+Ṇvul* = *prá+vaí-aka* (7.1.1; 2.115) = *pra-vā́y-aka-* (6.1.78) 'driver, conductor', and similarly *pra-vī+anī́yaR* = *pra-vay-anī́ya-* 'fit for driving', but *sam+aj+GHaÑ* = *sam-āj-á-* (7.2.116) 'congregation, concourse', *sam+aj+aP* = *sam-aj-á-* 'a herd, flock or multitude of animals'.

2.4.57 vā yau

[The substitute vī- 56] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem áj- 56 before the ā́rdhadhātuka affix 35] yu (LyuṬ).

Though [yu] is a cover term for KhyuN (3.2.56), Ṭyu(L) (4.3.23), ṆyuṬ (3.1.14), yuC (3.2.148; 3.107-8), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuṬ (3.3.113,115ff.), LyuṬ is intended here. *prá+aj+LyuṬ* = *prā́j-ana-/pra-váy-ana-* (8.4.2) 'whip, goad'.

2.4.58 ¹Ṇyá-²kṣatríya-³ārṣá-⁴Ñ-IT-o yū́ni luK=¹áṆ-²iÑ-oḥ

luK (1.1.61 $\emptyset^1$) replaces the affixes áṆ and iÑ introduced after a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the patronymic affix Ṇyá (4.1.151) or in an affix denoting the gotrá descendant (4.1.162) of a kṣatríya 'warrior' class or of ṛ́ṣi 'sage' (4.1.114) or one co-occurring with marker Ñ as IT, all denoting a yúvan (4.1.163) descendant.

1. *Ṇyá: kuru+Ṇyá* (4.1.151) = *kauru+yá* (7.2.115) = *kauro+yá* (6.4.146) = *kaurav-yá* (6.1.79) 'a gotra descendant of Kuru (a brahmin)' = *kaurav-ya+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *kaurav-yá+$\emptyset^1$* = *kaurav-yá-* when denoting a yúvan-descendant, whence *kaurav-yá-ḥ pitā́* (father living) : *kaurav-yáḥ putráḥ* 'son' (= *yúvan* 'while father is living').
2. kṣatríya: *vasudeva+áṆ* (4.1.114) = *vāsudev-á* (7.1.117) 'descendant of Vasudeva'; *vāsudevá+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *vāsudevá+$\emptyset^1$* 'yúvan-descendant of Vāsudeva (still living').
3. ṛ́si: *vásiṣṭha+áṆ* (4.1.114) = *vāsiṣṭh-á-* 'descendant of sage Vásiṣṭha': *vāsiṣṭhá+iÑ* = *vāsiṣṭhá+$\emptyset^1$* = *vāsiṣṭhá-* 'living descendant of Vásiṣṭha or his yúvan-descendant'.
4. Ñ-IT : *bida+aÑ* (4.1.104) = *báid-a-* 'descendant of Bida': *baida+iÑ* = *báida+$\emptyset^1$* = *báid-a-* 'living descendant of Bida or his yúvan-descendant'.
5. *tika+phiÑ* = *taíka+āyani-* (7.1.2; 2.117); *taíkāyani+áṆ* (4.1.83) = *taíkāyani+$\emptyset^1$* = *taíkāyani-* 'living descendant of Tika or his yúvan-descendant'.

2.4.59 pailá=ādibhyas=ca

[luK (∅[1]) replaces the yúvan affix 58 introduced ater the word-class] beginning with pailá- (= gotra descendant of Pīlā).

pīlā+áṆ (4.1.118)+*phiÑ* (4.1.156) = *pailá+∅*[1] 'living descendant of Pīlā or her yúvan descendant'.

2.4.60 iÑ-aḥ prā́c-ām

[luk (∅[1]) replaces the yúvan affix 58] introduced after a patronymic (ending in 1.1.72) the affix iÑ to denote a [yúvan-descendant 58] of an eastern gotra (prā́cām).

pannā́gāra-sya gotrāpatyám = pannā́gāra+iÑ (4.1.95) = pā́nnāgār∅+i = (6.1.197; 4.148; 7.2.117); *pā́nnāgārer ápatyam yúvā = pā́nnāgāri+phaK* (4.1.101) = *pā́nnāgāri+∅*[1] 'gotra descendant of Pannā́gāra (living) or his son (yúvan-descendant).

2.4.61 ná taúlvali-bhyaḥ

[luK (∅[1]) 58] does not (ná) replace [the yúvan affix 58 introduced after the word-class] beginning with taúlvali- [of the eastern gotra 60].

tulvalásya prācyàsya gotrāpatyám = tulvalá+iÑ (4.1.95) = *taúlval-i-ḥ; taúlvaler ápatyam yúvā = taúlvali+phak* (4.1.101) = *taulval∅+āyaná- = taulvalāyaná-* (6.4.148; 7.1.2).

2.4.62 tad-rājásya bahúṣu téna=evá=ástriyām

[luK (∅[1]) 58] replaces a tad-rājá affix (4.1.168-74; 5.2.112-119) introduced after a nominal stem when it denotes a plurality (bahúṣu) if that plurality is expressed by the stem ending in that affix (téna=evá) except when followed by a feminine affix (á-stryām).

áṅga+áṆ = āṅg-á- 'a prince of Aṅga'; *āṅgá+Jas = áṅga+áṆ+Jas = áṅga+∅*[1]*+Jas = áṅgāḥ* 'princes of Aṅga'; note that the operation of marker Ṇ of áṆ (7.1.117) is blocked by the metarule 1.1.63; but *āṅgá+ṄīP+Jas = āṅgy-áḥ* 'princesses of Aṅga', and *priyó vāṅgó yéṣām tè = priyá-vāṅga+Jas = priyá-vāṅgāḥ* 'those to whom the prince of Vaṅga is dear'.

2.4.63 yaska=ādibhyo gotré

[luK (∅[1]) replaces 58] a gotrá affix (4.1.162) introduced after the word-class beginning with yaska- [when the noun stem ending in it indicates plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

yaskasya gotrāpatyám = *yaska+áṆ* (4.1.112) = *yāsk-á-ḥ; yāska+Jas* = *yaska+áṆ+Jas* = *yaska+∅¹+Jas* = *yaskāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Yaska', but *yāská+ṄīP+Jas* = *yāsky-áḥ* f., *priyó yāskó yéṣām te* = *priyá-yāskāḥ*.

2.4.64 ¹yaÑ-²aÑ-oś ca

[luK (∅[1]) 58] also (ca) replaces [the gotrá affixes 63] yañ (´-ya) (4.1.105) and aÑ (´-a 4.1.104) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when that nominal stem ending in these affixes itself denotes plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

1. yaÑ: *gárga+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *gā́rg-ya-ḥ* (7.2.117) 'a gotra descendant of Gárga', but *gárga+yaÑ+Jas* = *gárga+∅¹+Jas* = *gárgāḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Gárga' contra *gārgyá+ṄīP+Jas* = *gā́rg∅∅+ī+Jas* (6.4.150) = *gā́rgy-aḥ* 'female descendants of Gárga' and *priyó gā́rgyo yéṣām te* = *priyá-gārgyāḥ*.
2. aÑ: *bidá+aÑ* (4.1.104) = *baíd-a-ḥ; bidá+aÑ+Jas* = *bidá+∅¹+Jas* = *bidā́ḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Bidá'; but *baída+ṄīN+Jas* = *baid∅¹+ṄīN+Jas* (6.4.148) = *baídy-aḥ* f., *priyá-baidāḥ*.

2.4.65 ¹átri-²bhṛ́gu-³kútsa-⁴vásiṣṭha-⁵gótama=⁶áṅgirobhyaś ca

[luk (∅[1]) 58 replaces the gotrá affixes 63 introduced after the nominal stems] átri-, bhṛ́gu-, kútsa-, vásiṣṭha-, gótama- and áṅgiras [when these stems ending in those affixes by themselves indicate plurality and are not followed by feminine affixes 62].

1. *átri+ḍhák* (4.1.122)+*Jas* = *átri+∅¹+Jas* = *átray-aḥ* 'descendants of Átri', but *atri+ḍhak+ṄīP+Jas* = *ātreyy-áḥ* 'female descendants of Átri', and *priyá+ā́treya+Jas* = *priyā́treyāḥ*.
2. *bhṛ́gu+áṆ* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *bhṛ́gu+∅¹+Jas* = *bhṛ́gav-aḥ* 'gotrá descendants of Bhṛ́gu', but *bhārgavy-ā́h, priyá-bhārgavāḥ*.
3. Similarly from the remaining nominal stems: ³*kútsāh* m. / *kaútsy-aḥ* f. / *priyá-kautsāḥ;* ⁴*vásiṣṭhāḥ* m. / *vāsiṣṭhy-áḥ* f. / *priyá-vāsiṣṭhāḥ;* ⁵*gótamāh* m. / *gautamy-áḥ* f. / *priyá-gautamāḥ;* ⁶*áṅgirasaḥ* m. / *āṅgirasy-áḥ* f. / *priyā́ṅgirsāḥ*.

2.4.66 bahu=áCaḥ=iÑ-aḥ prācya-bharatéṣu

[luK (∅[1]) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63] iÑ introduced after a polysyllabic (bahu=áCaḥ) (nominal stem) denoting the Prācyá (eastern) and Bharatá gotrás [when the stem ending in that affix by itself indicates plurality 62].

1. Prācyá: *pannā́gāra+iÑ+Jas = pannāgāra+∅¹+Jas = pannā́gārāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Pannā́gāra'.
2. Bharatá: *yúdhiṣṭhira+iÑ+Jas = yúdhiṣṭhira+∅¹+Jas = yúdhiṣṭhirāḥ.*
3. But when not polysyllabic: *bika+iÑ+Jas = baíki+Jas = baíkay-aḥ; puṣpa+iÑ+Jas = paúṣpi+Jas = paúṣpay-aḥ.*
4. When not belonging to Prācyá or Bharatá gotras: *balāka+iÑ+Jas = bā́lākay-aḥ; hastidāsa+iÑ+Jas = hā́stidāsay-aḥ.*

Note: Though Bharatá gotra is also a sub-class of Prācyá, its specific mention here is to indicate that Bharatá gotra is excluded when Prācyá alone is mentioned elsewhere (60 above).

2.4.67 ná gopáv-ana=ādibhyah

[luK (∅[1]) 58] does not replace [the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] the word-class beginning with gopávana- [when these nominal stems by themselves indicate plurality 62].

This class is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with bida- (4.1.104): *gopávanasya gotrāpatyā́ni púmāṁsaḥ = gopávana+aÑ+Jas = gaúpavanāḥ* (contrary to 64 above); smilarly *śigrú+aÑ+Jas = śaígrav-āḥ.*

2.4.68 ¹tiká-²kitavá=ādibhyo dvaṁdvé

[luK (∅[1]) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] a dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] constituted by members of the word-classes beginning with (a) tiká- and (b) kitavá- [when the compound stems denote plurality 62].

By 4.1.154 the gotra affix [phiÑ] is introduced after these word-classes: *tika+phiÑ = tika+āyaniÑ = taíkāyani-; kitava+phiÑ = kaítavāyani-; taikāyani+Jas+kaitavāyani+Jas = tika+∅¹+kitava+∅¹+Jas = tika-kitavā́ḥ* 'gotrá-descendants of Tiká and Kitavá'.

2.4.69 úpaka=ādibhyaḥ=anyatarásyām á-dvaṁdve

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 58] optionally (anyatarásyām) [replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced after the word-class] beginning with úpaka- [when the stem denotes plurality 62 in a dvaṁdvá compound constituted by members of its class 68] or not so constituted (á-dvaṁdve).

Three compounds belonging to this class: *upaka-lamakā́ḥ, bhr̥ṣṭaka- kapiñjalā́ḥ, kr̥ṣṇājina-kr̥ṣṇasundarā́ḥ* have already been included in the [tika-kitavá-] class (68 above) where luK replacement is obligatory; by this rule it becomes optional when the constituent members are used indvidually: *úpaka+phak* (4.1.99)+*Jas* = *upaka*+$\emptyset^1$+*Jas* = *úpakāḥ* / *aupakāyaná+Jas* = *aupakāyanā́ḥ*.

2.4.70 ¹āgastyá-²kaúṇḍinyay-or ¹agásti-²kuṇḍináC

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced in generating the words] āgastyá and kauṇḍinya- [when they indicate plurality 62] and the substitute nominal stems agási- and kuṇḍináC (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of the pre-affixed stems āgastyá-and kaúṇḍinya-).

1. *agástya+áN* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *agásti*+$\emptyset^1$+*Jas* = *agaste+Jas* (7.3.109) = *agástay-aḥ* (6.1.78).
2. *kuṇḍinī+yaÑ* (4.1.105)+*Jas* = *kaúṇḍinya+Jas* = *kuṇḍiná+Jas* = *kuṇḍinā́ḥ*.

2.4.71 suPo ¹dhā́tu-²prātipadikáy-oḥ

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 58 replaces] a nominal [vibhákti 1.4.104] ending (sUP triplet) [of a padá 1.4.14] constituting a (derived) verbal stem (dhātu-° 3.1.32) or a (derived) nominal stem (°-prātipadiká- 1.2.46 = ending in kr̥t or taddhitá affixes or constituting samāsás).

1. dhā́tu: *ātmánaḥ putrám iccháti* = *putrá+am icch-á-ti* = *putrá*+$\emptyset^1$+*kyáC* (3.1.8) = *putrī-yá-ti* (7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'.
2. prātipadiká: (a) ending in a kr̥t affix: *kumbhá+am kar-ó-ti* = *kumbhá*+$\emptyset^1$+*kr̥+áN* (3.2.1) = *kumbha-kārá-ḥ* 'potter'; (b) ending in a taddhitá affix: *gárgasya gotrāpatyám* = *gárga+Ṅas+yaÑ* = *garga*+$\emptyset^1$+*yaÑ* = *gā́rg-ya-ḥ* (4.1.105) 'gotra descendant of Gárga'; (c) samāsá: *kaṣṭá+am śri-tá-ḥ* (1.24) = *kaṣṭá*+$\emptyset^1$+*śri-tá-ḥ* = *kaṣṭá-śri-ta-ḥ* 'fallen on misfortune'.

2.4.72 adi-prabhṛtíbhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 58 replaces the active marker] ŚaP (3.1.68) introduced after the class of verbal stems whose first member is ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1).

ad+ŚaP+tiP = *ad+*$\emptyset^1$*+tiP* = *ád+ti* = *át-ti* (8.4.55) 'eats'; similarly *han+*$\emptyset^1$*+ti* = *hán-ti* 'klls, strikes'.

2.4.73 bahulám chándasi

[In the domain of Chándas ($\emptyset^1$) 58] variously (bahulám) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace it after the verb-class ad- (72): *vṛtrám han+Śap+ti* = *vṛtrám hán-a-ti* 'kills V.' for regular *han-ti*. *ahiḥ śáy-a-te (= śī+ŚaP+te)* contra regular *śe+*$\emptyset^1$*+te* = *śé-te* 'the snake is lying down'.
2. occurs after other verbal stems not forming the ad-class: *trā-dhvám no dévāḥ* 'protect us, O gods', from *trai+ŚaP+dhvam* = *trā+*$\emptyset^1$*+dhvám* (6.1.45) contra regular *trā́y-a-dhvam* (1.1.63).

2.4.74 yáṄ-aḥ=áCi ca

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 58] also (ca) replaces the affix yáṄ (3.1.22) [diversely 73] before the affix áC (3.1.134).

lū+yáṄ = *lo-lū-yá-* (6.1.9; 7.4.89)+*áC* (3.1.134) = *lolū+*$\emptyset^1$*+áC* = *loluv-á-* 'cutting frequently or intensively'. diversely: *bhū+yáṄ* = *bo-bhū+yáṄ-* = *bo-bhū+*$\emptyset^1$*+tip* = *bó-bho-ti, bó=bho+īṬ+tiP* (7.3.94) = *bó-bhav-ī-ti*. 3.1.32 which introduced marker Śap after derived verbal stems is blocked by including this formation in the ad-class (II 71) whence *bhū+yáṄ+ŚaP+tiP* = *bo-bhū+*$\emptyset^1\emptyset^1$*+tiP* (72).

2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=ādibhyaḥ Śluḥ

The substitute marker Ślu replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72] introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with hu- (ju-hó-ti) 'offer an oblation' (III 1).

hu+ŚaP+tiP = *hu+Ślu+tiP* = *hu-hu+ti* (6.1.10) = *ju-hu+ti* (7.4.62; 8.4.54) = *ju-hó-ti* (7.3.84), *ju-hu-táḥ, ju-hv-áti* (7.1.4).

2.4.76 bahulám̐ chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute marker Ślu 75] diversely (bahulám) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace after the hu-class (III): *dā+ŚaP+tiP = dā́-ti priyā́ṇi* gives desirable things' for *dā+Ślu+tiP = dá-dā-ti*.
2. replaces ŚaP after other verbal stems: *vaś-*(II 70)+*Ślu+tip = ví-vaś+ti = vi-vaṣ-ṭi* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'desires' for *vaś+∅¹+ti = vaṣ-ṭi*.

2.4.77 ¹gā́ti-²sthā-³GHU-⁴pā-⁵bhū́-byaḥ si̱C-aḥ parasmaipadéṣu

[luK (∅¹) 58] replaces the Aorist substitute marker si̱C (3.1.44) [introduced after the verbal stems] gā- (substitute for iṆ 45 above) 'go', sthā- 'remain' (I 975), those belonging to the GHU sub-class (1.1.20), pā- 'drink' (I 972) and bhū́- 'become' (I 1) before Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

1. *gā+si̱C+t = áṬ+gā+∅¹+t* (6.4.71) = *á-gā-t* 'has gone'.
2. *sthā+si̱C+t = á+sthā+∅¹+t = á-sthā-t* 'has remained'.
3. *dā+si̱C+t = á+dā+∅¹+t = á-dā-t* 'has given'.
4. *pā+si̱C+t = pā+∅¹+t = á-pā-t* 'has drunk'.
5. *bhū+si̱C+t = bhū+∅¹+t = á-bhū-t* 'has become'.

2.4.78 vibhāṣā ¹ghrā-²dheṬ-³śā=⁴chā-⁵saḥ

[luK (∅¹) 58] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the substitute Aorist marker si̱C 77 introduced after the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dheṬ- 'drink' (I 951), śo- 'pare' (IV 37), cho- 'cut' (IV 38) and so- 'destroy' (IV 39) [before Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 77].

1. *ghrā+si̱C+t = á-ghrā+∅¹+t = á-ghrā-t/á-ghrā-s+īṬ+t* (7.3.96) = *á-ghrā-s-ī-t* 'has smelled'.
2. *dheṬ+si̱C+t = dhā+si̱C+t* (6.1.45) = *dhā+∅¹+t = á=dhā-t / á-dhā-s-ī-t* 'has drunk'.
3. *á-śā-t/á-śā-s-ī-t* 'has pared'.
4. *á-cchā-t/á-cchā-s-ī-t* 'has cut'.
5. *á-sā-t/á-sā-s-ī-t* 'has destroyed'.

2.4.79 tán=ādibhyaḥ=¹ta-²thā́s-oḥ

[luK (∅¹) 58 optionally 78 replaces the substitute Aorist marker si̱C 77 introduced after the class of verbal stems] beginning with tan- 'extend, stretch' (VIII 1) [before the Ātmanepadá l-substitutes] °tá and °thā́s.

> *tan+si̱C+ta/thās/tan-∅¹+ta/thās* = *á-ta-ta/thās* (6.4.37); alternately *á-tan-iṬ-ṣ-ṭa/ṭhās* (7.3.59; 8.4.41).

2.4.80 mántre ¹ghása̱-²hvara̱-³ṇaśÁ-⁴vr̥-⁵dahÁ=⁶āT-⁷vr̥c-⁸kr̥-⁹gami̱-¹⁰jani-bhyo lEḥ

In the domain of the Mántra (section of the Veda) [luK (∅¹) 58 replaces l-members] lI (= Cli̱ 3.1.43 or lIṬ) introduced after the verbal stems ghás- 'eat' (I 747), hvr̥- 'be crooked' (I 978), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), vrṄ- 'cover' (IX 38) or vr̥Ñ 'choose' (V 8), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), stems ending in long °ā, vr̥j- 'avoid' (II 19, VII 24) or vŕ̥c- (VII 24) or vr̥k- 'take' (I 92), kr̥- 'do' (VIII 10), gam- 'go' (I 1031) and jan- 'be born' (IV 41).

1. *ghas+Cli̱+an(t)* (3.1.43) = *á-gh∅s+∅¹+an* (6.4.98) = *á-kṣ-an* (8.3.60; 4.55) 'they have eaten'.
2. *hvr̥+Cli̱+t* = *á-hvar+∅¹+t* = *á-hvar+∅* (6.1.68) = *áhvaḥ* (8.3.15) 'has acted crookedly'.
3. *naś+Cli̱+t* = *á-naś+si̱C+t* = *á-naṣ+si̱C+t* (8.2.36) = *á-nak+∅¹+t* (8.2.41) = *á-nak+∅* (6.1.68) = *á-nak* 'has disappeared'.
4. *ā+vr̥Ṅ+Cli̱+t* = *ā+áṬ+vr̥+si̱C+t* = *ā́-var+∅¹+t* = *ā́-var+∅* (6.1.68) = *ā́-vaḥ* (8.3.15) 'has covered'.
5. *ā́+dah+Cli̱+t* = *ā+áṬ+dagh+∅¹+t* (8.2.32) = *ā́-dhagh+t* (8.2.37) = *ā́=dhak+∅* (6.1.68; 8.4.55) 'has burnt'.
6. *ā+prā+Cli̱+t* = *ā-prā+Cli̱+siP* = *ā+áṬ=prā+∅¹+s* = *ā́=prā-ḥ* 'thou hast filled up'.
7. *parā-vr̥k/vr̥c/vr̥j+Cli̱+t* = *parā+áṬ+vr̥k/vr̥c/vr̥j+∅¹+t* = *parā-vark+t* (8.2.30) = *parā́-vark+∅* (6.1.68) = *parā́-vark*.
8. *kr̥+Cli̱+an(t)* = *á=kr̥+∅¹+an* = *á-kr-an* 'they have done'.
9. *gam+Cli̱+an(t)* = *á-gam+∅¹+an* = *á-g∅m-an* (6.4.98) = *á-gm-an* 'they have gone'.
10. *jan+Cli̱+ata* = *á-jan+∅¹+ata* = *á+j∅n+ata* = *á-jñ-ata* 'they were born'.

2.4.81 āmaḥ

[luK (∅¹) 58 replaces l-members of lI 80 introduced after the affix] °ā́m (marker of the Periphrastic Perfect 3.1.55).

> *īh+lIṬ* = *īh+ā́m+lIṬ* = *īh+ā́m+kr̥+lIṬ* (3.1.40) = *īh-ā́m-ca-kr-e* 'has longed for'.

2.4.82 ávyayāt=¹āP-²sUP-aḥ

[luK (∅¹) 58 replaces] the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) and sUP triplets introduced after an indeclinable (ávyaya) (nominal stems).

1. [āP]: *tad+āP+traL* = *taa+∅¹+traL* (7.1.102) = *tá-tra* (6.1.97) *śā́lāyām* 'in that hall'.
2. [sUP]: *kr̥+Ktvā́+sUP* = *kr̥+tvā́+∅¹* = *kr̥-tvā́* 'having done'.

2.4.83 ná=avyayībhāvā́t=aTaḥ=am tu=á-pañcamyāḥ

[luK (∅¹) 58] does not (ná) replace [sUP triplets introduced after] an avyayībhāvá (1.5) [compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) short °-a-, but (tu) affix °-am replaces them with the exception of the fifth (á-pañcamyāḥ).

kubhásya sámīpam = *upa+kumbha+ám* = *upa-kumbhám; hári+Ṅi* = *adhi+hari+Ṅi* = *adhi-harí+∅¹* = *adhi-harí*; but *upa-kmbhā́t ā́-naya* 'bring from the vicinity of the pot'.

2.4.84 ¹tr̥tī́yā-²saptamyór bahulám

[Substitute affix °-am 83] replaces diversely (bahulám) the third and seventh sUP triplets (tr̥tī́yā-saptam-óḥ) introduced after an avyayībhāvá 83 compound 1.3 ending in short °-a 83.

1. third sUP triplet: *upa-kumbh-éna/upakumbham kr̥tam* 'made near the pot'.
2. seventh sUP triplet: *upakumbh-é/upa-kumbh-ám ní-dhe-hi* 'set (it) down near the pot'.

2.4.85 lUṬ-aḥ prathamá-sya ¹Ḍā-²rau-³ras-aḥ

The substitute elements Ḍā, rau and ras (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of 1.1.55) the third person (prathamásya) of lUṬ [Periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future Tense].

kr̥+lUṬ+tiP = *kr̥+tā́s+tiP* (3.1.33) = *kr̥+tā́s+Ḍā* = *kar+t∅∅+ā́* (6.4.143) = *kar-t-ā́; kar+tā́s+tas* = *kar-tā́s+rau* (1.1.55) = *kar+tā́∅+rau* (7.4.51) = *kar-tā́-rau; kar+tā́s+jhi* = *kar-tā́s+ras* = *kar-tā́∅+ras* = *kar-tā́-raḥ*.

3.1.1 pratyayáḥ

(The t.t.) pratyayá- 'affix'.

This is a governing rule covering the whole of the largest section of Aṣṭ. up to the end of the fifth chapter, and items introduced hereafter are designated by this t.t. The word [pratyayáḥ] will thus recur in every subsequent rule up to the end of the fifth chapter.

3.1.2 páraś ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] is introduced after (páraḥ 'what follows') an element [= verbal 91 or nominal 4.1.1 stem].

This is also a governing rule having the same range of operation as the preceding rule and recurs in all subsequent statements. In consequence of this, metarule 1.1.67 is not relevant with reference to 91 or 4.1.1 below.

3.1.3 ādy=ùdāttas ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] which follows 2 [the verbal or nominal stem 91 and 4.1.1 respectively] has the high-pitched (udātta) accent on its first syllable (ādí=udāttaḥ).

This is the third governing rule having the same range of operation as the previous two. However, this is an utsargá or general rule and exceptions are stated at appropriate places. In general, accents associated with affixes other than on the first syllabic are indicated by particular IT markers such as C (6.1.163-4), K (6.1.165), T (6.1.185), L (6.1.193), Ñ and Ṇ (6.1.197) and R (6.1.213).

kr̥+távya- (96) = *kar-távya-*, *kr̥+tavyàT* = *kar-tavyà-*, *kr̥+anī́yaR* = *kar-aṇī́ya-* 'should or ought to be done'.

3.1.4 ánudattau [1]sUP-[2]P-IT-au

[The affixes 1] sUP triplets and those **with** marker P **as** IT have low-pitched (ánudātta) vowels (1.2.30).

(a) sUP: *dr̥ṣád+au* = *dr̥ṣád-au; páṭh+ŚaP+tiP* = ***páṭh-a-ti*** 'recites'.

3.1.5 [1]gup-[2]tij-[3]kit=bhyaḥ saN

[The affix 1] saN is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems gup- 'hide, conceal' (X 231), tij- 'whet, sharpen' (I 1020) and kit- 'know, perceive' (I 1042).

By 32 below these derived forms constitute verbal stems (dhātu) after which the active marker ŚaP is introduced before l-substitutes (68).

1. *gup+saN+ŚaP+te* = *gúp-gup+sa+a+te* (6.1.9) = *gú-gup-sa-te* (7.4.60) = *jú-gup-sa-te* (7.4.62) 'censures'.
2. *tij+saN+ŚaP+te* = *tí-tij-sa-te* = *tí-tik-sa-te* (7.4.60) = *ti-tik-ṣa-te* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'endures, forbears'.
3. *kit+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cí-kit-sa-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) 'treats medically'.

Note: affix saN is introduced after these stems in these particular meanings; elsewhere the expected forms are respectively *gop-áya-ti* 'conceals', *tej-áy-a-ti* 'whets, sharpens', and *sam-ket-áy-a-ti* 'gives a cue' since they are listed in the tenth or cur-class also.

3.1.6 [1]mān-[2]badhA-[3]dān-[4]śān-bhyo dīrgháś ca=abhyāsásya

[The affix 1 saN 5] is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems mān- 'honor' (I 1021), badh- 'bind' (I 1022), dān- 'cut' (I 1043) and śān 'sharpen, whet' (I 1044) and (ca) a long vowel (dīrgháḥ 1.2.28) replaces (that of) the reduplicated syllable (abhyāsá-sya 6.1.4).

1. *mān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *má-mān-sa-te* (7.4.60,62) = *mī́-mān-sa-te* (7.4.79) = *mī́-māṁ-sa-te* (8.3.24) 'investigates'.
2. *badh+saN+ŚaP+te* = *bī́-bhat-sa-te* (7.4.60,62,79; 8.2.37) 'loathes'.
3. *dān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *dī́-dāṁ-sa-te* (7.4.60,62 79; 8.3.24) 'rectifies, straightens out'.
4. *śān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *śī́-śāṁ-sa-te* 'whets, sharpens'.

Note: except in these specific meanings given above, normal forms of these four stems would be: *mān-áy-a-ti, bādh-áy-a-ti, dān-áy-a-ti, ní-śān-ay-a-ti* since they are also listed in the tenth or cur-class.

3.1.7 dhā́toḥ kármaṇ-aḥ samāná-kartr̥k-āt icchā́yām vā

[The affix 1 saN 5] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 2] a verbal stem, the action denoted by which is the object (kárman-aḥ) of a (verbal stem) expressing desire (icchā́yām) and both actions have the same agent (samañá-kartr̥kāt)

kár-tum icch-á-ti = *kr̥+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cí-kr̥+sa+a+ti* (7.4.60,62,66,79) = *cí-kr̥-sa-a-ti* (6.4.16) = *cí-kir-sa-a-ti* (7.1.100) = *cí-kīr-sa-a-ti* (8.2.76) = *cí-kīr-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to perform'. Similarly *hár-tum icch-a-ti* = *hr̥+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-hīr-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to remove or take away'.

3.1.8 sUPaḥ=ātmán-aḥ KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2] a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet [when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent] desires for himself (ātmán-aḥ).

ātmánaḥ putrám icch-á-ti = *putrá+∅*[1]*+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (2.4.71) = *putrī-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'; *ātmán-aḥ rā́jān-am icch-á-ti* = *rājan+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP*; by 1.4.15 nominal stems ending in °-n are denoted by the t.t. [padá] before affix Kyá (a cover term or KyáṄ, KyáC and KyáṢ), whence = *rāja∅+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *rājī-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'desires a king for one's self'.

3.1.9 kāmyáC ca

[The affix 1] kāmyaC also (ca) is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 8 when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent desires for hmself 8].

Note: for the affix kāmyác: 1.3.8 is not applicable to kāmyáC by interpretation, and k is not an IT marker here.

ātmán-aḥ putr-ám icch-á-ti = *putra+∅*[1]*+kāmyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *putra-kāmyá-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes for a son' / *putrī-yá-ti*.

3.1.10 upamā́nāt=ācāré

[The affix 1 KyáC is optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet which is an object 7] with which a comparison (upamānāt) is made and (the derived form) denotes behavior (ācāré).

chātr-ám putr-ám iva á-car-a-ti = *putra+∅*[1]*+KyáC+Śap+tiP* = *putrī-yá-ti chātr-ám* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'treats one's pupil like a son'.

3.1.11 kárt-úḥ KyáṄ sā-lopáś=ca

[The affix 1] KyáṄ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 7] when it is the agent (kart-úḥ) [with which a comparison is made 10] and lopa (∅) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] °s [and the derived form denotes behavior 10].

śyená-ḥ=iva á-car-a-ti kā́ka-ḥ = *śyena+∅*[1]*+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *śyenā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.15) *kā́ka-ḥ* 'the crow is acting like a falcon'. Similarly *ójas+sU* = *ójas+∅*[1] *iva á-car-a-ti* = *ojas-KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *oja∅-yá-te* = *ojā-yá-te* 'acts vigorously'.

3.1.12 bhr̥śá=ādibhyaḥ=bhuví=á-Cveḫ lópaś ca haL-aḥ

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2] the word-class beginning with bhr̥śá- 'powerful', provided the stem is not followed by (affix 1) Cvi̱ and (the derived form) denotes becoming (bhuv-í) and the substitute lopa (∅) replaces the (stem-final 1.1.52) consonant (haL-aḥ).

"Becoming" here is defined as becoming something which it was not before (a-bhūta-tad-bhāvé) whence: *á-bhr̥śa-ḥ bhr̥śá-ḥ=bháv-a-ti* = *bhr̥śa+∅¹+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *bhr̥śā-yá-te* (7.4.25) 'becomes powerful'; similarly *á-nr̥-ṣad nr̥-ṣád bháv-a-ti* = *nr̥-ṣad+∅¹+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *nr̥-ṣa∅+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *nr̥-ṣā-yá-te* 'starts dwelling with men'. But *bhr̥ś+Cvi̱+bhū+ŚaP+ti* = *bhr̥śī́+bhav-a-ti*.

3.1.13 ¹lóhita=ādi-²Ḍā́C=bhyaḥ KyáṢ

[The affix 1] KyáṢ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2] the nominal stem-class beginning with lóhita- 'red' and also stems (ending in 1.1.72) [the affix 1] Ḍā́C (5.4.57) [provided the stems are not followed by the affix 1 Cvi̱ and the derived forms denote becoming 12].

1. *á-lohita=ḥ lóhita-ḥ bháv-a-ti* = *lohita+∅¹+KyáṢ+ŚaP+ti/te* = *lohitā-yá-ti/te* (7.4.25) 'becomes or turns red'.
2. *paṭa-paṭat+Ḍā́C* = *paṭa-paṭā́ bhav-a-ti* (5.4.57) = *paṭapaṭā+KyáṢ+ŚaP+ti/te* = *paṭapaṭā-yá-ti/te* 'makes a noise like paṭa-paṭat'.

3.1.14 kaṣṭā́-ya krámaṇe

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stem] kaṣṭá- 'wrong, evil' (ending in 1.1.72) the fourth sUP triplet as the indirect object of the verbal stem krám- 'strive' (I 502).

kaṣṭā́-ya kárman-e krám-a-te = *kaṣṭa+KyáṄ+SaP+te* = *kaṣṭā-yá-te* (7.4.25) 'is bent upon wrongdoing'.

3.1.15 kárman-aḥ=¹romantha-²tapó-bhyāṁ ¹vartí-²cár-oḥ

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] romantha- 'ruminating' and tápas- 'austerity' serving respectively (1.3.10) as the objects of the verbal stems vart-í (= vŕt+ṄíC I 795) 'execute (repeatedly)' and car- 'practice' (I 591).

1. *romantha+am vart-áy-a-ti* = *romantha+∅¹+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *romanthā-yá-te* 'the cow (or bull) is ruminating'.

2. *tápas+am* = *tapas+∅*[1] (7.1.23) *cár-a-ti* = *tapas+KyáṄ+ŚaP+ti* = *tapas-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'practices austerity'.

(Parasmaipada l-substitute by a vārttika, contra 1.3.12.)

3.1.16 [1]bāṣpá=[2]ū́ṣmā-bhyām ud-vámane

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] bāṣpá- 'vapor' and ū́ṣman 'heat' [serving as objects 15 of the verbal stem] úd-vam- 'shed, emit' (I 902).

1. *bāṣpá+am úd-vam-a-ti* = *bāṣpa+∅*[1]*+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *bāṣpā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) 'sheds tears/emits vapor'.
2. *ū́ṣmāṇ+am úd-vam-a-ti* = *ūṣman+∅*[1]*+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *ūṣma∅+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *ūṣmā-yá-te* (7.4.25) 'emits steam or heat'.

3.1.17 [1]śábda-[2]vairá-[3]kalahá=[4]abhrá-[5]káṇva-[6]meghé-bhyaḥ káraṇe

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally introduced after 2 the nominal stems] śábda- 'sound', vairá- 'hostility', kalahá- 'quarrel', abhrá- 'cloud', káṇva- 'evil' and meghá- 'cloud' to form derivatives denoting 'doing' (káraṇe).

1. *śábda+am kar-ó-ti* = *śabdā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) 'makes noise'.
2. *vairá+am kar-ó-ti* = *vairā-yá-te* 'shows hostility towards or against'.
3. *kalah-ám kar-ó-ti* = *kalahā-yá-te* 'quarrels'.
4. *abhŕ-am kar-o-ti* = *abhrā-yá-te* 'makes clouds'.
5. *káṇv-am kar-o-ti* = *kaṇvā-yá-te* 'commits sin'.
6. *megh-ám kar-ó-ti* = *meghā-yá-te* 'makes a cloud'.

3.1.18 [1]sukhá=ādibhyaḥ kartṛ-védanāyām

[The affix 1 KyáṄ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the class of nominal stems] beginning with sukhá- 'happiness, pleasure' when the derivative denotes the experience of the agent (kartr̥-vedanā́yām).

sukha+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = *sukhā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) = *sukhám ātmáno ved-áy-a-ti* 'feels happy', but *prasā́dhaka-ḥ devadattásya sukhám ved-áy-a-ti* 'the attendant makes known the happiness of Devadattá'.

3.1.19 [1]námas=[2]várivas=[3]citráṄ-aḥ KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] námas- 'obeisance', várivas- 'honor' and citráṄ 'wonder' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing' 17 (i.e., the nominal stems serve as objects of the verbal stem kr̥- 'perform, do')].

1. *námas+*$\emptyset^{1}$*+kar-ó-ti = namas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP = namas-yá-ti* 'bows down in obeisance, salutes respectfully'.
2. *varivas+*$\emptyset^{1}$*+kar-ó-ti = varivas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP = varivas-yá-ti* 'honors, respects, reveres'.
3. *citrá+am kar-o-ti = citra+*$\emptyset^{1}$*+KyáC+ŚaP+te = citrī-ya-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'causes wonder'.

3.1.20 [1]púccha-[2]bhāṇḍa-[3]cīvarā́t=ṆiṄ

[The affix 1] ṆíṄ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] púccha- 'tail', bhāṇḍa- 'pot, vessel' and cīvará- 'rag' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *púccha+am úd-as-ya-te/páry-as-ya-te = ud/pari+puccha-*$\emptyset^{1}$*+ṆíṄ+ŚaP+te* (1.3.12) *= út/pari-pucch*$\emptyset$*+e+a+te = út/pári-pucch-ay-a-te* 'raises/moves (in circles) the tail'.
2. *bhāṇḍa+am sam-ā́-ci-no-ti = sam-bhāṇḍ-ay-a-te* 'collects pots'.
3. *cīvará+am arj-áy-a-ti/pári-dadhā-ti = sáṁ-cīvar-ay-a-ti bhikṣú-ḥ* 'the mendicant collects/wears rags'.

3.1.21 [1]muṇḍa-[2]miśrá-[3]ślakṣṇá-[4]lavaṇá-[5]vratá-[6]vástra-[7]hala-[8]kala-[9]kr̥tá-[10]tū́stebhyaḥ=ṆíC

[The affix 1] ṆíC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] muṇḍa- 'bald', miśrá- 'mixed', ślakṣṇá- 'smooth', lavaṇá- 'salt', vratá- 'vow', vástra- 'costume, cloth', hala- 'plough', kala- and kr̥ta- 'names of dice', and tū́sta- 'matted hair' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *muṇḍa+am kar-ó-ti = muṇḍa+*$\emptyset^{1}$*+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* (6.4.48) *= muṇḍ-áy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) 'shaves the head'.
2. *miśr-áy-a-ti* 'mixes'.
3. *ślakṣṇ-áy-a-ti* 'smoothens'.
4. *lavaṇ-áy-a-ti* 'adds salt'.
5. *vrat-áy-a-ti* 'observes a vow'.
6. *vastr-áy-a-ti* 'wears a cloth or costume'.

7. *hal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the plough-share'.
8. *kal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the losing die called kali'.
9. *kr̥t-áy-a-ti* 'holds the winning die called kr̥ta'.
10. *tūst-ay-a-ti* 'makes the hair matted'.

3.1.22 dhā́tor éka=aCaḥ=háL-ādeḥ kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré yáṄ

[The affix 1] yáṄ [is optionally 7 introduced after 2] a monosyllabic (éka=aCa-aḥ) verbal stem (dhā́toḥ), beginning with a consonant (háL-ādeḥ) when that action is performed repeatedly or intensively (kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré).

púnaḥ punaḥ/bhr̥śáṁ vā pác-a-ti = pac+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = paØ-pac+yáṄ+a+te (6.1.9; 7.4.60) = *pā-pac-yá-te* (7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or frequently'; similarly *bhr̥śám jvál-a-ti = jā-jval-yá- te* 'burns intensely'.

3.1.23 nítyaṁ kaúṭilye gátau

[The affix 1 yàṄ 22] is necessarily (nítyam) introduced [after 2 a monosyllabic verbal stem 22] denoting movement (gátau) to signify 'crookedness' (kaúṭilye).

kuṭilám krā́m-a-ti = kram+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = ca-kram+yá+a+te (6.1.9; 7.4.60,62) = *ca+nuK+kram-ya-a-te* (7.4.85) = *caṅ-kram-yá-te* (6.1.97) 'moves crookedly'.

3.1.24 [1]lupa-[2]sada-[3]cárÁ-[4]jápÁ-[5]jábhA-[6]dahÁ-[7]daśÁ-[8]gr̥̄-bhyo bhāva-garhā́yām

[The affix 1 yáṄ is necessarily 22 introduced after 2 monosyllabic verbal stems 22] lup- 'cut' (VI 137), sad- 'sit' (I 907), cár- 'walk, graze', jáp-(I 424) 'mutter', jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), gr̥̄- 'swallow' (VI 11) to convey censure relative to the action (bhāva-garhā́yām).

This is an obligatory formation; for [kriyā-sam-abhi-hārá] this derivative form is not used.

1. *lup+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = lo-lup-yá-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.82) = *garhitáṁ lump-á-ti* 'destroys or cuts uselessly'.
2. *sā-sad-yá-te = garhitáṁ sī́d-a-ti.*
3. *cañ-cūr-yá-te* (7.4.25, 87-8) = *garhitáṁ cár-a-ti.*
4. *jañ-jap-yá-te* (7.4.86) = *garhitáṁ jáp-a-ti.*

5. *jañ-jabh-yáte* (7.4.86) = *garhitáṁ jábh-a-te.*
6. *dan-dah-yá-te* = *garhitáṁ dáh-a-ti.*
7. *dan-daś-ya-te* = *garhitáṁ dáś-a-ti.*
8. *ní-je-gil-ya-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.62,82; 7.1.100; 8.2.20) = *garhitáṁ ní-gil-a-ti.*

3.1.25 [1]satyāpa-[2]pā́śa-[3]rūpá-[4]vī́ṇā-[5]tū́la-[6]ślóka-[7]sénā-[8]lóma(n)=[9]tváca̠=[10]várma(n)=[11]várṇa-[12]cūrṇa-[13]cur=ādibhyo ṆíC

[The affix 1] ṆíC is introduced [after 2 the nominal stems] satyāpa- 'truth', pā́śa- 'fetter', rūpá- 'form', vī́ṇā 'lute', tū́la- 'cotton', ślóka- 'verse', sénā 'army', lóman- 'hair (on the body)', tváca̠- 'skin', várman- 'coat of mail', várṇa- 'color, dye', cūrṇa- 'flour' and the class of verbal stems beginning with cur- 'steal' (X 1).

1. *satya+āpu̠K+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *satyāp-áy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) 'speaks truly'.
2. *ví-pāś-ay-a-ti* 'releases from fetters, sets free'.
3. *rūp-áy-a-ti* 'shows the form'.
4. *úpa-vīṇ-ay-a-ti* 'sings to the accompaniment of the lute'.
5. *ánu-tūl-ay-a-ti* 'rubs the cotton lengthwise'.
6. *úpa-ślok-ay-a-ti* 'praises in verse'.
7. *abhí-ṣeṇ-ay-a-ti* (6.4.64) 'assails with an army'.
8. *ánu-lom-ay-a-ti* 'rubs hair in the right direction'.
9. *tvac-áy-a-ti* 'skins'.
10. *sáṁ-varm-ay-a-ti* 'provides with a coat of mail'.
11. *varṇ-áy-a-ti* 'dyes, colors'.
12. *áva-cūrṇ-ay-a-ti* 'sprinkles or covers with flour'.
13. *cur+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *cor-áy-a-ti* 'steals'.

3.1.26 hetumát-i ca

[The affix 1 ṆíC 25] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 22] to denote the causal agent (hetumát-i 1.4.55).

(káṭam) kr̥+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = *kār-áy-a-ti* (7.2.115; 3.84; 6.1.78) 'causes (someone) to make (a mat)'.

3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādibhyo yáK

[The affix 1] yáK is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with kaṇḍū- 'itch'.

kandū+yáK+ŚaP+tiP = *kandū-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'itches'.

3.1.28 ¹gupŪ-²dhū́pÁ-³vícchi̱-⁴páṇi̱-⁵páni̱-bhya ā́yaḥ

[The affix 1] ā́ya is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] gúp- 'protect' (I 422), dhū́p- 'burn incense or perfume' (I 423), vich- 'go' (VI 129), paṇ- and pan- (I 466-7) 'praise'.

1. *gup+ā́ya+ŚaP+tiP = gop-ā́ya-ti* (6.1.97) 'protects'.
2. *dhūp-ā́ya-ti* 'fumigates, burns incense'.
3. *vicch-ā́ya-ti* 'goes, moves'.
4. *paṇ-ā́ya-ti/pan-ā́ya-ti* 'praises, lauds'.

3.1.29 ṛter ī́yaṄ

[The affix 1] ī́yaṄ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ṛt- 'abhor'.

ṛt+ī́yaṄ+ŚaP+te = ṛt-ī́ya-te (6.1.97) 'abhors'.

3.1.30 káme̱r ṆíṄ

[The affix 1] ṆíṄ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kám- 'love' (I 470).

kám+ṆíṄ+ŚaP+te = kā́m-í+a+te (7.2.116)= *kā́m-é+a+te* (7.3.84) = *kā́m-áy-a-te* 'loves'.

3.1.31 ā́ya=ādayaḥ=ā́rdhadhātuke vā

[The affixes 1] beginning with ā́ya (28) are optionally (vā) introduced [after respective verbal stems 28-30] before ā́rdhadhātuka (2.4.35) [affixes 1].

gup+āya+iṬ+tum = góp-āy∅-i-tum (7.3.86; 6.4.48) = *góp-āy-i-tum/góp-tum; árt-i-tum/ṛ́t-īy-i-tum; kám-i-tum/kā́m-ay-i-tum.*

3.1.32 sáN=ādi=antāḥ=dhā́tav-aḥ

[The t.t.] dhā́tu denotes all items which [end in 1.1.72 the affixes 1] beginning with saN (5-30).

The verbal-stem forming affixes in this group are: saN (5-7), KyáC (8,10,19), kāmyáC (9), KyáṄ (11,12,14-18), KyaṢ (13), ṆíṄ (20,30), ṆíC (21,25,26), yáṄ (22-24), yáK (27), ā́ya- (28), ī́yaṄ (29). By grouping these derivative stems un-

der this t.t. the active marker ŚaP (68 below) is introduced after them before l-substitutes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka).

3.1.33 [1]syá-[2]tā́sī [1]lR̥-[2]lÚṬ-oḥ

[The affixes 1] syá and tā́si̱ are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before l-substitutes of lR̥ (= cover term for lR̥Ṭ and lR̥Ṅ, respectively the Sigmatic Future and Conditional Tenses) and of lUṬ (Periphrastic or Non-sigmatic Future Tense).

These affixes are replacements of ŚaP (68 below), and the present rule is a prior exception to that.

1. lR̥Ṭ : *kr̥+lR̥Ṭ = kr̥+syá+ti = kar+iṬ+syá+ti* (7.2.70) = *kar-i-ṣyá-ti* 'will do'
2. lR̥Ṅ : *kr̥+lR̥Ṅ = áṬ+kr̥+sya+t* (6.4.71) = *á-kar-i-ṣya-t* 'would have done'
3. lUṬ : *kr̥+lUṬ = kr̥+tā́s+miP = kar-tā́s-mi, kar-tā́s-vaḥ, kar-tā́s-maḥ* 'will do'.

3.1.34 siP=bahuláṁ lEṬ-i

[The affix 1] siP is introduced variously (bahulám) [after 2 a verbal stem before l-substitutes] of lEṬ (Subjunctive Mood).

This is also a prior exception to 68 below and is a replacement for the general active marker ŚaP. *jus+lEṬ+tiP = jos+iṬ+siP+aṬ+t* (7.2.35; 3.84; 3.4.94,97) = *jóṣ-i-ṣ-a-t* (8.3.59) 'may it please'; but siP does not occur in: *pat+ŚaP+āṬ+tiP* (3.4.94) = *pát-ā-ti* 'may it fall'.

3.1.35 [1]kā́s-[2]pratyayā́t=ā́m=á-mantre lIṬ-i

[The affix 1] °ā́m is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kā́s- 'cough' (I 645) and (derived stems ending in 1.1.72) stem-forming affixes (pratyayā́t) before l-substitutes of lIṬ (Perfect) except in the domain of Mántra (section of the Veda).

1. *kās+lIṬ = kās+ā́m+lIṬ = kās+ā́m+∅[1]+kr̥+lIṬ* (2.4.81; 3.1.40) = *kās-ā́m+ca=kr+eŚ/āte/ireC* (3.4.81) = *kās-ā́ṁ-ca-kré/°ca-kr-ā́te/°ca-kr-iré* 'has/have coughed'.
2. *lū+yaṄ+lIṬ = lo-lū-yá+lIṬ = lo-lū-ya+ā́m+kr̥+lIṬ = lo-lūy-ā́ṁ ca-kr-é* (6.1.9; 7.4.82) 'has frequently cut'.

3.1.36 iC=ādeś ca gurumátaḥ=án-r̥cch-aḥ

[The affix 1 ā́m 25] is also introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] whose initial is a vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme class a) with the exception of r̥cch- 'go' (VI 15), provided iC is metrically heavy (guru-mát-aḥ) [before lIṬ 35].

1. *īh+lIṬ = īh+ā́m+∅¹+kr̥+lIṬ = īh-ā́ṁ-ca-kré/ca-kr-ā́te/ca-kr-iré* 'has/have exerted'.
2. But: *r̥cch+lIṬ = r̥-r̥cch+ṆaL/átus/ús* (6.1.8) = *a+r̥cch+ṆaL/átus/ús* (7.4.66) = *ā+r̥cch+ṆaL/átus/ús* (7.4.70) = *ā+nuT+r̥cch+ṆaL/átus/ús* (7.4.71) = *ā-n-árcch-a/°átus/°úḥ* (7.4.11) 'has/have gone'.

3.1.37 ¹dáyÁ=²áyA=³ā́s-aś ca

[The affix 1 °ā́m 35] is also (ca) introduced [after the verbal stems] dáy- 'give, donate' (I 510), áy- 'go' (I 563) and ā́s- 'sit down' (II 11) [before l-substitutes of lIṬ 35].

1. *day+lIṬ = day+ā́m+∅¹+kr̥+lIṬ = day-ā́ṁ-ca-kr-é/ā́te/iré* 'has/have donated'.
2. *parā+ay-ā́ṁ+ca-kr-e/ā́te/iré = palā+ay-ā́ṁ-ca-kr-é/ā́te/iré* (8.2.19) 'has/have run away'.
3. *ās-ā́ṁ-ca-kr-é/ā́te/iré* 'has/have sat down'.

3.1.38 ¹úṣÁ-²vídÁ-³jā́gr̥-bhyaḥ=anyatarásyām

[The affix 1 °ā́m 35] is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] úṣ- 'burn' (I 727) víd- 'know' (II 55) and jā́gr̥- 'wake up' (II 63) [before l-substitutes of lIṬ 35].

1. *uṣ+lIṬ = uṣ+ā́m+∅¹+kr̥+ṆaL = oṣ-ā́ṁ-ca-kā́r-a/u-uṣ+ṆaL = u-óṣ+a = uv-óṣ-a* (6.4.77) 'has burnt'.
2. *vid-ā́ṁ ca-kā́r-a/vi-véd-a* 'has known'.
3. *jāgar-ā́ṁ-ca-kā́r-a/ja-jāgā́r-a* 'has woken up'.

3.1.39 ¹bhī-²hrī-³bhr̥-⁴huv-āṁ Ślu-vát=ca

[The affix 1 °ā́m 35 is optionally 38 introduced after 2 the verbal stems] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī- 'feel shame' (III 3). bhr̥- 'bear' (III 5) and hu- 'offer an oblation' (III 1) [before l-substitutes of lIṬ 35] and it functions like the marker Ślu (6.1.10).

1. *bhī+lIṬ* = *bhī+ā́m+∅¹+kṛ+ṆaL* = *bi-bhī+ā́ṁ ca-kā́r-a* = *bi-bhay-ā́ṁ ca-kā́r-a* (7.3.84; 6.1.78)/*bi-bhā́y-a* (7.2.115) 'has become afraid'.
2. *ji-hr-ay-ā́ṁ ca-kār-a/ji-hrā́y-a* 'has become ashamed'.
3. *bi-bhar-ā́ṁ ca-kāra/bi-bhā́r-a* 'has borne'.
4. *ju-hav-ā́ṁ ca-kār-a/ju-hā́v-a* 'has offered an oblation'.

3.1.40 kṛÑ ca=ánu-pra-yuj-ya-te lIṬ-i

Before l-substitutes of lIṬ the verbal stem kṛÑ (VIII 10) is also (ca) introduced as an auxiliary (ánu-pra-yuj-ya-te) [after 2 the affix 1 °ā́m 35].

By interpretation (vṛ́tti) the expression [kṛÑ] is regarded as a siglum [praty-ā-hār-á] derived with [kṛ-] of 5.4.50 and it-marker Ñ of [kṛÑ-aḥ] of 5.4.58 so as to include the other two auxiliary verbal stems [bhū́-] and [as-] as well. Thus from the causative stem derived from *pac+ṆíC+lIṬ* = *pāc-i+ā́m+∅¹+kṛ/bhū/as+ṆaL* = *pāc-ay-ā́ṁ ca-kā́r-a/ba-bhū́v-a/ā́s-a* 'caused (someone) to cook'. The verbal stem [as-] is not replaced by [bhū́-] as required by 2.4.52 when it serves as an auxiliary before l-substitutes of lIṬ.

3.1.41 vid-ā́ṁ=kur-v-ántu=iti=anyatarásyām

[The exceptional form] vid-ā́m=kur-v-ántu optionally (anyatarásyām) occurs (as an irregular construction).

This is the Imperative third person plural of the verbal stem [víd-], with the irregular affix [°-ā́m 35] introduced after it before l-substitutes of lOṬ, with ∅¹ replacement of these substitutes, followed by the auxiliary [kṛÑ 40] followed by l-substitutes of lOṬ, corresponding to the regular form *vid-ántu*.

3.1.42 ¹abhy-ut-sād-ay-ām=²pra-jan-ay-ām-³ci-kay-ā́m-⁴ram-ay-ā́m+ákaḥ⁵pāv-ay-ā́ṁ+kri-yāt-⁶vid-ā́m+akrann iti=chándssi

In the domain of Chándas the following irregular forms occur: (a) *abhy-út-sād-ay-ām (ákaḥ)* 'has gone'; (b) *prá-jan-ay-ām (ákaḥ)* 'has borne'; (c) *ci-kay-ā́m (ákaḥ)* 'has piled up'; (d) *ram-ay-ā́m+ákaḥ* 'has sported'; (e) *pāv-ay-ā́m+kri-yā́t* 'may (one) purify' and (f) *vid-ā́m á-kr-an* 'they have known'.

1. *abhi+úd+sad+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *abhy-út-sād-i+ām+∅¹* (2.4.81) *+kṛ+lUṄ* = *abhy-ut-sād-ay-ām+a+kar+∅¹+t* (2.4.80) = *abhy-ut-sād-ay-ām+a-kar-∅* (6.1.68) = *abhy-út-sād-ay-ām+a-ka-ḥ* (8.3.15).
2. *prá+jan+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *prá-jan-ay-ām+a-ka-ḥ*.

3. *ci+lUṄ = ci-ki+lUṄ* (7.3.58) = *ci-ki+ā́m+∅¹+kr̥+lUṄ = ci-kay-ā́m+a-ka-ḥ*.
4. *ram+ṆíC+lUṄ = ram-ay-ā́m+kr̥+lUṄ = ram-ay-ā́m+a-ka-ḥ*
5. *pū+ṆíC+lIṄ = pāv-ay-ām+∅¹+kr̥+lIṄ = pāv-ay-ā́ṁ+kri-yāt* (7.4.28).
6. *vid+lUṄ = vid-ā́m+∅¹+kr̥+lUṄ = vid-ā́m+a-kr-an*.

These irregularities may be understood from the regular forms occurring in the current (classical) speech (bhāṣāyām): (a) *abhy-ud-á-sīṣad-a-t*; (b) *prá-jī-jan-a-t*; (c) *á-cai-ṣ-ī-t*; (d) *á-rī-ram-a-t*; (e) *pāv-yā́t*; (f) *á-ved-i-ṣ-uḥ*.

3.1.43 Cli̱ lUṄ-i

[The affix 1] Cli̱ (marker of Aorist) is introduced [after 1 a verbal stem] before the l-substitutes of lUṄ (Aorist).

Cli̱ is the cover term for all markers of the Aorist, as will be seen from the subsequent rules where it is replaced by other substitute markers. This is the most diverse tense in the language: (1) Root Aorist (Cli̱ replaced by ∅¹ 2.4.77); (2) aṄ Aorist (52 below); (3) Reduplicated or CaṄ Aorist (48 below); (4-7) Sigmatic Aorists: (4) si̱C Aorist (44 below); (5) Ksa Aorist (45 below); (6) iṬ+si̱C Aorist (7.2.35) and (7) s+iṬ+si̱C Aorist (7.2.73).

3.1.44 Cle̱ḥ si̱C

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] si̱C replaces Cli̱ [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43].

kr̥+lUṄ = kr̥+Cli̱+t = áṬ+kr̥+si̱C+t (6.4.71) = *á-kār+s+īṬ+t* (7.2.1; 3.96) = *á-kār-ṣ-ī-t* (8.3.59) 'has done'.

3.1.45 śa̱L-aḥ=íK=upadh-āt=án-iṬ-aḥ Ksa-ḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] Ksa replaces [Cli̱ 44 after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes comprised by the siglum śa̱L (= sibilants and h) and containing the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) as penultimate (íK=upadh-āt), provided the verbal stem does not operate the initial increment i[Ṭ] before the affix marker (án-iṬ-aḥ).

The operation of 7.2.35 affecting ā́rdhadhātuka affixes beginning with va̱L (= all consonants other than y) is circumscribed by specific rules (7.2.8ff.) and by 7.2.10 where verbal stems which are monosyllabic and have a low pitch (ánudātta) accent block out this increment and are thus defined as án-iṬ stems. *spr̥ś+lUṄ = spr̥ś+Cli̱+t = spr̥ś+Ksa+t = áṬ+spr̥ś+Ksa+t = á-spr̥ṣ+sa+t* (8.2.36) = *á-spr̥k+ṣa-t* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'has touched'. Similarly: *tviṣÁ* (I 1050) : *á-tvik-ṣa-t* 'has shone'; *lihÁ* (II 6) : *á-lik-ṣa-t* 'has licked'; *duhÁ* : *á-dhuk-ṣa-t* 'has milked'.

3.1.46 śliṣ-aḥ=ā-líṅgane

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45 replaces Cli̱ 44 after the verbal stem] śliṣÁ- (IV 77) when it denotes embracing (ā-líṅgane).

> *ā+śliṣ+lUṄ* = *ā-śliṣ+Cli̱+t* (43) = *ā-śliṣ+Ksa+t* = *ā+áṬ+slik-ṣa-t* = *á-slik-ṣa-t kanyā̀m devadattá-ḥ* 'Devadatta embraced the maiden', but *sam-á-sliṣ-a-t játu kāṣṭhám* (55 below) 'the lac adhered to the wood'.

3.1.47 ná dr̥ś-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45] does not (ná) replace [Cli̱ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] dr̥ś(IR I 1037) 'see, perceive' [before l- substitutes of lUṄ 43].

> *dr̥ś+lUṄ* = *dr̥ś+Cli̱+t* (43) = *dr̥ś+si̱C+t* (44)/*dr̥ś+aṄ+t* (57) = *á-drāk- ṣ-ī-t* (6.1.58; 7.2.1; 8.2.41; 3.59)/*á-darś-a-t* (7.4.16) 'has seen or perceived'.

3.1.48 [1]Ṇí-[2]śri-[3]dru-[4]sru-bhyaḥ kartári CaṄ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CaṄ replaces [Cli̱ 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] Ṇí(C) and the verbal stems śri- 'serve, honor' (I 945), dru- 'run' (I 992) and sru- 'flow' (I 987) [when the l-substitutes of lUṄ 43] denote the agent (kartári).

1. *kr̥+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *kār-i+CaṄ+t* = *kār-∅+CaṄ+t* (6.4.51) = *kar-∅+CaṄ+t* (7.4.1) = *kr̥-kar-a-t* (6.1.11; 1.1.59) = *ka-kar-a-t* (7.4.66) = *ca-kar-a-t* (7.4.62) = *cī-kar-a-t* (7.4.93,94) = *á-cī-kar-a-t* (6.4.71) 'has made (someone) do, caused to do'.
2. *śri+lUṄ* = *śri+Cli̱+t* = *śri+CaṄ+t* = *áṬ+śi-śri+a+t* (6.1.11; 4.71) = *á-śi-śriy-a-t* (6.4.77) 'has served or honored'.
3. *dru+lUṄ* = *á-du-druv-a-t* 'has run'.
4. *sru+lUṄ* = *á-su-sruv-a-t* 'has streamed or flowed'.

3.1.49 vibhāṣā [1]dheṬ-[2]śvy-oḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaṄ 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [Cli̱ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dheṬ 'drink' (I 951) and śvi- 'swell, grow' (I 1059) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. *dheṬ+lUṄ* = *dhā+Cli̱+t* (6.1.45) = *dhā+CaṄ/si̱c+t* = *á-da-dhā-a+t* (7.4.59,60) = *á-da-dh∅-a-t* (6.4.44) = *á-da-dha-t* / *á-dhā+saK+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t* (7.2.35,73,96) =

á-dhā-s-i+∅+ī+t (8.2.28) = *á-dhā-s-ī-t* (6.1.101)/*á-dhā+(siC→∅[1])+t* (2.4.78) = *á-dhā-t* 'has drunk'.

2. *śvi+lUṄ* = *śvi+Cli̱+t* = *śvi+CaṄ/si̱C* (44)+*t* = *á-śi-śvi+a+t* = *á-śi-śviy-a-t/á-śvi+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t* = *á-śve-i-si̱C-ī+t* (7.3.84) = *á-svay-i-∅+ī+t* = *á-svay-ī-t* 'has grown or swollen'.

3.1.50 gúpeś chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaṄ 48 optionally 49 replaces Cli̱ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] gúp- 'protect' (I 422) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 when they denote the agent 48].

gup+lUṄ = *gup+Cli̱+tam* = *gup+CaṄ/si̱C*(44)+*tam* : (a) *á-gup+CaṄ+tam* = *á-jū-gup-a-tam* (6.1.11; 7.4.62,94); (b) *gup+si̱C+tam* = *á-gaup+si̱C+tam* (7.2.3) = *á-gaup+∅+tam* (8.2.26) = *á-gaup-tam;* (c) *gup+iṬ+si̱C+tam* = *á-gop-i-ṣ-ṭam*(7.2.44; 8.3.59; 4.41); (d) *gup+āya+iṬ+si̱C+tam* (28) = *á-gop-āy∅-i-s-tam* (6.4.148) = *á-gop-āy-i-ṣ-ṭam.*

3.1.51 ná=[1]ūn-áy-a-ti-[2]dhvan-áy-a-ti=[3]el-áy-a-ti=[4]ard-áy-a-ti-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 50 the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CaṄ 48] does not (ná) replace [Cli̱ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] ūn-(+ṆíC) 'lessen, diminish' (X 342), dhvan- 'sound' (X 343), il- 'send' (X 119) and ard- 'hurt' (X 285) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 41 when they denote the agent 48].

The three verbal stems also occur in their primary form as ūn- 'lessen' (IV 100), dhvan- 'sound' (I 858,881) and ard- 'demand' (I 56); here the derived forms with stem-forming affix ṆíC are involved, as exceptions to 48 above.

1. *ūn+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *ūn+í+si̱C+s* = *āṬ+ūn-e+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+s* (6.4.72) = *aún-ay-i-∅-ī-s* = *aún-ay-ī-s* = *aún-ay-ī-ḥ* (8.3.15) 'has lessened'.
2. *dhvan+Ṇí+lUṄ* = *á-dhvan-ay-ī-t* 'has sounded', corresponding to the regular form *á-di-dhvan-a-t*.
3. *il+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *aíl-ay-ī-ḥ* for *aíli-l-a-ḥ* 'has deputed'.
4. *ard+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *ā́rd-ay-ī-t* for *ā́rdi-d-a-t* 'has demanded'.

3.1.52 [1]ásyati-[2]vákti-[3]khyā́ti-bhyaḥ=aṄ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] aṄ [replaces Cli̱ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] as- 'throw, fling, toss' (IV 100), vac- 'utter, speak' (II 54) and khyā- 'proclaim' (II 51) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. *as+lUṄ* = *as+Cli̲+ta* = *pári+as+aṄ+ta* = *pari+áT̤+as+a+ta* = *pary-á+as+thu̲K+a+ta* (7.4.17) = *pary-ás-th-a-ta* 'has thrown or cast around'. This verbal stem is included in the class of verbal stems headed by puṣ- (55 below) and accordingly has marker aṄ replacing Cli̲; its inclusion here is for the purpose of introducing this substitute before Ātmanepada l-substitutes.
2. *vac+lUṄ* = *áT̤+vac+Cli̲+t* = *á-va-uM-c+aṄ+t* (7.4.20) = *á-voc-a-t*.
3. *ā-khyā+lUṄ* = *ā+áT̤+khyā+Cli̲+t* = *ā-khyā+aṄ+t* = *ā=khy∅+a+t* (6.4.64) = *ā-khy-a-t* 'has proclaimed'.

3.1.53 [1]lipi̲-[2]sici̲-[3]hv-aś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52 replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] lip- 'smear, paint' (VI 139), sic- 'sprinkle' (VI 140) and hve(Ñ)- 'challenge' (I 1057) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1. *lip+lUṄ* = *áT̤+lip+Cli̲+t* = *á-lip+aṄ+t* = *á-lip-a-t* 'has painted, daubed or smeared'.
2. *sic+lUṄ* = *á-sic-a-t* 'has sprinkled'.
3. *ā-hve+lUṄ* = *ā-hvā+Cli̲+t* (6.1.45) = *ā+áT̤+hv∅+a-t* (6.4.64) = *ā-hv-a-t* 'has challenged'.

3.1.54 ātmanepadéṣu=anyatarásyām

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52] optionally (anyatará- syām) replaces [Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stems lip-, sic and hve- 53] before Ātmanepadá [l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 when they denote the agent 48].

The two verbal stems [lipÀ] and [sicÀ] have svarita markers while [hve-] has Ñ as an IT marker, and by 1.3.72 both sets of Parasmaipadá and Ātmanepadá l-substitutes can be introduced after them. The option here applies only to Atm. l-substitutes:

1. *lip+lUṄ* = *áT̤+lip+Cli̲+ta* = *á-lip+si̲C/aṄ+ta*: (1) *á-lip+s+ta* = *á-lip-∅+ta* (8.2.26) = *a-lip-ta/á+lip+aṄ+ta* = *á-lip-a-ta*.
2. *sic+lUṄ+ta* = *á-sik-ta/á-sic-a-ta*
3. *hve+lUṄ* = *á-hvā-s-ta/á-hv-a-ta*

3.1.55 [1]puṣ=ādi-[2]dyut-ādi=[3]l̥T=IT-aḥ parasmaipadéṣu

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52 replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 verbal stems belonging to the classes] beginning with puṣ- (IV 73-137), dyút- (I 777-799) and those with marker L̥ before Parasmaipadá [l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *puṣ+lUṄ+t* = *á-puṣ+Cli+t* = *á-puṣ+aṄ+t* = *á-puṣ-a-t* 'has nourished or fed'.
2. *dyút+lUṄ+t* = *á-dyut-a-t* 'has shone', but *á-dyot-i-ṣ-ṭa*.
3. *gamḶ+lUN* = *á+gam+aṄ+t* = *á-gam-a-t* 'has gone'.

3.1.56 [1]sár-ti-[2]śā́s-ti-[3]ár-ti-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52 replaces Cli 44] also (ca) [after 2 the verbal stems] sṛ- 'flow' (I 982), śās- 'rule, order' (II 66) and ṛ- 'go' (III 16) [before Parasmaipadá 55 l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *sṛ+lUṄ* = *á-sṛ+Cli+t* = *a-sar-aṄ+t* (7.4.16) = *á-sar-a-t* 'has streamed or flowed'.
2. *śās+lUṄ* = *á-śās+aṄ+t* = *á-śās-a-t* 'has ruled'.
3. *ṛ+lUṄ* = *ā́+r+aṄ+t* = *ā́+ar-a-t* = *ā́-r-a-t* 'has gone'.

By not including these stems in the preceding sūtra, the present rule applies also before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *sam-ā́r-aṄ+anta* = *sam-ā́r-anta*. The word [parasmaipadésu 55] recurs here for the purpose of the following sūtra only.

3.1.57 IR=IT-o vā

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52] optionally (vā) [replaces Cli 44 after 2 verbal stems] with marker IR as IT (in the Dhātu-pāṭha or upadeśa) [before Parasmaipadá 55 l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 denoting the agent 48].

bhid-IR+lUṄ = *áṬ+bhid+Cli+t* = *á-bhid+siC/aṄ+t* = (1) *á-bhaid+s+īT+t* (7.2.3) = *á-bhait-s-ī-t* (8.4.55); (2) *á-bhid+aṄ+t* = *á-bhid-a-t* 'has broken', but *á-bhid+siC+ta* = *á-bhit-∅+ta* (8.2.26; 4.55) = *á-bhit-ta*.

3.1.58 [1]jṝ-[2]stanbhU-[3]mrúcÚ-[4]mlúcÚ-[5]grúcÚ-[6]glúcÚ-[7]glúncÚ-[8]śvi-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52 optionally 57 replaces Cli 44 after 2 verbal stems] jṝ- 'grow old, age' (I 863, IV 22), stambh- 'stop, arrest' (IX 7), mrúc-, mlúc- 'go' (I 210-11), grúc-, glúc- 'steal' (I 212-13), glúñc- 'go' (I 216) and śvi- 'swell, increase, grow' (I 1059) [before Parasmaipadá 55 l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *jṝ+lUṄ* = *áT+jṝ+Cli+t* = *á-jṝ+siC/aṄ+t* = (1) *á-jār-i-ṣ-ī+t* = *á-jār-i-∅+ī+t* = *á-jār-ī-t*; (2) *á+jṝ+aṄ+t* = *á-jar-a-t* 'has aged or grown old'.
2. *stambh+lUṄ* = *á-stambh-ī-t/á-sta∅bh-a-t* (6.4.24) 'has stopped or arrested'.

3. *mrúc/mlúc+lUṄ = á-mroc-ī-t/á-mloc-ī-t; á-mruc-a-t/á-mluc-a-t*
4. *grúc/glúc/+lUṄ =á-groc-ī-t/á-gloc-ī-t; á-gruc-a-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has stolen'.
5. *glúñc+lUṄ = á-gluñc-ī-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has gone'.
6. *śvi+lUṄ = á-śvay-ī-t/á-śv-a-t* 'has swollen'.

3.1.59 [1]kr̥-[2]mr̥-[3]dr̥-[4]ruhi̲-bhyaś chándasi

In the domain of Chándas (chándas-i) [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aṄ 52 replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] kr̥- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), mr̥- 'die' (VI 110), dr̥- 'tear, injure' (V 34) and ruh- 'grow, germinate' (I 912) [before l-substitutes of lUṄ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *kr̥+lUṄ+t = á-kar+aṄ+t* (7.4.16) = *á-kar-a-t* 'has done'; the l-substitutes in all these examples are Parasmaipadá (55).
2. *mr̥+lUṄ = á-mar-a-t* 'has died'.
3. *dr̥+lUṄ = á-dar-a-t* 'has hurt'.
4. *ruh+lUṄ = á-ruh-a-t* 'has ascended or mounted'.

The corresponding non-Chandas forms are: *á-kār-ṣ-ī-t, á-mr̥-ta á-dār-ī-t, á-ruk-ṣa-t.*

3.1.60 CiṆ té pad-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiṆ [replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] pad- 'go' (IV 60) [before the lUṄ substitute 43] tá.

pad+lUṄ = pad+Cli̲+ta = pad+CiṆ+ta = áṬ+pād+i+ta (7.2.116) = *á-pād-i+∅*[1] (6.4.104) = *á-pād-i* 'has gone', *ud-á-pād-i* 'has come up'.

3.1.61 [1]dī́pa̲-[2]jána̲-[3]budhA-[4]pū́ri̲-[5]tā́yi̲-[6]pyā́yi-bhyaḥ= anyatarásyām

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60] optionally (anyatarásyām) [replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dī́p- 'shine' (IV 42), ján- 'be born' (IV 41), budh- 'know' (IV 63), pū́r 'fill' (IV 43), tā́y- 'extend' (I 518) and pyā́y- 'increase, grow' (I 517) [before the lUṄ substitute 43 tá 60].

1. *dī́pÍ+lUṄ+ta = dīp+CiṆ+ta = á-dīp+i+∅*[1] = *á-dīp-i/á-dīp+iṬ-si̲C+ta = á-dīp-i-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59; 4.41) 'has shone'.
2. *á-jan-i/á-jan-i-ṣ-ṭa* 'was born'.
3. *á-bodh-i/á-budh-s+ta = á-budh+∅+ta* (8.2.26) = *á-bud-dha* (1.2.11; 8.2.37; 4.53) 'has known'.
4. *á-pūr-i/á-pūr-i-ṣ-ṭa* 'has filled'.

5. *á-tāy-i/á-tāy-i-ṣ-ṭa* 'has extended'.
6. *á-pyāy-i/á-pyāy-i-ṣ-ṭa* 'has grown'.

3.1.62 aC-aḥ karma-kartár-i

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60 optionally 61 replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ) [before the lUṄ substitute 43 tá 60] when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartár-i).

kr̥+lUṄ+ta = *á+kr̥+CiṆ/si̲C+ta* = (1) *á-kār-i* / *á-kr̥+∅+ta* = *á-kr̥-ta káṭaḥ svayám evá* 'the mat was made by itself (i.e., automatically)', but when the stem ends in a consonant: *bhid+lUṄ+ta* = *á-bhed-i kāṣṭháḥ svayám evá* 'the piece of wood broke by itself' and *á-kār-i káṭaḥ devadatténa* 'the mat was made by Devadattá'.

3.1.63 duh-aś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60 optionally 61 replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] duh- 'milk' (II 4) also (ca) [before the lUṄ substitute 43 ta 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

duh+Cli̲+ta = *duh+CiṆ/si̲C+ta* = *á-doh-i/á-duh+si̲C+ta* = *á-dugh+∅+ta* (8.2.26,32) = *á-dug-dha* (8.2.40; 4.53) *gaúḥ svayám evá* but *á-doh-i gaúḥ devadatténa* 'the cow yielded milk' / 'the cow was milked by Devadattá'.

3.1.64 ná rudh-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60] does not (ná) [replace Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] rudh-ÌR 'obstruct, hinder' (VII 1) [before the lUṄ substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

anu+avá+rudh+Cli̲+ta = *anv-ava-rudh+si̲C+ta* = *anv-ava+áṬ+rudh+∅+ta* (8.2.26) = *anv-avā́+rudh+dha* (8.2.40) = *anv-avā́-rud-dha* (8.4.53) *gaúḥ svayám evá* 'the cow halted by herself' but *anv-avā́-rudh-CiṆ+ta* = *anv-avā́-rodh-i-∅ gaúr gopā́lakena* (66) 'the cow was tied up by the cowherd'.

3.1.65 tapaḥ=anutāpé ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiṆ 60 does not 64 replace Cli̲ 44 after 2 the verbal stem] tap- 'mortify, suffer' (I 1034) [before lUṄ substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62] and (ca) denotes regret or repentance (anu-tāpé).

tap+lUṄ = *tap+Cli̲+ta* = *tap+si̲C+ta* = *á-tap-s-ta* = *á-tap-∅-ta* (8.2.26) *á-tap-ta tápas tāpasáḥ* 'the ascetic mortified himself' and *anv-avā́-tap-ta pāpéna kármaṇā* 'repented his evil actions'.

3.1.66 CiṆ [1]bhāva-[2]karmáṇ-oḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiṆ [replaces Cli̲ 44 after 2 a verbal stem before lUṄ substitute 43 tá 60] when denoting the action itself (bhāvá-) or the object (kárman-).

1. *bhāvé: śīṄ+CiṆ+ta* = *á-sai+CiṆ+∅* (7.2.115) = *á-śāy-i bhávat-ā* 'sleeping was done by you (= you laid yourself down to sleep)'.
2. *kármaṇ-i: kr̥+ciṆ+ta* = *á-kār-i káṭaḥ devadatténa* 'the mat was made by Devadattá'.

3.1.67 sā́rvadhātuke yák

[The affix 1] yáK is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before sā́rvadhātuka (3.4.113) [l-substitutes when denoting bhāvá (the action itself) or kárman (the object) 66].

1. *bhāvé: ās+yáK+te* = *ās-yá-te bhávat-ā* 'sitting is done by you', a reflexive or impersonal construction applicable to intransitive verbal stems.
2. *kármaṇ-i: kr̥+yáK+te* = *kri-yá-te* (7.4.28) *káṭa-ḥ* 'a mat is being made'. This construction also applies when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartár-i): *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ* 'rice is being cooked', but also *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ svayám evá* 'rice is cooking by itself'.

3.1.68 kartár-i ŚaP

[The affix 1] ŚaP is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67] to denote the agent (kartár-i).

pác+tiP = *pác+ŚaP+tiP* = *pác-a-ti* '(one) cooks, is cooking'.

3.1.69 dív-ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN

[The affix 1] ŚyaN is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with dív- 'sport, gamble' (IV 1-137) [before sā́rva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68]

Exception to 68 above. *dív+tiP* = *dív+ŚyaN+tiP* = *dív+ya+ti* = *dī́v-ya-ti* (8.2.76).

3.1.70 vā [1]bhrā́śa̱-[2]bhlā́śa̱-[3]bhrámÚ-[4]krámÚ-[5]klámÚ-[6]trási̱-[7]trúṭi̱-[8]láṣ-aḥ

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 2 the verbal stems] bhrā́ś-, bhlā́ś- (I 876-7) 'shine', bhrám- 'be confused, wander' (I 903, IV 96), krám- 'tread' (I 502), klám- 'become tired or weary' (IV 98), trás- 'tremble' (IV 10), trúṭ- 'break' (VI 82) and láṣ- 'shine' (I 937) [before sā́rvadhatuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

The two verbal stems klám- and trás- occur only as members of the div-class in the Dhp. besides generating derived stems in the cur-class, while trúṭ- occurs only in the tud- and cur- classes.

1. *bhrāś+ŚyaN/ŚaP+te* = *bhrā́ś-ya-te/bhrā́ś-a-te* 'shines'.
2. *bhlā́ś-ya-te/bhlā́ś-a-te* 'shines'.
3. *bhrā́m-ya-ti* (7.3.74) / *bhrám-a-ti* 'wanders, is confused'.
4. *krā́m-ya-ti* / *krā́m-a-ti* (7.3.74,76) 'treads'.
5. *klā́m-ya-ti* / *klā́m-a-ti* (7.3.74,75) 'becomes tired'.
6. *trás-ya-ti* / *tras-á-ti* 'breaks'.
7. *láṣ-ya-ti* / *láṣ-a-ti* 'shines'.

3.1.71 yás-aḥ=án-upasargāt

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69 is optionally 70 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] yás- 'exert' (IV 101) [before sā́rvadhatuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa- sargāt).

Since this verbal stem already belongs to the dív-class and affix ŚyaN is necessarily introduced after it, the present option operates only when it is not co-occurring with a preverb: *yás-ya-ti/yás-a-ti* 'exerts', but *prá-yas-ya-ti*.

3.1.72 sáṁ-yas-aś ca

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69] is also (ca) [optionally 70 introduced after 1 the verbal stem] sáṁ+yas- 'exert well' [before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

Exception to 71 above: *sám-yas-ya-ti / °-yas-a-ti.*

3.1.73 su=ādibhyaḥ Śnúḥ

[The affix 1] Śnú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with su- 'press, express, extract' (V 1-34) [before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

su+tiP = su+Śnú+tiP = su-nó-ti (1.2.4; 7.3.84) 'extracts, distils'.

3.1.74 śruv-aḥ śr̥ ca

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem] śru- 'listen to, hear' (I 989) and the substitute morpheme śr̥- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) of the verbal stem [before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

śru+tiP = śr̥+Śnú+tiP = śr̥-ṇó-ti (7.3.84; 8.4.2) 'listens'.

3.1.75 ákṣ-aḥ=anyatarásyām

[The affix 1 Śnú 73] is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ákṣ- 'pervade' (I 684) [before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

akṣ+tiP = akṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP = akṣ-ṇó-ti/ákṣ-a-ti 'pervades'.

3.1.76 tanū-karaṇé tákṣ-aḥ

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is optionally 75 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] tákṣ- 'pare' (I 684) [before sā́rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when signifying paring (tanū-karaṇé).

takṣ+tiP = takṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP = takṣ-ṇó-ti/tákṣ-a-ti kāṣṭhám 'pares wood', but *sám-takṣ-a-ti vāg-bhiḥ* 'criticizes harshly'.

3.1.77 tud-ādibhyaḥ Śá-ḥ

[The affix 1] Śá is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tud- 'torment' (VI 1-143) [before sā̊rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

> *tud+tiP* = *tud+Śá+tiP* = *tud-á-ti* 'torments'. Guṇa replacement of the light penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is blocked by 1.1.5 since the class-marker Śá is regarded as or acts like a Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4.

3.1.78 rudh-ādibhyaḥ ŚnáM

[The affix 1] SnáM is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with rudh- 'obstruct, hinder' (VII 1-25) [before sā̊rva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

> *rudh+tiP* = *rudh+ŚnáM+tiP* = *ru-ná-dh+tiP* (1.1.47) = *ru-ṇá-dh+dhi* (8.2.37; 4.2) = *ru-ṇá-d+dhi* (8.4.53) 'obstructs'.

3.1.79 [1]tán-ādi-[2]kr̥Ñ-bhyaḥ=ú-ḥ

[The affix 1] ú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1-9) and kr̥Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [before sā̊rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

> *tán+tip* = *tan+ú+tiP* = *tan-ó-ti, tan-u-táḥ, tan-v-ánti; kr̥+tiP* = *kr̥+ú+tiP* = *kar-ó-ti, kur-u-táḥ* (6.4.110).

3.1.80 [1]dhinvi̱=[2]kr̥ṇvy-or a ca

[The affix 1 ú 79] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] dhínv- (I 624 dhívÍ) 'please' and kŕ̥ṇv- (I 629 kŕ̥vÍ) 'injure, hurt' [before sā̊rvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] and the substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of the verbal stems.

1. *dhinv+tiP* = *dhina+ú+tiP* = *dhin∅+ú+tiP* (6.4.148) = *dhin-ó-ti* 'pleases'; guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel of pre-affixal stem is blocked by ∅ replacement of the substitute vowel before marker u (1.1.56).
2. *kr̥ṇ-ó-ti*.

3.1.81 krī-ādibhyaḥ Śnā́

[The affix 1] Snā́ is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with krī- 'buy, purchase' (IX 1-61) [before sārvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

krI+tiP = krI+Śnā́+tiP = krI-ṇā́-ti (8.4.2), *krI-ṇI-táḥ* (6.4.113), *krI-ṇ∅+ánti* (6.4.112).

3.1.82 [1]stanbhÙ-[2]stunbhÙ-[3]skanbhÙ-[4]skunbhÙ-[5]skuÑ-bhyaḥ Śnúś ca

[The affix 1 Śnā́ 81] as well as (ca) Śnú are introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] stanbh-, stunbh- (IX 7) and skanbh-, skunbh- (IX 8) 'stop, hinder' and skuÑ (IX 6) 'cover, conceal' [before sārvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

stanbh+tiP = sta∅bh-nā́-ti/stabh-nó-ti (6.4.24); *stubh-nā́/nó-ti; skabh-nā́/nó-ti, skubh-nā́-ti/skubh-nṓ-ti; sku-nā́/nó-ti* 'covers, conceals'; guna replacement of stem-final vowel is blocked by 1.1.5 and 2.4.

3.1.83 ha̱L-aḥ Śn-áḥ ŚānáC=haú

(The substitute element) ŚānáC replaces (the marker affix 1) Śnā́ (Śn-aḥ) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72)] a consonant (ha̱L-aḥ) before (the substitute affix 1) hí (= replacement of siP of lOṬ 3.4.87).

muṣ+lOṬ = muṣ+Śnā́+hí = muṣ+ŚānáC+hí = muṣ-āṇá+∅ (6.4.105; 8.4.2) 'steal'.

3.1.84 chándas-i ŚāyáC=ápi

In the domain of Chándas (the substitute element) ŚāyáC also (ápi) [replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the marker affix Śnā́ 83 introduced after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 83 before the substitute affix hí 83].

grah+Śnā́+hí = gr̥̥bh+ŚāyáC+hi (6.1.16) = *gr̥̥bh-āyá+∅*[1] 'catch'; alternately *badh+Śnā́+hí = badh+ŚānáC+hí = badh-āná+∅*[1].

3.1.85 vyatyayó bahulám

[In the domain of Chándas 84] interchange (vyatyayáḥ) [of affixes 1] occurs variously (bahulám).

bhid+ŚaP+tiP = *bhéd-a-ti* 'breaks' for *bhi-na-d+ti* = *bhinát-ti* (8.4.55). *mr̥+ŚaP+tiP* = *már-a-ti* 'dies':*mr̥+Śá+te* = *mri+á+te* (7.4.28) = *mriy-á-te* (6.4.77). Two marker-affixes: *nī+siP+ŚaP+tu* = *né-ṣ-a-tu* 'may he lead'. Three marker-affixes: *tr̥̄+ú+siP+ŚaP+lIṄ+ma* = *tar-u-ṣ-a+yā́s+ma*(3.4.103) = *tar-u-ṣ-a+iy∅-ma* (7.2.79,80) =*tar-u-ṣ-é-ma* 'may we cross'.

3.1.86 lIṄ-i=āśíṣ-i=aṄ

[In the domain of Chándas 84 the marker affix 1] aṄ is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before the l-substitutes of] Precative (=Benedictive: liṄ-i āśíṣ-i).

Although the Precative l-substitutes are defined as ā́rdha-dhātuka (3.4.116) they can also be sā́rvadhātuka in the domain of Chándas (3.4.117); consequently this is an exception to ŚaP (68 above) and is valid for the following verbal stems: sthā- 'stand, remain', gā (= gai-) 'sing', gam- 'go', vac- 'speak', vid- 'know', śak- 'be able', ruh- 'shoot up, germinate, climb up, ascend': *úpa+sthā+aṄ+yā́s+am* = *úpa-sth∅+aṄ+yā∅+am* (6.4.64; 7.2.79) = *úpa=sth-a-iy+am* (7.2.80) = *úpa-sth-ey-am* 'may I conciliate'; *úpa+gā+aṄ+yās+am* = *upa-g-éy-am* 'may I sing the praise'; *gam-é-ma* 'may we go'; *vac+aṄ+yā́s+ma* = *va-uM-c+a+íy+ma* (7.4.20) = *voc-é-ma* 'may we speak'; *vid-éy-am* 'may I know'; *śak-éy-am* 'may I be able'; *ā́-ruh-ey-am* 'may I ascend'; *dr̥ś-éy-am* 'may I see'.

3.1.87 karmavát kármaṇ-ā túlya-kriyaḥ

[The agent 68] who behaves with respect to the action in the same way as an object (kármaṇ-ā túlya-kriya-ḥ) functions as though it were an object (karma-vát).

bhid-yá-te kāṣṭh-ám svayám evá 'the wood splits of itself'; *á-bhed-i kāṣṭh-ám svayám evá* 'the wood has split of itself'; *bhid-yá-te kusū́l-ena* 'splitting is taking place by the granary'. For deriving all these sentences the words function as the agent of splitting while normally they are objects of the act of splitting.

3.1.88 táp-as tápaḥ-karmakasya=evá

[The Agent 68 of the verbal stem] tap- 'mortify, do penance' (I 1034) [functions like an object 87] only (evá) when it has the word tápas- 'austerity, mortification, penance' as its object (tápaḥ-karmakasya).

tap-yá-te tápas tāpasá-ḥ 'the ascetic mortifies himself' *á-tap-ta tápas tāpasá-ḥ* 'the ascetic mortified himself' but *út-tap-a-ti suvárṇam suvarṇa-kāráḥ* 'the goldsmith heats up the gold'.

3.1.89 ná [1]duhÀ-[2]snú-[3]námām [1]yaK-[2]CiṆ-au

[The affixes 1] yáK and CiṆ are not (ná) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems] duh- 'milk' (II 4), snú- 'drip, trickle' (II 29) and nám- 'bow, bend down' (I 867) [when the agent of these stems behaves in the same way as an object 87].

1. *dug-dhé gaúḥ svayám evá* 'the cow yields milk by itself' and *á-dug-dha gaúḥ svayám evá* 'the cow yielded milk by itself', the cow being the real object of milking but serving as the agent of the verb.
2. *prá-snu-te gaúḥ svayám evá/prā́-sno-ṣ-ṭa gaúḥ svayām evá* 'the cow yields/has yielded milk by itself'.
3. *nám-a-te daṇḍáḥ svayám evá/a-naṁ-s-ta daṇḍáḥ svayám evá* 'the staff bends/has bent by itself'.

3.1.90 [1]kuṣi-[2]raj-oḥ prā́cām ŚyaN parasmaipadáṁ ca

[The affix 1] ŚyaN is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] kuṣ- 'pull, extract' (IX 46) and ranj- 'color, dye' (I 1048, IV 58) according to Eastern Grammarians (prācā́m) and co-occurring with Parasmaipadá l-substitutes [when the agent functions in the same way as the object of the verbal stems 87].

1. *kúṣ-ya-ti pādáḥ svayám evá* 'the foot draws up by itself'. The reference to Eastern Grammarians is for indicating that this is an optional rule: *kúṣ-ya-te*.
2. *ráj-ya-ti vástram svayám evá* 'the cloth dyes by itself' and alternately *raj-yá-te*. This is what is known as a vyavasthita-vibhāṣā (an ordered option) whereby this option does not function with reference to lIT (Perfect) and lIN (Optative) and before affixes containing s (siC, tāsi̱ā etc.): *cu-kuṣ-é/koṣ-i-ṣī-ṣṭa/koṣ-i-ṣyá-te/á-koṣ-i pādá-ḥ svayám evá; ra-rañj-e/ra ṅk-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa/raṅk-ṣyá-te/á-rañj-i vástram svayám evá.*

3.1.91 dhā́to-ḥ

[After 2] a verbal stem.

This is a governing rule heading the section beginning here and extending up to the end of the third chapter; the word [dhā́tu- 'verbal stem'] will recur in each of the subsequent statements in this chapter.

3.1.92 tá-tra=upapadám saptamī-sthám

There (= in this section: tátra, headed by the governing rule 91) the t.t. upapadá denotes a form ending in (1.1.72) the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī-sthám).

1. as a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.16,71,77; 4.105,106; 2.2.19; 3.14; 5.3.57; 6.2.139.
2. as a non-technical term it denotes 'a complementary form subjoined', cf. 1.4.106.

3.1.93 kŕ̥̥t=á-tiṄ

(The t.t.) kŕ̥̥t denotes (affixes 1 introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91) other than l-substitutes defined by the siglum tiṄ (3.4.78).

This rule also governs the present section and all affixes introduced other than tiṄ will bear the t.t. kŕ̥̥t. These are primary nominal affixes for deriving nominal stems from verbal stems. As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.39; 2.46; 2.1.32; 2.7; 3.65; 3.4.67; 6.1.71,182; 2.50,133; 3.14,72; 7.2.8; 3.33; 8.4.29.

3.1.94 vā=á-sarūpa-ḥ=á-striyām

[In this section headed by the governing rule 91 above] an exception (apavādá) optionally (vā) blocks [a general rule (utsargá) regarding two affixes 1] if they are not identical in shape (á-sarūpa-ḥ) except in the case of [affixes 1] introduced to form feminine agent nouns (3.3.94ff.).

133 below introduces affixes ṆvuL and tŕ̥̥C after all verbal stems while 135 introduces affix Ká after verbal stems containing iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) as penultimate; since the two sets are not identical in shape, a verbal stem such as *kṣip-* 'cast, throw' (IV 14, VI 5) has both of them introduced after it: *vi+kṣip+ṆvuL/tŕ̥̥C/Ká* = *vi-kṣép-aka-/vi-kṣep-tŕ̥̥-/vi-kṣip-á-* since 135 does not block the operation of 133. On the other hand 3.2.1 introduces affix áṆ after a verbal stem co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in the second sUP triplet, while 3.2.2 introduces affix Ká if the verbal stem ends in the vowel phoneme °-ā and is not preceded by a preverb; since áṆ and Ká are identical in shape (= á) the latter (apavāda) blocks the preceding (utsargá).

With reference to feminine affixes 3.3.94 introduces KtiN to form feminine action nouns: *kr̥+KtiN* = *kŕ̥̥-ti-* 'action', while 3.3.102 introduces affix [á] after deriva-

tive verbal stems: *kr̥+saN+á* = *ci-kīr-ṣa+á* = *ci-kīr-ṣā* [*ci-kīr-ṣa+á+ṬāP] (3.3.102; 6.1.97; 4.1.4) and though both affixes are not identical in shape 102 blocks the operation of 94. If this rule had not been introduced [KtiN] would have been introduced after derived verbal stems.

3.1.95 kŕ̥tyāḥ prā́ṅ ṆvuL-aḥ

(The t.t.) kŕ̥tya denotes [all affixes 1 introduced hereafter up to but excluding 133 below, after 2 a verbal stem 91].

This is a sub-class of kŕ̥t (93) affixes and the word [kŕ̥tya] will recur in the subsequent rules prior to 133 below.

3.1.96 ¹tavyàT-²távya=³anī́yaR-aḥ

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affixes 1] tavyàT, távya and anī́yaR are introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91].

1. tavyàT: *gam+tavyàT* = *gan-tavyà-* (8.4.58) 'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.185).
2. távya: *gam+távya-* = *gan-távya-* 'to be gone'.
3. anī́yaR: *gam+anī́yaR* = *gam-anī́ya-* 'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.217).

3.1.97 aC-aḥ=yàT

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1] yàT is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ).

gai+yàT = *gā+yàT* (6.1.45) = *gā+īT+yàT* (6.4.65) = *géy-am sā́ma* 'a sāman to be sung' (accent according to 6.1.213). *pā+yàT* = *pé-ya-* 'to be drunk'; *ji+yàT* = *jé-ya-* 'to be won'; *lū+yàT* = *lo-yàT* (7.3.84) = *láv-ya-* (6.1.79) 'to be cut or reaped'.

3.1.98 pOr aT=upadhāt

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a labial stop phoneme (pU) and containing short [a] as penultimate.

This is a prior exception to 124 below which introduces affix ṆyàT. *jap+yàT* = *jáp-ya-* 'to be muttered'; *kab+yàT* = *káb-ya-* 'to be dyed'; *labh+yàT* = *lábh-ya-* 'to be gained'; *dram+yàT* = *drám-ya-* 'to be moved'.

3.1.99 [1]śaki-[2]śah-oś ca

[The kr̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] śak- 'be able' (V 15) and sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905).

Exception to ṆyàT (124 below).

1. *śak+yàT = śák-ya-* 'possible'.
2. *sáh+yàT = sáh-ya-* 'to be endured or borne; bearable'.

3.1.100 [1]gádA-[2]mádа[3]-cárÁ-[4]yamaś ca=án-upa-sarge

[The kr̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] gád- 'speak' (I 53), mád- 'rejoice' (IV 99), cár- 'move; graze' (I 591) and yam- 'restrain' (I 1033) when not co-occurring with preverbs (án-upa-sarge).

Exception to (124 below).

1. *gad+yàT = gád-ya-; prá-gad+ṆyàT* (124) = *pra-gād-yà* 'to be spoken or uttered'.
2. *mád-ya-/pra-mād-yà-* 'to be rejoiced/perplexed'.
3. *cár-ya-/ā-cār-yà-* 'to be visited'.
4. *yám-ya- (98)/pra-yām-yà-* 'to be restrained'.

3.1.101 [1]avadyá-[2]páṇya-[3]varyāḥ [1]garhya-[2]paṇitavya= [3]a-nirodheṣu

[The irregular forms with kr̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] a-vad-yá-, páṇ-ya- and varyā are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) 'contemptible' (garhyà), 'vendible' (paṇitávya) and 'unrestricted' (á-ni- rodha).

1. *náÑ+vad+yàT = a-vad-yá-* [accent by 6.2.160] corresponding to the regular form *a+vad+KyaP = a+ud+KyaP* (6.1.15) = *an-úd-ya-* (6.3.74) 'not to be uttered, unutterable'.
2. *paṇ+yàT = páṇ-ya-,* but regularly *paṇ+ṆyàT = pāṇ-yà-* 'praiseworthy, excellent'.
3. *vara+yàT = var∅+yàT* (6.4.48) = *var-ya+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *vár-yā* 'a girl who is free to choose her own husband', or alternately: *vr̥+yaT+ṬāP = vár-yā* against the regular form: *vr̥+KyaP* (109)+*ṬāP = vr̥+tuK+yā* (6.1.71) = *vŕ̥t-yā.*

3.1.102 váhyam káraṇam

[The irregular form with kr̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] váh-ya- is introduced to denote an instrument (káraṇa) (of transportation).

váh-a-ti an-éna = vah+yàT = váh-ya- 'a carriage', contra the regular form *vah+ṆyàT* (124) = *vāh-yà-* 'to be borne'.

3.1.103 árya-ḥ [1]svāmi(n)=[2]vaiśyayoḥ

r̥+yàT = ár-ya-; regular: *r̥+NyàT = ār-yà-* 'noble'.

3.1.104 upa-sáryā kā́lyā pra-jané

[The irregular form with kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] upa-sáryā is introduced to denote the female (of any species) who has matured (kā́lyā) or is ripe for her first impregnation (pra-jané).

upa=sr̥+yaT+ṬāP = upa-sár-yā gaúḥ 'a cow, ready for her first impregnation'; in other meanings the regular form is: *upa+sr̥+NyaT+ṬāP = upa-sār-yā́ śarád-i madhurā́* 'fennel is to be sought in autumn'.

3.1.105 a-jar-yám sáṁ-gatam

(The irregular form) a-jar-yá- is introduced [with kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 jr̥̄́- co-occurring with the privative particle náÑ] to denote 'permanent accord (sáṁgatam).

náÑ+jr̥̄+yàT = a-jár-ya- (6.2.160); in other senses: *a-jr̥̄+iṬ+tr̥C = á-jar-i-tr̥-* 'not aging' (133).

3.1.106 vad-aḥ sUP-i KyaP ca

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affix] KyaP as well as (ca) [yàT 97 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] vad- 'speak' (I 1058) [not co-occurring with a preverb 100] but co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

bráhman-aḥ=vádanam = brahma∅+∅[1]+vad+KyaP/yàT = brahma+úd-ya- (6.1.15)/*brahma-vád-ya-* 'theological discussion'. When preceded by preverbs: *pra+vad+NyàT = pra-vād-yà-,* and when not co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in a sUP triplet: *vad+NyaT = vād-yà-.*

3.1.107 bhuv-ó bhāvé

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] bhū́- 'become' (I 1) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100] to express a state or condition (bhāvé).

bráhman-aḥ=bhāv-áṁ gatá-ḥ = brhma∅+∅[1]+bhū+KyaP (2.4.71; 8.2.7) =

brahma-bhū-yaṁ gatá-ḥ 'attained the state of being brahman'. But elsewhere: *(pra)+bhū+yàT* (97) = *(pra-)-bháv-ya-* (6.1.79).

3.1.108 han-as ta̲ ca

[The kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100, to express a state or condition 107] and (ca) phoneme [t] replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme).

bráhmaṇ-aḥ=hán-anam = *brahma∅+∅*[1]*+han+KyaP+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *brahma-hát-yā* 'slaying of a brahmin'; similarly *bhrūṇa-hát-yā* 'destroying an embryo'.

3.1.109 [1]éti-[2]stu-[3]sās=[4]vṛ̥-[5]dṛ̥-[6]juṣ-aḥ KyaP

[The kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1] KyaP is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] iṆ 'go' (II 36), stu- 'praise' (II 34), śās- 'rule' (II 66), vṛ̥Ñ 'choose' (V 8), dṛ̥Ṅ 'honor' (VI 118) and juṣ- 'is pleased' (VI 8).

1. *i+KyaP* = *i+tuK+KyaP* (6.1.71) = *í-t-ya-* 'fit to go'.
2. *stu+KyaP* = *stú-t-ya-* 'praiseworthy'.
3. *śās+KyaP* = *śíṣ-ya-* (6.4.34) 'to be ruled, ordered or taught'.
4. *vṛ̥+KyaP* = *vṛ̥́-t-ya-* 'to be chosen'.
5. *dṛ̥+KyaP* = *dṛ̥́-t-ya-* 'to be honored'.
6. *juṣ+KyaP* = *júṣ-ya-* 'to be pleased'.

The repetition of the expression [KyaP] here when it was already recurring from 106 above is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 125 below; this is a prior exception to that rule: *avaśya∅*[1]*+stu+KyaP* = *avaśya-stú-t-ya-* 'necessarily to be praised'.

3.1.110 ṛ̥́T=upadh-āt=ca=a-[1]kĺ̥̥pi-[2]cṛ̥te-ḥ

[The kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 verbal stems 91] containing short [ṛ̥] as penultimate, except kl̥̥p (kṛ̥́p- I 799) 'be able' and cṛ̥t- 'injure (VI 35).

vṛ̥t+KyaP = *vṛ̥́t-ya-* 'to be abided or stayed', but *kl̥̥p+ṆyàT* = *kalp-yà-* (124) 'to be formed', *cṛ̥t+ṆyàT* = *cart-yà-* 'to be harmed or injured'.

3.1.111 ī ca khan-aḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] khan- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), and phoneme long [ī] replaces the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme.

khan+KyaP = kha-ī+KyaP = khé-ya- 'to be excavated or dug'. The [ī]-replacement of stem-final phoneme is a prior exception to 6.4.43 and blocks out the optional [ā]-replacement indicated there.

3.1.112 bhṛÑ-aḥ=á-saṁjñāyām

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] bhṛ- 'bear, nourish' (III 5) when not denoting a name (á-saṁjñāyām).

bhṛ+KyaP = bhṛ-tuK+KyaP = bhṛ́-t-ya- 'bearer, servant', but *bhṛ+Ṇyàt = bhār-yà-* 'n.pr. of a kṣatriya or warrior'.

3.1.113 mṛje-r vibhāṣā

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] mṛj-'polish, rub' (II 57).

°mṛj+KyaP/ṆyàT = (pari-)mṛ́j-ya/-mārj-yà- 'to be polished'.

3.1.114 [1]rājasū́ya-[2]sū́rya-[3]mṛṣódya-[4]rúcya-[5]kúpya-[6]kṛṣṭapácya=[7]avyathyā́ḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced to generate the irregular nominal stems] rājasū́ya- 'name of the coronation sacrifice', sū́rya- 'sun', mṛṣódya- 'false speech', rúcya- 'pleasant', kúpya- 'base metal'. kṛṣṭa-pácya- 'ripening in cultivated ground' and a-vyathya- 'unshakable'.

1. *rājñ-ā so-távya-ḥ = rājaØ+Ø[1]+su+KyaP = rāja-sū́-ya-ḥ* the irregularity being absence of final increment tuK before KyaP or replacement of stem-final by the long vowel.
2. *sṛ+KyaP = sur-ya- = sū́r-ya-/su+KyaP = su+ruT+KyaP = súr-ya = sū́r-ya-.*
3. *mṛṣā vadati = mṛṣā+vad+KyaP = mṛṣā-úd-ya-* (6.1.115) = *mṛṣódya-* (irregularity lies in affix KyaP for yàT 106).
4. *róc-a-te asaú = ruc+KyaP = rúc-ya-*; KyaP for tṛ́C.
5. *gup+KyaP = kúp-ya-* (name; saṁjñā); elsewhere ṆyàT(124).
6. *kṛṣṭe pac-yá-nte = kṛṣṭa+Ø[1]+pac+KyaP = kṛṣṭa-pác-ya-*
7. *ná vyáth-a-te = a-vyath+KyaP = a-vyath-yá* (6.3.73).

The irregularity in (4-7) lies in KyaP replacing the normally expected ṆyàT(124).

3.1.115 ¹bhíd-ya=²úddh-yau nadé

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] bhíd-ya- and úddh-ya- are introduced to denote a 'river' (nadé).

1. *bhi-nát-ti kū́lam = bhíd+KyaP = bhid-ya-* (literally 'breaks the bank'). Exception to ṆyàT (124) or tṛ̥C 133.
2. *ujjh-á-ti=udakám = udjh+KyaP = úddh-ya-* (literally 'releases water'). Exception to tṛ̥C etc. 133.

3.1.116 ¹púṣ-ya-²sídh-yau nákṣatre

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] púṣ-ya- and sídh-ya- are introduced to denote asterisms (nákṣatre).

puṣ-yánti asmín árthāḥ = puṣ+KyaP = púṣ-ya- (lit. 'increases wealth'); but in other meanings *puṣ+LyuṬ = póṣ-aṇa-*. *sidh-yánti asmín = sidh+KyaP = sídh-ya-* (lit. 'achieves success in this'), in other senses *sidh+LyuṬ = sédh-ana-*.

3.1.117 ¹vipū́ya-²vinī́ya-³jítyāḥ ¹múñja-²kalká-³háliṣu

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛ̥tya 95 affix KyaP 106] vipū-ya-, vi-nī́-ya- and jít-ya- are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) the múñja grass, sediment (kalká) and plough (háli-).

1. *vi-pū+KyaP = vi-pū́-ya- = ví-pū-ya-te,* but in other senses *vi-pū+yàT = vi-po-ya- = vipáv-ya.*
2. *vi-nī+KyaP = vi-nī́-ya-* contra *vi-nī+yàT = vi-né-ya-* in other meanings.
3. *ji+KyaP = ji+tuK+ya- = jí-t-ya-* but in other meanings *ji+yat- = jé-ya-*.

3.1.118 ¹práti=²ápi-bhyām grahé̱ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] gráh- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with preverbs práti-° and ápi-°.

The original sūtra does not contain the word [chándas-i]; it is an emendation proposed by a vārttika and is incorporated as part of the sūtra from Kāśikā onwards.

práti+grah+KyaP = prati-gṛ̥́h-ya- (6.1.16) 'to be accepted' but in current speech *prati+grah+ṆyàT = prati-grāh-yà-*. *ápi+grah+KyaP = api-gṛ̥́h-ya-* 'to be closed', but elsewhere *api-grāh-yà* .

3.1.119 [1]padá=[2]ásvairi(n)-[3]bāhyā̀-[4]paksyèṣu ca

[The kr̥̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 grah- 118] to denote (1) a finished word (padá), (2) a dependent (á-svairin-), (3) 'external' (bāhyā̀) and (4) a partisan (paksyà).

1. padá: *pra+grah+KyaP* = *pra-gŕ̥h-ya-* defined by 1.1.11 as a nominal or verbal pada ending in °-ī, °-ū or °-e and dual in number. *ava-gŕ̥h-yam padám* 'a pada separated in a compound, etc.'
2. ásvarin: *gŕ̥hya-kāḥ ime* 'these are domesticated'.
3. bāhyā̀: *grāma-gŕ̥h-yā sénā* 'an army quartered outside the village'.
4. pakṣyà: *vāsudeva-gŕ̥hya-* 'belonging to the party of V.'

3.1.120 vibhāṣā [1]kr̥-[2]vŕ̥ṣoḥ

[The kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] kr̥- 'do' (VIII 10) and vŕ̥ṣ- 'rain' (I 738).

1. *kr̥+KyaP/ṆyàT* (124) = *kŕ̥+tuK+ya-* = *kŕ̥-t-ya-* / *kār-yà-* 'to be done or accomplished'.
2. *vr̥ṣ+KyaP/ṆyàT* = *vŕ̥ṣ-ya-/varṣ-yà-* 'to be rained upon'.

3.1.121 yúg-yam ca páttre

[The irregular form] yúg-ya- [derived with kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 KyaP] is also (ca) introduced to denote a vehicle or a draught animal (páttre).

yuj+KyaP = *yúg-ya-* (with irregular velar replacement of palatal [j]) but in other meanings: *yuj+ṆyàT* = *yog-yà-*.

3.1.122 amāvasyàT=anyatarásyām

[The irregular form] amāvasyàT [derived with kŕ̥tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124, without accompanying vr̥ddhi replacement (7.2.116)] is introduced optionally (anyatarásyam).

amā́ = *sahá vás-a-taḥ a-smín kālé sūryā-candramás-au* = *amā́+vas+ṆyàT* = *amā-vas-yà+ṬāP* = *amāvas-yā̀* 'new-moon day' contra regular *amā-vās-yā̀* (124).

3.1.123 chándas-i [1]niṣṭarkyà-[2]devahū́ya-[3]praṇī́ya=[4]unnī́ya= [5]ucchíṣya-[6]márya-[7]stáryā-[8]dhvárya-[9]khányà-[10]khānyà- [11]devayájyā-[12]āpṛ́cchya-[13]pratiṣī́vya-[14]brahmavādyà- [15]bhāvyà-[16]stāvyà=[17]upacāyya-pṛḍā́ni

In the domain of Chándas [the irregular forms derived with kṛ́tya 95 affixes 1 yàT 97, KyaP 106 and ṆyàT 124 variously] are introduced:

1. *nis+kṛt+ṆyàT = niṣ-ṭark-yà* 'to be unscrewed', with irregular metathesis of the verbal stem and retroflexion of the sibilant of [nís-°].
2. *devā́ḥ hū-yánte asmín = deva∅ [1]+hvé+KyaP = deva+hū́+KyaP* (6.1.15; 4.2) = *deva-hū́-ya-h* 'invocation of the deities'. Alternately *deva+hu+KyaP* with irregular absence of tuK increment and replacement of the short by the long vowel.
3. *pra+nī+KyaP = pra-ṇī́-ya-* 'to be led on'.
4. *ud+nī+KyaP = un-nī́-ya-* 'to be led upwards'.
5. *ud+śiṣ+KyaP = uc-chíś-ya* (8.4.40,63) 'to be left'.
6. *mṛ+yàT = már-ya-* 'mortal'.
7. *stṛ+yàT+ṬāP = stár-yā* 'laying low'. *dhvṛ+yàT = dhvár-ya-*.
8. *khan+yàT/Ṇyàt = khán-ya-/khān-yà-* 'to be excavated'.
9. *deva+yaj+yàT+ṬāP = deva-yáj-yā* 'worship of deities'.
10. *ā́Ṅ+prach+KyaP = ā-pṛ́cch-ya-* (6.1.16) 'to be questioned'.
11. *práti+siv+KyaP = prat-ṣī́vya-* (8.2.77) 'to be sewed on'.
12. *brahman+vad+ṆyàT = brahma∅+vād-yà-* 'theological controversy'.
13. *bhū+ṆyàT = bhāv-yà-* 'to be effected'.
14. *stu+ṆyàT = stāv-yà-* 'to be praised'. *upa+ci+ṆyàT = upa-cāy+ṆyàT = upacāy-ya-pṛḍá-* 'gold'.

3.1.124 [1]ṛ-[2]haL-or ṆyàT

[The kṛ́tya 95 affix 1] ṆyàT is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme [ṛ] or a consonant (haL).

1. *kṛ+ṆyàT = kār-yà-* (7.2.115) 'to be done'.
2. *pac+ṆyaT = pāk-yà-* (7.3.52) 'to be cooked'.

3.1.125 o-r ā́vaśyake

[The kṛ́tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme-class [u] to denote necessity (ā́vaśyake).

Exception to yàT 97. *lū+ṆyàT = lāv-yà-* 'necessarily to be cut or reaped', but *lū+yàT = láv-ya-* 'to be cut'.

3.1.126 [1]ā́-su-[2]yu-[3]vapi̱-[4]rápi̱-[5]lápi̱-[6]trápi̱-[7]cámaś ca

[The kr̥tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] ā́+su- 'distil' (V 1), yu- 'mix' (II 23), vap- 'sow' (I 1052), rap-, lap- 'speak' (I 428-9), trap- 'feel shy, be ashamed' (I 399) and cam- 'eat or drink' (I 497).

Exception to yàT 97. *āṄ+su+ṆyàT = ā-sāv-yà-* 'to be distilled'; similarly: *yāv-yà-, vāp-yà-, rāp-yà-, lāp-yà-, trāp-yà-, ā-cām-yà-.*

3.1.127 ānāyyàḥ=á-nitye

(The irregular form) ānāyyà- [derived with kr̥tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124] is introduced to denote 'impermanent' (á-nitye).

Exception to yàT 97. *āṄ+nī+ṆyaT = ā-nāy-yà-* (7.2.116) = ***Dakṣiṇāgni*** '(southern fire) which is not permanent'; the regular form is with (yàT): ***ā-né-ya-*** 'to be brought'.

3.1.128 praṇāyyàḥ=á-saṁ-matau

(The irregular form) pra-ṇāy-yà- [derived with kr̥tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124] is introduced to denote 'disapproval (á-sam-matau).

Exception to [yàT] 97. *pra+nī+ṆyaT = pra-ṇāy-yà-ḥ caurá-ḥ* 'the thief is to be disapproved/disliked'. The regular form is *pra+nī+yàT = pra-ṇé-ya-* 'to be led'.

3.1.129 [1]pāyyà-[2]sāṁ-nāyyà-[3]ni-kāyyà-[4]dhāyyā́ḥ [1]mā́na-[2]hávis=[3]nivāsá-[4]sāmidhenī́-ṣu

(The irregular forms) pāy-yà-, sāṁ-nāy-yà-, ni-kāy-yà- and dhāy-yā̀- [derived with kr̥tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124] are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) a measure (mā́na), a particular oblation of Agnihotra (hávis), a habitation (nivāsá) and a verse recited when the sacrificial fire is kindled (sāmidhenī́su).

1. *mā+ṆyàT = pā+ṆyàT = pā+yu̱K+ya- = pā-y-yà-*; the regular form is: *mā+yàT = mī+yàT* (6.4.65) = *mé-ya-* 'to be measured'.
2. *sam+nī+ṆyàT = sāṁ-nāy+ṆyàT = sāṁ-nāy-yà-*; in other senses *sam+nī+yàT = saṁ-né-ya-* 'to be led away'.
3. *ni+ci+ṆyàT = ni-cāy+ṆyàT = ni-kāy-yà-*; in other senses *ni-cé-ya-* 'to be heaped or piled'.
4. *dhā+ṆyàT = dhā+yu̱k+yà+ṬāP = dhā-y-yā̀* (7.3.33); in other senses *dhā+yàT = dhī+yaT* (6.4.65) = *dhé-ya-* 'to be held or sustained'.

3.1.130 krátau ¹kuṇḍa-pā́y-ya-²saṁ-cāyyaù

(The irregular forms) kuṇḍa-pā́y-ya- and saṁ-cāy-yà- [derived with kṛ̥́tya 95 affixes yàT 97 and ṆyàT 124] do denote names of particular sacrifices (krátau).

1. *kuṇḍ-ena pī-yá-te asmín* = *kuṇḍa-∅¹+pā+yàT* = *kuṇḍa-pā-yuK+ya-* = *kuṇḍa-pā́-y-ya-*; but in other meanings *kuṇḍa-pā+LyuṬ* = *kuṇḍa-pā́na-* 'drinking from a pot'.
2. *sam+ci+ṆyàT* = *sam-cay+ṆyàT* = *saṁ-cā́y-yà-* in other meanings *sam+ci+yàT* = *saṁ-cé-ya-* 'to be heaped or piled'.

3.1.131 agnaú ¹pari-cāy-yà=²upa-cāy-yà-³samūhyā̀ḥ

(The irregular forms) pari-cāy-yà, upa-cā-y-yà- and sam-ūh-yà- [derived with kṛ̥́tya 95 affix 1 ṆyàT 124] are introduced to denote names of certain ritual fires (agnaú).

1. *pari/upa+ci+ṆyàT* = *pari/upa-cay+ṆyàT* = *pari-/upa-cā́y-yà-*; in other meanings *pari-cé-ya-/upa-cé-ya* 'to be heaped all around/near'.
2. *sam+vah+ṆyàT* = *sam+uh+ṆyàT* (irregular vocalization) = *sam-ūh-yà-* (irregular replacement of short by long vowel); in other meanings: *saṁ-vāh-yà-* 'to be carried well'.

3.1.132 ¹cit-yá=²agni-cit-yé ca

(The irregular forms) cit-yá- and agni-cit-yā́- [derived with kṛ̥́tya 95 affix 1] yá are introduced [to denote the names of certain ritual fires 131].

1. *cī-yá-te asaú* = *ci+tuK+yá-* = *ci-t-yá-*; in other meanings *ci+yàT* = *cé-ya-* 'to be heaped or piled'.
2. *agní-ḥ cī-yá-te asyā́m* = *agni+∅¹+ci+tuK+yá+ṬāP* = *agni-ci-t-yā́.*

The affix [yá] indicated here is not among primary affixes listed in Aṣṭ. but mentioned in the vṛ̥́tti to explain the irregularity in accent.

3.1.133 ¹ṆvuL-²tṛ̥́C-au

[The kṛ̥́t 93 affixes 1] ṆvuL and tṛ̥́C are introduced [after 2 all verbal stems 91].

1. *kṛ̥+ṆvuL* = *kā́r-aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115) 'doer, performer'.
2. *kṛ̥+tṛ̥C* = *kar-tṛ̥́-* 'agent, doer'.

With this section only kṛ̥t affixes are introduced denoting the agent (3.4.67).

3.1.134 ¹nándi̲-²gráhi̲-³pacá=ādibhyaḥ ¹Lyu-²Ṇíni̲-³áC-aḥ

[The kr̥t 93 affixes 1] Lyu, Ṇíni̲ and áC are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 the classes of verbal stems 91] beginning with nand+ṆíC, gráh- and pac- [to denote the agent (3.4.47)].

Actually in the Gaṇapāṭha it is not the verbal stems that are included in these classes but their derived forms.

1. *nánd+ṆíC+Lyu* = *nánd-∅+ana-* (6.1.193; 4.51; 7.1.1) 'one who delights'.
2. *gráh+Ṇíni̲* = *grāh-ín-* 'who seizes or holds'.
3. *pac+áC* = *pac-á-* 'who cooks'.

3.1.135 ¹iK=upadha=²jñā-³prī-⁴kir-aḥ Ká-ḥ

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1] Ká is introduced [after 2 stems 91] containing iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) as penultimate, and jñā- 'know' (IX 36), prī- 'please, love' (IX 2) and kr̥̄- 'scatter' (VI 116) [to denote the agent (3.4.67)].

1. *vi-kṣip+Ká-* = *vi-kṣip-á-* 'scatterer'. Similarly *budh+Ká-* = *budh-á-* 'knower'; *kr̥ś-á-* 'lean'.
2. *jā-nā́-ti* = *jñā+Ká* = *jñ∅+á* (6.4.64) = *jñ-á-* 'knower'.
3. *prī+Ká-* = *priy-á* (6.4.77) 'dear'.
4. *kr̥̄+Ká-* = *kir-á-* (7.1.100) 'scatterer, strewer'.

3.1.136 āT-aś ca=upasarge

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1 Ká 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in (1.1.72)] the phoneme long [°-ā], co-occurring with preverbs (upasargé).

Prior exception to Ṇa (141) below. *pra+sthā+Ká-* = *pra-sth∅+á-* = *pra-sth-á-* 'who abides in'; *su+glai+Ká* = *su-glā+Ká-* = *su-gl∅+á-* = *su-gl-á-* 'very tired or weary'.

3.1.137 ¹pā-²ghrā-³dhmā-⁴dheṬ-⁵dr̥ś-aḥ Śáḥ

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1] Śa is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] pā- 'drink' (I 972), ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dhmā- 'blow, inflate' (I 974), dheṬ- 'drink' (I 951) and dr̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [to denote the agent 3.4.67, when co-occurring with preverbs 136].

1. *ud+pā+Śá-* = *ut-pib-á* (7.3.78) 'drinking out'.
2. *ud+ghrā+Śá-* = *uj=jighr-á-* (7.3.78; 6.4.40) 'smelling out'.
3. *ud+dhmā+Śá-* = *ud-dham-á-* (7.3.78) 'blowing out'.

4. *ud+dheṬ+Śá-* = *ud-dhay-á-* (6.1.78) 'drinking out'.
5. *ud+dṛś+Śá-* = *ut=paśy-á-* 'seeing out'.

The marker Ś of the affix indicates that it is sārvadhātuka (3.4.113), bringing into operation 7.3.37, replacing the verbal stems by their substitutes introduced therein.

3.1.138 án-upasargāt=[1]limpA-[2]vinda̱-[3]dhār-í-[4]pār-í-[5]vedí-[6]ud-ej-í-[7]cet-í-[8]sāt-í-[9]sāh-í-bhyaś ca

[The kṛt 93 affix Śa 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] limp- 'smear' (VI 139), vind- 'gain' (VI 138), dhār-í (= dhṛ+ṆíC VI 119) 'carry', pār-í 'cross over' (X 363), ved-í- 'proclaim, (X 168), ud-ej-í- (= ej+ṆíC I 253) 'shake', cet-í- 'perceive, (X 135), sāt-í- 'give pleasure, please' and sāh-í- 'support' (X 267), when not co-occurring with preverbs (án-upasargāt) [to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *limp-a-ti* = *lip+Śá-* = *li-nu̱M-p+á-* (7.1.59) 'plasterer', but *pra+lip+Ká* = *pra-lip-á-*.
2. *vid+Śá-* = *vi-n-d-á-* 'gainer', but *ko-vid-á-* 'learned'.
3. *dhār-ay-a-ti* = *dhār-i+Śá-* = *dhāri+ŚaP+á-* = *dhār-ay-á-* carrying, bearing'.
4. *pār-ay-á-* 'carrying across'.
5. *ved-ay-á-* 'proclaimer'.
6. *ud-ej-ay-á-* 'agitator, shaker'.
7. *cet-ay-á-* 'giver of pleasure'.
8. *sāt-ay-á-* 'aide, supporter, helper, assistant'.
9. *sāh-ay-á-* 'supporting, causing to bear'.

3.1.139 [1]dá-dā-ti=[2]dá-dhā-ty-or vibhāṣā

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 Śa 137] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] dā- 'give' (III 9) and dhā- 'bear, nourish' (III 10) [when not co-occurring with preverbs 138 to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *dá-dā-ti* = *dā+Śá* = *dā+Ślu+á* = *da-dā+á-* = *da-d∅-á-* (2.4.75; 3.1.68; 6.1.10; 4.111; 7.4.59) = *da-d-á-/dā+Ṇa-* (141) = *dā+yu̱K+a* (7.3.33) = *dā-y-á-* 'donor, supporter'; but *pra+dā+Ka- (136)* = *pra-d∅+á* = *pra-dá-*.
2. *dá-dhā-ti* = *dhā+Śá-* = *da-dh-á-/dhā+Ṇá-* = *dhā-y-á-* 'bearer, supporter; nourisher'. But *pra+dhā+Ká* = *pra-dh-á-*.

3.1.140 jvál-iti=kás-antebhyaḥ=Ṇáḥ

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1] Ṇá is [optionally 139 introduced after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with jvál- 'shine, burn' (I 884) and ending with kás- 'go, move' (I 913) [to denote the agent 3.4.67 when not co-occurring with preverbs 138].

This is an exception to áC (134 above). *jval+Ṇá/áC = jvāl-á-/jval-á-* 'burning, shining', but *pra+jvaL+áC = pra-jval-á-* 'flaring up, shining brightly'.

3.1.141 [1]śyā-[2]āT=[3]vyadhÁ=[4]ā́-sru-[5]sáṁ-sru-[6]áti-iṆ=[7]áva-sā=[8]áva-hṛ̥-[9]lihÀ-[10]śliṣÁ-[11]śvas-aś ca

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1 Ṇá 140] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] syā- (= śyaiṄ I 1012) 'go move', stems (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme long [ā] and vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 79), ā́+sru- and sáṁ+sru- 'flow' (I 987), áti+iṆ- 'go beyond, transgress' (II 36), áva+sā- (= so- IV 39) 'terminate, end', áva+hṛ̥- 'take down' (I 947), lih- 'lick' (II 6), śliṣ- 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), śvas- 'breathe' (II 60) [to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *śyai+Ṇá = śyā+Ṇa* (6.1.45) = *śyā+yuK+a-* = *°-śyā-y-á-, prati-śyā-y-á-* 'frost'.
2. stems ending in [°-ā]: *dā-y-á-, dhā-y-á-* (139). The verbal stem [śyā-] comes under this category, but is separately mentioned in order to block out the prior exception 136 above so that this affix is introduced after this stem even when it co-occurs with preverbs.
3. Similarly: *vyādh-á-* 'hunter', *āsrāv-á-* 'discharge', *saṁ-srāv-á-* 'conflux', *aty-āy-á-* 'transgression', *ava-sāy-á-* 'termination, end', *ava-hār-á-* 'taking down', *leh-á-* 'licker', *śleṣ-á-* 'clasper, embracer', *śvās-á-* breath'.

3.1.142 [1]du-[2]ny-or án-upasarge

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix Ṇá 140 is introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] du- 'burn' (V 10) and nī- 'lead' (I 950) when not co-occurring after preverbs (án-upasarge).

du-nó-ti iti = du+Ṇá- = dāv-á- (7.2.115) 'forest fire', but
pra+du+áC (134) = *pra-dav-á-; nay-a-ti iti = nī+Ṇá- = nāy-á-* 'leader', but *pra+nī+aC- = pra-ṇay-á-* love, lover'.

3.1.143 vibhāṣā gráheḥ

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1 Ṇa 140] is optionally (vbhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] gráh- 'seize, grasp, take hold of' (IX 61).

Exception to áC (134). *gráh+Ṇá/áC = grāh-á-/grah-á-*. This is an ordered or regulated option (vyavasthta-vbhāṣā) whereby *grāh-á-* is used to denote a marine animal like a shark or killer whale, while *grah-á-* denotes a planet.

3.1.144 gehé Káḥ

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1] Ká is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91 gráh- 143] to denote a house (gehé).

gráh+ká = gṛ̥h-á- (6.1.16) 'house'.

3.1.145 śilpín-i ṢvuN

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1] ṢvuN is introduced [after a verbal stem 91] to denote an artisan (śilpín-)

By virtue of a vārttika this rule is restricted to the verbal stems nṛ̥́t- 'dance' (IV 9), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927) and ránj- 'dye, color' (I 865); the marker [Ṣ] of the affix denotes that the feminine affix [ṄīṢ] is introduced to generate a feminine stem: *nṛ̥́t+ṢvuN = nárt-aka-* 'dancer'; *+ṄīṢ = nart-akØ-ī́ = nart-ak-ī́* 'female dancer'. Similarly *khán-aka-* m./*khan-ak-ī́* 'excavator, digger'; *raj-aka-/raj-ak-ī́* 'washerman/laundress'.

3.1.146 gas thakaN

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1] thakaN is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] gā (= gai- I 965) 'sing' [to denote an artisan 145].

gāy-a-ti iti gai+thakaN = gā́-thaka-/gā́thi-k-ā f. 'singer'.

3.1.147 ṆyuṬ ca

[The kṛ̥t 93 affix 1] ṆyuṬ is also (ca) [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 gā- 146 to denote an artisan 145].

gai+ṆyuṬ = gā+yu̱k+ána- (7.3.33) = *gāy-ána- m. +Ṅīp* (4.1.15) = *gāy-anØ+ī* (6.4.148) = *gāy-án-ī* f. 'singer'.

3.1.148 haś ca [1]vrīhí-[2]kāláyoḥ

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1 ṆyuṬ 147] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] hā (= O-hā-K tyāge, O-hā-Ṅ gatau III 8,7) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) rice (vrīhí-) and time or season (°-kāláyoḥ).

1. *ja-hā́-ti udakám* = *hā+ṆyuṬ* = *hā+yuk+ána* (7.3.33) = *hā-y-ána-* 'a variety of rice'.
2. *jí-hī-té bhāvā́n* = = *hā+ṆyuṬ* = *hāy-ána-* 'year (because it passes through all seasonal states)'.

3.1.149 [1]pru-[2]sr̥-[3]lv-aḥ sam-abhi-hāré vuN

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1] vuN is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] pru- 'go' (I 1008), sr̥- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) and lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13) to denote excellence (sam-abhi-hāré).

1. *pru+vuN* = *pró+aka-* (8.3.84) = *práv-aka-* (7.1.78) 'one who proceeds well'.
2. *sr̥+vuN* = *sár-aka-* 'who moves or flows well'.
3. *lū+vuN* = *láv-aka-* 'an excellent reaper''.

3.1.150 āśíṣ-i ca

[The kr̥t 93 affix 1 vuN 149] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91] to express benediction (āśíṣ-i).

jīv-a-tāt 'may (one) live' = *jīv+vuN* = *jī́v-aka-*.

3.2.1 kármaṇ-i=áṆ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring wth a nominal padá functioning as the direct object (kármaṇ-i).

kumbh-áṁ kar-o-ti = *kumbha-∅*[1]*+kṛ̥+áṆ* = *kumbha-kār-á-* (7.2.115) 'a potter'; *kā́ṇḍ-aṁ lu-nā́-ti* = *kāṇḍa-lāv-á-* 'a branch cutter'; *véd-am adhī-te* = *veda+adhi+āy-á-* = *vedādhyāy-á-* 'a student of Veda'.

3.2.2 [1]hvā-[2]vā-[3]amaś ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 áṆ 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] hvā- (= hveÑ I 1057) 'challenge', vā- (= veÑ I 1055)/ 'weave' and mā(Ṅ) 'measure' (IV 34) [co-occurring wth a nominal padá serving as (its) direct object 1].

This is a prior exception to 3 below, blocking out affix Ká.

1. *svarg-áṁ hváy-a-ti* = *svarga+∅*[1]*+vhe+áṆ* = *svarga+hvā+yuk+á-* = *svarga-hvā-y-á-* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) 'invoker of heaven'.
2. *tántu+am+ve+ŚaP+tiP* = *tantu+∅*[1]*+vā-y-á-* 'weaver'.
3. *dhānyà+am mā+ŚyaN+te* = *dhānya-∅*[1]*+mā+áṆ* =*dhānya-mā-y-á* 'corn-measurer'.

3.2.3 āTaḥ=án-upa-sarge Káḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ká is introduced [after 1.2. a verbal stem 1.2 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme long [°-ā] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa-sarge), [but with a nominal pada functioning as (its) direct object 1].

Exception to áṆ (1 above). *gó+am dā+Ślu+tiP* = *go+∅*[1]*+dā+Ká-* = *go-d∅+á* = *go-dá-* 'donor of a cow'; similarly *kambala-dá-* 'donor of a blanket', *aṅgúli+am trai+Śap+te* = *aṅguli-tr-á-* 'thimble', but *gó+Śas sam+dā+Ślu+tiP* = *go-∅*[1]*+sam=dā+aṆ* = *go-saṁ-dā-y-á-* 'ceremonious donor of kine'.

3.2.4 sUP-i sthaḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3] is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), co-occurring after a nominal padá (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

This sūtra is divided into two parts by a process called yoga-vibhāgá 'splitting of a rule into parts' : [sUPi], which yields the following rendering: "The kṛ̥t affix Ká

is introduced after verbal stems ending in [°-ā] when co-occurring with nominal stems ending in a sUP triplet": *dvā́-bhyām pib-a-ti = dví+bhyām pā́+Śap+tiP = dvi+∅¹+pā+Ká = div-p∅-a- = dvi-p-á-* 'elephant' and similarly *pāda-p-á-* 'a tree'. The second half [sthaḥ] is then construed as above; this provides for the operation of this affix in generating both agent and action nouns: (a) agent noun: *sam-é tíṣṭh-a-ti = sama-∅¹+sthā+Ká = sama-sth-á-* 'remaining at the same level, even'; (b) action noun (bhāvé): *ākhū́-nām utthā́nam = ākhu+∅¹+ut-sthā+Ká = ākhū-tth-á-* 'swarming of rats or moles'. The second sUP triplet occurs with the nominal padá in the case of transitive verbal stems while the remaining sUP triplets occur in the case of intransitive verbal stems.

3.2.5 ¹tundá-²śokáy-oḥ ¹pári-mr̥ja=²ápa-nud-oḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pári+mr̥j- 'cleanse, wipe off' (II 57) and ápa-nud- 'drive away' (VI 2) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal padás tundá- 'navel' and śoká- 'grief' [functioning as (their) direct objects 1].

1. *tundá+am pári=mr̥+∅¹+tiP* (2.4.72) = *tunda+∅¹+pari-mr̥j+Ká = tunda-pari-mr̥j-á-* 'a sluggish person (lit. one who cleanses or rubs the navel)'; in other meanings: *tunda-pari-mārj-á* (1) by a vārttika.
2. *śoka+am ápa-nud+Śa+ti = śoka+∅¹+apa-nud+Ká = śokāpa-nud-á-* 'harbinger' of joy', but in other senses: *śokāpa-nod-á-* remover of grief'.

3.2.6 pré ¹dā-²jñ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dā- 'give' (III 9) and jñā- 'know' (IX 36) co-occurring after the preverb prá-° (pré) [and a nominal padá functioning as (their) direct object 1].

Exception to áṆ. 1.

1. *sárva+am prá+dā+Ślu+tiP = ṣarva-∅¹-pra-dā+Ká = sarva-pra-d-á-* 'giving everything or all', but *go-saṁ-dā-y-á-* (3 above).
2. *páthin+am prá+jñā+Snā+tip = pathin-∅¹+pra-jñā+Ká- = pathi∅-pra-jñ∅-á-* (6.4.64; 8.2.7) = *pathi-pra-jñ-á-* 'who knows the road well'.

3.2.7 sám-i khyaḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] khyā- 'proclaim, speak' (II 7) co-occurring after the preverb sám-° [and a nominal padá functioning as its object 1].

Exception to áN 1. *gó+am sáṁ-khyā+∅¹+te = go-∅¹+saṁ-khyā+Ká = go-saṁ-khy-á-* 'cowherd'.

There are two verbal stems [khyā] 'proclaim' (II 51) and 'speak' (II 7) which is a substitute morpheme (dhatv-ādeśa) for [cakṣ-] (II 7). The vṛtti indicates that [khyā] in this rule refers to the latter; however both could yield the same meaning.

3.2.8 ¹gā²poḥ=ṬáK

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ṬáK s introduced [after 1.2. the verbal stems 1.91] gā- (=gai- I 965) 'sing' and pā- 'drink' (I 972) [not co-occurring after a preverb 3, but with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1].

Exception to Ká (3 above).

1. *sā́man+am gai+ŚaP+tiP* = *sāman+∅¹+gā+Ṭák* = *sāma∅+g∅+á-* = *sāma-gá-* 'singer of sāman' m., and with [ṄīP 4.1.15] *sāma-g∅-ī́* f.
2. *súrā+am pā+ŚaP+tiP* = *surā+∅¹ p∅+á-* = *surā-p-á-* m./ *°p-ī́* f. 'wine-bibber, drunkard'.

3.2.9 hár-a-ter án-ud-yamane=áC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix l.l] áC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hṛ- 'remove, take away' (I 947) [co-occurring after a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote a meaning other than 'raising' (án-ud-yamane).

Exception to áṆ (1). *áṁśa+am hṛ+ŚaP+tiP* = *aṁśa+∅¹+hṛ+áC* = *aṁśa-har-á-* 'inheritor, partner', but *bhārá+am hár-a-ti* = *bhāra+∅¹+hṛ+aṆ* = *bhāra-hā́r-á-* 'porter'.

3.2.10 váyas-i ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hṛ- 9, co-occurring with a nominal padá serving as its object l] to denote age (váyas-i).

An exception to the constraint [ud-yámana] of 9 above. *ásthi+am hár-a-ti* = *asthi+∅¹+hṛ+aC* = *asthi-har-á-ḥ śvā* 'a dog which has reached the age when it can lift a bone'; similarly *kávaca+am hár-a-ti* = *kavaca-har-á-ḥ kṣatriya-kumārá-ḥ* 'a warrior boy who has reached the age for wearing a coat of mail'.

3.2.11 āṄ-i tā́c-chīlye

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1. áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hṛ̊- 9] co-occurring after preverb ā́Ṅ [and a nominal pada functioning as its object 1] to denote addiction or regular disposition (tā́c-chīlye).

púṣpāṇi ā́+har-a-ti- = *puṣpa+∅¹+ā-hṛ̊+áC* = *puṣpā-har-á-* 'accustomed or habituated to pluck flowers', but *bhārám ā́-har-a-ti* = *bhār-hār-á(Ṇ)* 'occasional porter'.

3.2.12 árh-aḥ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] árh- 'deserve, merit, honor' (I 776) [co-occurring after a nominal pada functioning as its object 1].

Exception to áṆ (1). *pūjā́+am árh-a-ti* = *pūjā́+∅¹+arh+áC+ṬāP* = *pūjā-rh-ā́ brāhmaṇī́* 'a brahmin lady deserving respect'. If [áṆ] were the affix, the feminine would have been with the affix[ṄīP] (4.1.15) instead of [ṬāP].

3.2.13 ¹stámba-²kárṇay-oḥ ¹rámi̱-²jáp-oḥ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] rám- 'sport' (I 906) and jáp- 'mutter' (I 425) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal stems stámba- 'clump of grass' and kárṇa- 'ear [ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 4].

(a) *stámbe rám-a-te* = *stambe+rám+áC* = *stambe-ram-á-* 'an elephant (lit. delighting in a clump of grass)'; non-replacement of sUP affix °-i by 6.3.14. In other meanings *stambe+ram+tṛ̊́C* (1.133) = *stámbe ran-tṛ̊́-*. *kárṇa+i jáp-a-ti* = *karṇe-jap-á-* 'slanderer (lit. 'one who whispers in the ear')'; in other meanings *karṇe jap+i+tṛ̊́-*. Constraints on the meanings by a vārttika.

3.2.14 śam-í dhā́t-oḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2] a verbal stem (dhā́toḥ) co-occurring with the particle śám 'goodness, auspiciousness' to denote a proper name (saṁjñā́-yām).

śám+kar-ó-ti = *śaṁ+kṛ̊+áC* = *śaṁ-kar-á-* 'n.pr. of the god of auspiciousness, Siva'; *śám+bhū+áC* = *śam-bhav-á-* 'id'. The repetition of the word [dhā́tu] here when it was recurring from the governing rule 1.91 is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 20 below in connection with the verbal stem [kṛ̊Ñ], and the introduction of [ṄīP] (4.1.15) as a feminine affix. In the present case the feminine

affix is [ṬāP] (4.i.4): *śáṁ+kar-á+ṬāP= saṁ-kar-ā́* 'n.pr. of a female mendicant/ascetic'.

3.2.15 adhikáraṇe śeteḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] śī(Ṅ)- 'lie down, sleep' (II 22) [co-occurring with a nominal padá (ending in 1.1.71) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as a locus or substratum (adhikáraṇe).

kha+í śé-te = kha+∅[1]*+śī+aC = kha-śay-á-* 'resting in the sky'; similarly *gárt-e śe-té = garta-śay-á-* 'lying in a hole'.

3.2.16 cáreś Ṭáḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṭá is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] cár- 'go, wander' (I 591) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4 functioning as a locus/substratum 15].

kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti = kuru+∅[1]*+car+Ṭá- = kuru-car-á-* m./+ °*-ṄīP = kuru-car-ī́* f. 'wandering in the Kúru country'.

3.2.17 [1]bhikṣā́-[2]śenā=[3]ādā́ye-ṣu ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 s introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 cár- 16] also [when co-occurring with the nominal padás] bhikṣā́ 'alms', sénā 'army' and ādā́-ya 'having taken' [functioning in meanings other than the locus or substratum].

1. *bhikṣā́+am cár-a-ti = bhikṣā+∅*[1]*+car+Ṭá = bhikṣā-car-á-* m./ °*-car-ī́* f. 'alms-person (who collects alms by moving from place to place)'.
2. *sénā+am cár-a-ti = senā-car-á-* m./ °*-car-ī́* f. 'person enlisted in the army'.
3. *ā+dā+Ktvā́ = ā-dā́-ya cár-a-ti = ā-dā-ya-car-á-* m,/ °*-car-ī́* f. 'who moves or eats after receiving alms'.

A separate rule has been formed to indicate that the (upapadás) mentioned here are not covered by the preceding rule, thus blocking out the [adhikáraṇa kā́raka] by implication.

3.2.18 [1]púras=[2]agrátas=[3]ágre-ṣu sart-eḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sr̥- 'move, flow' (I 982, III 17) co-occurring with the nominal padás púr-as 'in front', agra-tás 'ib.', ágr-e 'ib'.

purás sár-a-ti = *puras+sar+Ṭá* = *puraḥ-sar-á-* m./ °*-sar-ī́* f. (8.3.15) 'leader'; similarly *agra-taḥ-sar-á-* m./ °*-sar-ī́* f., *agre-sar-á-* m./ °*-sar-ī́* f.

3.2.19 pū́rv-e kartár-i

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 sr̥- 18 co-occurring with the nominal padá] pū́rva- 'front' [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as (its) agent (kartár-i).

pū́rva+sU sár-a-ti = *pūrva+∅[1]+sar-(Ṭ)á-* m./ °*-sar-ī́* f. 'leading, moving in front', but *pū́rva+am (deś-ám) sár-a-ti* = *pūrva-sār-á(Ṇ)* 'moving eastwards'.

3.2.20 kr̥Ñ-aḥ=[1]hetú-[2]tā́cchīlya-[3]ā́nulomye-ṣu

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) the second sUP triplet] when the agent is characterized as the cause (hetú-) of the object or is habitually performing the activity (tā́c-chīlya-) or is complying (ā́nulomya).

1. hetu: *yáśas+am kar-o-ti* = *yaśas+kr̥+Ṭa+ṄīP* (4.1.15) *yaśas-kar-ī́ vidyā́* 'wisdom, producing renown'.
2. tā́cchīlya: *śrā́ddha+am kár-o-ti* = *śrāddha-kar-á-* 'habitually performing śrāddhá'.
3. ā́nulomya: *praiṣ-ám kar-ó-ti* = *praiṣa-kar-á* 'who carries out orders, obedient servant'.

But *kumbh-áṁ kar-ó-ti* = *kumbha-kār-á(N)* (1).

3.2.21 [1]dívā-[2]vibbhā́-[3]níśā-[4]prabhā́-[5]bhā́s-[6]kārá=[7]ánta=[8]án-anta=[9]ādí-[10]bahú-[11]nāndī́-[12]kím-[13]lípi-[14]líbi-[15]balí-[16]bhákti-[17]kartŕ̥-[18]citrá-[19]kṣétra-[20]saṁkhyā́-[21]jaṅghā́-[22]bāhú-[23]áhan=[24]yád=[25]tád=[26]dhánus=[27]áruṣ-ṣu

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 20] co-occurring with the following nominal padás [(ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets 1,4] dívā 'day', vibhā́ 'lustre', níśā 'night', prabhā́

'splendor', bhā́s- 'light', kārá- 'work', ánta- 'end', án-anta- 'endless, infinite', ādí- 'beginning', bahú- 'numerous, many', nāndī́ 'benediction', kím- 'what?', lípi-, líbi- 'writing', balí- 'offering', bhákti- 'devotion', kartṛ́- 'agent, doer', citrá- 'painting', kṣétra- 'field', saṁkhyā́ 'number-name', jáṅghā 'thigh', bāhú- 'arm', áhan- 'day', yád- 'which, what', tád- 'that', dhánus- 'bow' and árus- 'wound'.

The words [kárman-i 1 and sUP- 4] both occur in this rule and apply as required in each case. [sUP-i 4] applies only in the case of dívā (= áhn-i). The forms generated are: *dívā-kar-á-, vibhā-kar-á-, prabhā-kar-á-, bhās-kar-á-, ahan+kṛ+Ṭá = ahas-kar-á-* (8.2.68) 'sun (= maker of day)'; *niśā-kar-á-* 'moon (= night-maker)'; *kāra-kar-á-* 'agent'; *anta-kar-á-* 'death'; *an-anta-kar-á-* 'magnifying infinitely'; *ādi-kar-á-* 'founder, creator'; *bahu-kar-á-* 'busy-body'; *nāndī-kar-á-* 'stage-manager'; *kiṁ-kar-á-* 'servant' *lipi-kar-á-, libi-kar-á-* 'scribe'; *bali-kar-á-* 'sacrificer' *bhakti-kar-á-* 'devotee'; *kartṛ-kar-á-* 'agent'; *citra-kar-á-* 'painter' *kṣetra-kar-á-* 'cultivator, agriculturalist'; *eka-kar-á-* 'doing one thing only'; *jaṅghā-kar-á-* 'courier, runner'; *bāhu-kar-á-* 'laborer'; *yat-kar-á-* 'doing what'; *tat-kar-á-* 'doing that'; *dhanuṣ-kar-á-* 'maker of bows'; *aruṣ-ka-rá-* 'causing a wound'.

3.2.22 kárman-i bhṛ́t-au

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ 20] co-occurring with the nominal padá kárman- 'action, work' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote 'hired for wages' (bhṛ́t-au).

kárman+am kar-ó-ti = karman+∅¹+kar-á- = karma∅-kar-á- (8.2.7) 'hired servant', but *karma-kār-á(N)* (1) 'who works without wages, honorary worker'.

3.2.23 ná ¹śábda-²slóka-³kalahá-⁴gāthā́-⁵vaíra-⁶cā́ṭu-⁷sū́tra-⁸mántra-⁹padé-ṣu

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16] is not introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem kṛÑ 20] co-occurring with nominal padás śábda- 'word', ślóka- 'verse', kalahá- 'strife', gāthā́ 'song', vaíra- 'enmity', cā́ṭu- 'flattery', sū́tra- 'string, aphorism', mántra- 'sacred formula', padá- 'finished word' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*śábda+am kar-ó-ti = *śabda+∅¹+kṛ+Ṭá = śabda-kār-á(N)* (1) 'grammarian (lit. maker of words)'; similarly *śloka-kār-á-* 'poetaster' *kalaha-kār-á-* 'quarrelsome person'; *gāthā-kār-á-* 'song-writer'; *vaira-kār-á-* 'causing enmity'; *cāṭu-kār-á-* 'flatterer'; *sūtra-kār-á-* 'author of sūtras'; *mantra-kār-á-* 'seer, composer of mantras'; *pada-kār-á-* 'composer of Pada-pāṭha (of a Veda)'.

3.2.24 [1]stambá-[2]śákr̥t-or iN

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] iN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 20] co-occurring wth the nominal padás stambá- 'clump of grass' and śákr̥t- 'ordure' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika restricts the operation of this rule to denote respectively rice and a calf. *stambá+am kar-ó-ti* = *stamba-∅[1]+kr̥+iN* = *stamba-kár-i-* 'rice which makes a clump'; similarly *śakr̥t-kár-i-* 'a calf'; in other senses: *stamba-kār-á-*, *śakr̥t-kār-á-*.

3.2.25 hárateḥ=[1]dr̥ti-[2]nātháy-oḥ paśaú

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hr̥- 'take away, remove' (I 947) co-occurring with the nominal padás dŕ̥ti- 'a leather bag' and nāthá- 'master' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a domestic animal (paśaú).

1. *dŕ̥ti+am hár-a-ti* = *dŕ̥ti+∅[1] hr̥+iN* = *dr̥ti-hár-i-* '(a draught animal) carrying a leather bag'.
2. *nātha-hár-i-* '(an animal) carrying the master'.

3.2.26 [1]phale-gráh-ir-[2]ātmam-bháriś ca

[The irregular forms] phale-gráh-i- and ātmam-bhár- are introduced [as derived with kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 2r].

phálāni gr̥h-ṇā́-ti = *phala+∅[1]+grah+iN* = *phal-e-gráh-i-* 'bearing fruit' (irregular sUP triplet Ṅi).
ātmán+am+bhr̥+Ślu+tiP = *ātmán+∅[1]+bhr̥+iN* = *ātma∅+mu̱M+bhár-i-* 'self-nourishing, selfish'.

3.2.27 chándas-i [1]vánÁ-[2]sánÁ-[3]rákṣi̱-[4]máth-ām

In the domain of Chándas [the kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ván-, sán- 'honor' (I 491-2), rákṣ- 'protect' (I 688) and máth- 'churn, agitate' (I 901) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

bráhman+am ván-a-ti = *bráhman+∅[1]+van+iN* = *brahma∅1+ván-i-* 'gains or honors brahman'; similarly: *gó+am+sán-a-ti* = *go-ṣáṇ-i-* 'winning or honoring kine'; *páthin+am rákṣ-a-ti* = *pathi∅+∅[1]+rákṣ-i-* 'road protector' and *hávis̥+am+máth-a-ti* = *havis+∅[1]+math+iN* = *havir-máth-i-* (8.2.66) 'churning or agitating the oblation'.

3.2.28 ejéḥ KHáŚ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KHáŚ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ej-í- (= ejR̥+ṆíC I 253) 'agitate, shake' [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

The marker Ś in KHaŚ is to indicate that this affix belongs to the sārvadhātuka group (3.4.113), while KH operates an infixed increment mu̱M to nominal stems ending in a vowel (6.3.67). *aṅgá+am+ej+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *aṅga+∅+ej-é+a+KHaŚ* = *aṅga+nu̱M+ej-áy-a+á* = *aṅga-m-ej-ay-á-* (6.1.97) 'shaking the limb' and similarly *jana=m=ej-ay-á-* 'causing men to tremble', 'n.pr. of a king'.

3.2.29 [1]nāsikā-[2]stánay-oḥ=[1]dhmā-[2]dheṬ-oḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dhmā- 'blow, inflate' (1.974) and dheṬ- 'drink' (1 951) co-occurring with the nominal padás nāsikā 'nose' and stána- 'breast' respectively (1.3.10) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika, however, blocks the operation of the meta-rule 1.3.10 by stating that [dhmā] co-occurs with both while dheṬ co-occurs only with [stana-]; this interpretation is derived from the fact that the dvaṁdva compound [nāsikā-stanáy-oḥ] contravenes the operation of 2.2.34.

1. *nāsikā+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP* = *nāsikā+∅[1]+dhama+ŚaP+KHáŚ* = *nāsika+mu̱M+dham-a+KHáŚ* (6.4.94) = *nāsika-ṁ-dham-á-* 'who blows through the nose'; similarly *nāsika-ṁ-dhay-á-* 'who drinks through the nose'.
2. *stána+am+dheṬ+ŚaP+tiP* = *stana+∅[1]+mu̱M+dheṬ+a+kháŚ* = *stana-ṁ-dhay-á-* 'an infant sucking the breast (of the mother)' m./ *°-dhay-a+Ṅīp* (4.1.15) = *°-dhay-í.*

3.2.30 nāḍí-muṣṭy-óś ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 dhmā- and dheṬ- 29 co-occurring with the nominal padás] nāḍí 'tube, pipe' and muṣṭí- 'fist' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

Here also the reverse order in the dvaṁdva cmpd. [nāḍī-muṣṭi-] contra 2.2.32 is interpreted as barring the operation of metarule 1.3.10 and both verbal stems co-occur with both upapadás.

1. *nāḍí+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP* = *nāḍi+∅[1]+mu̱M+dham+ŚaP+KHáŚ* = *nāḍi-ṁ-dham-á-* (6.1.97) 'blowing through a pipe or reed'; similarly *nāḍi-ṁ-dhay-á-* 'sucking through a reed or straw' (6.3.66).
2. *muṣṭi-ṁ-dham-a-* 'blowing through the fist'; *muṣṭi-ṁ-dhay-á-* 'sucking the fist'.

3.2.31 ud-i kū́l-e ¹ruji-²vah-oḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ruj- 'break into pieces, destroy' (VI 123) and vah- 'carry, convey' (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [and the nominal padá] kū́la- 'bank' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

kū́la+am+ud+rúj+Śap+tiP = *kūla+∅¹+mu̱M+úd-ruj-a+kHáŚ* = *kūla-m-ud-ruj-á-* 'shattering the bank'; similarly *kūla-m-ud-vah-á-* 'overflowing the bank'.

3.2.32 ¹váha=²abhr-é lih-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] lih- 'lick' (II 6) co-occurring with [nominal padás] váha- 'shoulder' and abhrá- 'cloud' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

váha+am+lih+∅¹+tiP = *vaha+∅¹+mu̱M+lih+KHáŚ* = *vaha-ṁ-lih-á-* 'shoulder-licking (cow or bull, etc.)'; similarly *abhra-ṁ-lih-á-* 'cloud-licking (wind)'.

3.2.33 parimā́ṇ-e pac-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pac- 'cook' (I 1045) co-occurring with [a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] denoting a measure (parimā́ṇe).

prasthá+am+pác-a-ti = *prastha+∅¹+mu̱M+pac-a+KhaŚ* = *prastha-m-pac-á-* 'who cooks a prasthá measure' m., *+ṬāP* = *pratha-m-pac-ā́* (4.1.4) f.

3.2.34 ¹mitá-²nakh-é ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pac- 33] also (ca) when co-occurring with (nominal padás) mitá- 'limited quantity' and nakhá- 'nail' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

mitá+am+pác-a-ti = *mita+∅¹+mu̱M+pac-a+KHáŚ* = *mita-m-pac-á-ḥ brāmaṇa-ḥ* 'a brahmin who cooks a limited quantity (of food)'; similarly *nakha-m-pac-á+ṬāP* = *nakha-m-pac-ā́ yavāgū-ḥ* 'rice gruel, scalding the thumb-nail'.

3.2.35 ¹vidhú=²áruṣ-oḥ=tud-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tud- 'bruise, vex' (VI 1) co-occurring with (nominal padás) vidhú- 'moon' and árus- 'wound' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

vidhú+am+tud+Śá+tiP = *vidhu+∅¹+muM+tud-á+KHáŚ* = *vidhu-ṁ-tud-á-* 'vexing (= eclipsing) the moon'; likewise *árus+muM+tud+á+KHáŚ* = *aru-ṁ-s+tud-á-* = *aru-ṁ∅-tud-á-* (8.2.23) 'hurting the wound, painful, sore'.

3.2.36 ¹á-sūrya-²lalā̂ṭay-oḥ-¹dṛ̥śi-²tap-oḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dṛ̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) and tap- 'heat' (I 1034) co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) (with nominal padás) á-sūrya- 'what is not the sun' and lalā̂ṭa- 'forehead' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

á-sūrya+am+dṛ̥ś+ŚaP+tiP = *a-sūrya+∅¹+muM+paśy+a+KHaŚ* = *a-sūrya-m-pasy-á+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *asūrya-m-pasyā̂ḥ rāja-dārā̂ḥ* 'king's wives, not even seeing the sun'.

Similarly *lalā̂ṭa+am+táp-a+ti* = *lalāṭa+∅¹+muM+tap-a+KHáŚ* = *lalāṭa-m-tap-á-* 'burning or scorching the forehead (said of the sun)'.

The first derivative is irregular since the privative particle [náÑ] in [á-sūrya-] is not connected with [sū́rya-] but with [dṛ̥ś] as *sū́ryam ná páśy-a-nti* 'do not see the sun'. It is therefore called an [a-samartha-samāsá] since it contravenes 2.1.1.

3.2.37 ¹ugra-m-paśy-á=²ira-m-mad-á-³pāṇi-ṁ-dhamā̂ḥ

[The irregular forms] ugra-m-paśy-á- 'fierce-looking', ira-m-mad-a- 'delighting in liquors' and pāṇi-ṁ-dham-á- 'where blowing into hands takes place' are introduced [as derived with the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28].

1. *ugrá+am+paśy-a-ti* = *ugra-∅¹+muM+paśy-a+KHáŚ*= *ugra-m-paśy-á-* as an exception to áṆ (1).
2. *írayā mā̂d-ya-ti* = *írā+Ṭā+mad+ŚyaN+tiP* = *írā+∅¹+mád+ya=KHáŚ* = *ira+muM+mad+∅+á-* (with irregular ∅ replacement of the class-marker) (6.3.66) = *ira-m-mad-á-*.
3. *pāṇáyo dhmā-yánte eṣu* = *pāṇi+∅¹+muM+dham+ŚaP+KHáŚ* = *pāṇi-ṁ-dham-á+Jas pánthān-aḥ* 'crowded roads where one blows one's hands to attract attention'.

3.2.38 [1]priyá-[2]váś-e vad-aḥ KHáC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KHáC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vad- 'speak' (I 1058), co-occurring with [the nominal padas] priyá- 'pleasant' and váśa- 'submission' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *priyá+am+vad+ŚaP+tip* = *priya+∅¹+muM+vad+KHáC* = *priya-ṁ-vad-a-* 'affable, speaking pleasantly'.
2. *váśa+am+vad-a-ti* = *vaśa+∅¹+muM+vad+KHáC* = *vaśa-ṁvad-á-* 'obedient, submissive to the will of another'. The new affix KHáC is introduced for the sake of the following sūtras; here it makes no dfference if KHaŚ operates.

3.2.39 [1]dviṣátt-[2]páray-os=tāpéḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tāp-í- (= tap- I 1034 +ṆíC/tap- X 275) 'burn, scorch', co-occurring with (nominal padás) dviṣát- 'hostile' and pára- 'adversary' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

dviṣát(t)+am+tāp-í+ŚaP+tiP = *dviṣat+∅¹+tāp-i+KHáC* = *dviṣat+muM+tap-∅+á-* (6.4.51,94) = *dviṣa-ṁ-t+tap-á-* (8.3.24) = *dviṣant-tap-á-* 'scourger of enemies'; similarly *para-ṁ-tap-á-* 'chastiser of enemies'.

The geminated phoneme [t] of [dviṣat(t)] is to block the operation of this rule in the case of the feminine derivative: *dviṣátīm tāp-áy-a-ti* = *dviṣatī+tāp-á-* where the feminine form is derived with the affix [ṄīP 4.1.6] from the masculine ending in affix [ŚatR̥].

3.2.40 vāc-í yama-ḥ=vrat-é

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- 'restrain' (I 1033), co-occurring with (the nominal padá) vā́c- 'speech' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a vow (vrat-é).

vā́c+am+yam+ŚaP+tip = *vāc+∅¹+yam+KHáC* = *vāc+am* (6.3.69)*+yam+á-* = *vāc-aṁ-yam-á-* 'restrained in speech, silent (while observing a vow)'. Elsewhere *vāc+∅¹ yam+aṆ* = *vāg-yā́m-á-* (8.1.30).

3.2.41 [1]púr=[2]sárvay-oḥ [1]dār-í-[2]sáh-oḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dār-í (= dr̥̄- IX 23+ṆíC) 'destroy' and sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), respectively (1.3.10) co-occurring with (nominal padás) púr- 'city fort' and sarvá- 'all' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *pur+am+dār-i+ŚaP+tiP* = *pur-Ø*[1]*+dār-i+KHáC* = *pur+aṁ* (6.3.69)*+dar-Ø-á-* (6.4.51,94) = *pur-aṁ-dar-á-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.
2. *sárva+am+sáh-a-te* = *sarva-Ø+sah+KHáC* = *sarva+muM+sah-á-* = *sarva-ṁ-sah-á-* 'all-forbearing'.

3.2.42 [1]sarvá-[2]kū́la=[3]abhrá-[4]kárīṣe-ṣu káṣ-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93] káṣ- 'injure, rub, polish' (I 716) co-occurring with (nominal padás) sarvá- 'all, kū́la- 'bank', abhrá- 'cloud' and kárīṣa- 'cow-dung' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *sárva+am+káṣ-a-ti* = *sarva+Ø*[1]*+kaṣ+KHáC* = *sarva+muM+kaṣ+á-* = *sarva-ṁ-kaṣ-á-* 'injuring everyone (said of a villain)'.
2. Similarly: *kūla-ṁ-kaṣ-á-, abhra-ṁ-kaṣ-á-, karīṣa-ṁ-kaṣ-á-* 'corroding the bank (said of a river)'/'rubbing the clouds (said of a mountain)'/'carrying away cow-dung (said of a hurricane)'.

3.2.43 [1]meghá=[2]ŕ̥ti-[3]bhayé-ṣu kr̥Ñ-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) meghá- 'cloud', ŕ̥ti- 'misfortune' and bhayá- 'fear' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

meghá+am+kr̥+ú+ti = *meghá+kr̥+KHáC=* *megha-ṁ-kar-á-* 'producing clouds'; similarly: *r̥ti-ṁ-kar-á-* 'causing misfortune'; *bhaya-ṁ-kar-á-* 'producing fear, fearsome'.

3.2.44 [1]kṣéma-[2]priyá-[3]madré-é áṆ ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38] and (ca) áṆ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 43] co-occurring with [nominal padás] kṣéma-peace, security, welfare', priyá- 'pleasure' and madrá- 'joy' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

kṣéma+am+kar-ó-ti = *kṣéma+∅¹+muM+kr̥+KHáC* = *kṣema-ṁ-kar-á/ kṣema-kā́r-a* 'bestower of welfare/happiness'; similarly: *priya-ṁ-k-ar-a-/ priya-kār-á-; madra-ṁ-kar-á-/madra-kār-á-.*

3.2.45 ā́śit-e bhúv-aḥ ¹káraṇa-²bhāváy-oḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́- 'become' (I 1), co-occurring with (the nominal padá) ā́śita- 'satiated, sated'; functioning as an instrument (káraṇa- °) or denoting a state or condition (-bhāváy-oḥ).

1. káraṇe: *āśita-ḥ=bháv-a-ti=anéna* = *āśita+∅¹+bhū+KHáC* = *āśita-ṁ-bhav-á-* 'what satisfies or satiates (such as rice)'.
2. bhāvé: *āśita-sya bháv-anam* = *āśita-m-bhav-ám* 'becoming satisfied, satiety'.

3.2.46 saṁjñā́ yām ¹bhr̥-²tr̥̄=³vr̥-⁴ji-⁵dhār-í-⁶śahi̱-⁷tapi̱-⁸dam-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhr̥- 'bear, nourish' (III 5), tr̥̄- 'cross over', (I 1018), vr̥- 'choose' (V 8), jí- 'conquer' (I 59), dhār-í (= dhr̥- I 948+ṆíC) 'hold', sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), tap- 'heat' (I 1034) and dam- 'tame, subdue' (IV 94) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in sUP triplets 1.4] to denote names (saṁjñā́-yām).

Both [kárman-i (1)] and [sUP-i (4)] recur here, covered by the cover term "nominal padás" as required by each particular context.

víśva+am+bhr̥+kHáC = *viśva+∅¹+muM+bhar-á+ṬāP* = *viśva-ṁ-bhar-ā́* 'the earth (bearing all)'; likewise *ratha+Ṭā+tár-a-ti* = *rátha-∅¹+tr̥̄+KHáC* = *ratha-muM+tar-á-* = *ratha-ṁ-tar-á-* 'n.pr. of a sāman'; *pátim vr̥-ṇu-té* = *pati-ṁ-var-á+ṬāP* = *pati-ṁ-var-ā́* '(a maiden) ready to choose her husband'; *śátrūn jáy-a-ti* = *śatru-ṁ-jay-á-* 'n.pr. of an elephant (lit. conquering enemies)'; *yugáṁ dhār-áy-a-ti* = *yuga-ṁ-dhar-á-* 'n.pr. of a mountain'; *śátrum sáh-a-te* = *śatru-ṁ-sah-á-* 'n.pr. (lit. enduring enemies)'; similarly *śatru-ṁ-tap-á-, ari-ṁ-dam-á-* 'proper names'.

3.2.47 gam-aś ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] gam- 'go' (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in a sUP triplet 4 to denote a name 46].

bhujá+Ṭā+gam+ŚaP+tiP = *bhuja+∅¹+gam+KHáC* = *bhuja-ṁ-gam-á-* 'snake'.

3.2.48 [1]ánta=[2]áty-anta=[3]adhva(n)-[4]dūra-[5]pārá-[6]sarvá-[7]án-ante-ṣu Ḍá-ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ḍá is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 gam- 47] co-occurring with (nominal padás) ánta- 'end', áty-anta- 'excessive', ádhvan- 'road', dūr-á 'far', pār-á 'across', sarvá-, 'all', and án-anta- 'endless, infinite' [functioning as the direct object (i.e., ending in the second sUP triplet) 1].

> *ánta+am+gam+ŚaP+tiP* = *anta+*$\emptyset^1$*+gam+Ḍá* - *anta-gØØ+á* (6.4.143) = *anta-g-á-* 'gone to the end = thoroughly conversant'; and similarly: *aty-anta-g-á-/ adhvaØ-g-á-* (8.2.7)/*dūra-g-á-/pāra-g-á-/sarva-g-á-/an-anta-g-á-* respectively denoting 'going excessively fast/traveler, passenger or going far/going across/going everywhere/going on for ever'.

3.2.49 āśíṣ-i han-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote benediction (āśíṣ-i).

> *śátrūn vadh-yā́t* 'may he destroy enemies' = *śatru+*$\emptyset^1$*+han+Ḍá* = *śatru-hØØ-á* = *śatru-h-a-*; when benediction is not denoted: *śátru+han+áṆ* (1) = *śatru-ghāt-á-* (7.3.32,54) 'destroyer of enemies'.

3.2.50 áp-e [1]kléśa-[2]támas-oḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° and [the nominal padás] kleśa- 'pain' and támas- 'darkness' [functioning as its object 1].

> *kleśam ápa-han-ti* = *kleśa+*$\emptyset^1$*+apa+han+Ḍá* = *kleśāpa-h-á-* 'painkiller'; similarly *támas+apa+han+Ḍá* = *tama-rU+apa-hØØ+á-* = *tamopa-h-á-* (8.2.66; 6.1.87,109,113) 'destroyer of darkness (an epithet of the sun)'.
>
> The present rule is for the purpose of blocking out the constraint of benediction (49).

3.2.51 [1]kumārá-[2]śīrṣáy-oh=Ṇíni-ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṇíni is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) kumārá- 'infant' and śīrṣá- 'head' [functioning as its object 1].

> *kumārá+am han+*$\emptyset^1$*+ti* = *kumāra+*$\emptyset^1$*+han+Ṇini* = *kúmāra-ghāt-in-* (7.3.32,54)

'child-killer, infanticide'; similarly *śīrṣa-ghāt-in-* 'executioner'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.52 lakṣaṇ-é [1]jāyā́-[2]páty-oḥ=ṬáK-

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṬáK is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nomnal padás) jāyā́ 'wife' and páti- 'husband' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote an omen [lakṣan-é].

The word [lakṣaṇá-] is here interpreted as a secondary derivative from *lákṣaṇa+áC* (5.2.127) = *lákṣaṇa-vat-* so as to give the sense 'an agent noun possessed of a sign which is the omen for the prognostication of the derived form'.

jāyā́+am+han-∅[1]+ti = *jāyā+han+ṬáK* = *jāyā+h∅n+á* (6.4.98) = *jāyā-ghn-á-* (7.3.54) 'destined to kill his wife (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇa] such as a mole (cf. 53) on the body)'. Similarly *pati-ghn-á+ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *pati-ghn-ī́* 'destined to kill the husband (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇá-] such as a line on the palm serving as an omen)', cf. 53 below.

3.2.53 á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṬáK 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49 co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] when the agent of the verbal stem is not a human being (á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e).

jāyā-ghn-á-ḥ tilakālaká-ḥ (52) 'a mole (on his body) predicting a wife-murderer'; similarly *pati-ghn-ī́ pāṇí-rekhā* 'a line on the palm (of the wife) indicating a murderess of the husband' (52). Likewise *pitta-ghn-ám ghṛtám* 'ghee or clarified butter as an antidote for bile' and *śleṣma-ghn-á-m mádhu* 'honey as an antidote for phlegm'.

3.2.54 śákt-au [1]hastí(n)=[2]kapāṭay-oḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṬáK 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) hastín- 'elephant' and kapāṭa- 'door, gate' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote capacity (śákt-au).

hastín+am+hán-ti = *hastín+∅[1]+han+Ṭák* = *hasti∅+ghn-á-* 'capable or strong enough to kill an elephant'; similarly *kapāṭa-ghn-á-* 'capable or strong enough to break the door (said of a thief)'.

3.2.55 ¹pāṇi-gh-á-²tāḍa-gh-aú śilpín-i

(The irregular forms) pāṇ-gh-á- and tāḍa-gh-á- are introduced [as derived with the kṛ́t 1.93 affix ṬáK 52] to denote artisans (śilpíni).

pāṇínā hán-ti = *pāṇi+∅¹+han+Ṭak* = *pāṇi+h∅∅* (irregular)*+á* = *pāṇi-gh* (irregular)*+á* = *pāṇi-gh-á-* 'a drummer (beating with the hand/hands)'. Similarly *tāḍa-gh-á-* 'a metal-smith'.

With reference to non-artisans: *pāṇim hanti* = *pāṇi-ghāt+áṆ* 'striking the hand'.

3.2.56 ¹āḍhyá-²subhága-³sthūlá-⁴palitá-⁵nagná=⁶andhá-⁷priyé-ṣu Cvị́=arthe-ṣu=á-Cvau kṛÑ-aḥ káraṇ-e KHyuN

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affx 1.1] KHyuN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) āḍhyá- 'rich', su-bhága- 'fortunate', sthūlá- 'large', palitá- 'grey', nagná- 'naked', andhá- 'blind' and priyá- 'agreeable, pleasant' [functioning as its direct objects 1] denoting an instrument (káraṇe) in the sense of the affix Cvị (Cvị́=arthe-ṣu) though not ending in it (á-Cvau).

án-āḍhyam āḍhyám kar-ó-ti anéna = *āḍhya+∅¹+kṛ+KHyuN* = *āḍhya+muM+kar-aṇ-am* = *āḍhya-ṁ-kár-aṇam* 'enriching'; similarly: *subhaga-ṁ-káraṇam* / *sthūla-ṁ-kár-aṇam* / *palita-ṁ-kár-aṇam* / *nagna-ṁ-kár-aṇam* / *andha-ṁ-kár-aṇam* to denote respectively 'making fortunate/ enlarging/making grey/stripping/making blind'; *priya-ṁ-kár-aṇam* 'making pleasant'.

3.2.57 kartár-i bhúv-aḥ ¹KHiṣṇúC-²KHukaÑ-au

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] KHiṣṇúC and KHukaÑ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́- 'become' (I1) [co-occurring with nominal padás āḍhyá- . . . priyá- 56] functioning as its agents (kartár-i) to denote the agent.

án-āḍhyaḥ āḍhyó bháv-a-ti = *āḍhya+∅¹+bhū+KHiṣṇúC/KHukaÑ* = *āḍhya-ṁ-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bhā́v-uka-* 'becoming rich'; similarly: *subhaga-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bhā́v-uka-;* *sthūla-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°bhā́v-uka-;* *palita=m=bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bhā́v-uka-;* *nagna-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bhā́v-uka-;* *andha-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bhā́v-uka-;* *priya-m-bhav-iṣṇú/°-bhā́v-uka-* to denote respectively: 'becoming fortunate; becoming large; becoming grey; becoming naked; becoming blind; becoming pleasant or agreeable'.

3.2.58 spr̥ś-aḥ=án-udak-e KviN

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kvin is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] spr̥ś- 'touch' (VI 128) co-occurring with a nominal padá other than udaká- 'water' [to denote the agent 57].

ghr̥tám spr̥ś-á-ti = *ghr̥ta+∅[1]+spr̥ś+Kvin* = *ghr̥ta-spŕ̥ś+∅* (6.1.97) 'touching ghee or clarified butter'; *mántr-eṇa spŕ̥s-a-ti* = *mantra-spŕ̥ś-* 'touching with a sacred formula'; *jal-éna spŕ̥s-a-ti* = *jala-spŕ̥ś-* 'touching with water', but *udaka-sparś+a(N)* (1).

3.2.59 [1]r̥tv-íj=[2]dadhŕ̥ṣ=[3]sráj=[4]díś=[5]uṣṇíh=[6]áñcU=[7]yuji-[8]krúñc-āṁ ca

(The irregular forms) r̥tv-íj- 'name of a class of priests'; dadhŕ̥ṣ- 'audacious', sráj- 'garland', díś- 'direction', uṣṇíh- 'name of a metre', are introduced [as derived with kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KviN 58] and [the same affix 1.1 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] áñc(U) 'worship, go' (I 203), yuj- 'join' (VII 7) and kruñc- 'be crooked' (I 201).

r̥t-aú r̥túm vā yáj-a-ti = *r̥tu+∅[1]+yaj+KviN* = *rtu+íj+∅* (6.1.15,67) 'who sacrifices regularly or in season (name of a class of priests)'; similarly: *dhr̥ṣ+KviN* = *da-dhŕ̥ṣ+∅* (irregular reduplication) = *dhr̥ṣ-ṇó-ti; sr̥j-ánti tā́m* = *sr̥j+KviN* = *sr̥j+aM+∅* = *sr-á-j-* (despite 6.1.58); *diś-ánti tām* = *diś+KviN* = *díś-∅* = *díś-;* *úd+snih+KviN* = *u∅* (irregular)+*ṣṇíh+∅* (irregular retroflexion).

prá+añc-a-ti = *prá+añC+KviN* = *prā́ñc+∅* = *prā́ñc-* 'going forward/east, etc.'; affix KviN is introduced after this verbal stem only when co-occurring with nominal padás. *yuj+KviN* = *yuj+∅+sUṬ* = *yuj+nuM+sUṬ* = *yuṅ+sUṬ* (7.1.71) but when co-occurring with a nominal padá affix KviP is introduced by 61 below: *áśvam yu-ná-k-ti* = *aśva-yuj+KviP* = *aśva-yúj+sU* = *aśva-yúk+∅* (6.1.68; 8.2.30); *kruñc+KviN* = *krúñc+∅* (with irregular retention of the penultimate nasal contra 6.4.24).

3.2.60 tyád-ādi-ṣu dr̥ś-aḥ=án-ālocane KaÑ ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KviN 58] and (ca) KaÑ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dr̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037), co-occurring with the class of nominal padás beginning with tyád- 'that' except when it denotes the sense of perceiving with the eye (án-ā-locane).

tyád+dr̥ś+KaÑ/KviN = *tyá-a+dr̥ś+KaÑ/KviN* (7.2.102) =*tyā-dr̥ś+KaÑ/KviN* (6.3.91) =*tyā-dŕ̥ś-a-/°-dŕ̥ś-* 'such a one as that'; likewise : *tā=dŕ̥ś-a-/°-dŕ̥ś-*, etc.

A vārttika adds the words samāná- 'equal' and anyá 'another' as additional co-occurring padás, and affix Ksa as an alternate: *tā-dr̥ś+Ksa* = *tā-dr̥ṣ+sa-* = *tādr̥k-ṣá-* (8.2.41).

3.2.61 ¹sád=²sū-³dviṣÁ-⁴drúhÁ-⁵duhÀ-⁶yujA-⁷vídÁ-⁸bhida-⁹chida-¹⁰jí-¹¹nī-¹²rā́j-ām upasargé=ápi Kvi̱P

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kvi̱P is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sád- 'sit down' (I 907), sū- 'give birth to' (II 21), dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3), drúh- 'hurt, harm, injure' (IV 88), duh- 'milk' (II 4), yuj- 'join, unite' (IV 68), víd- 'know' (II 55), bhid- 'break into pieces' (VII 2), chid- 'split, rend' (VII 3), jí- 'win, conquer' (I 59), nī- 'lead' (I 950) and rā́j- 'shine' (I 874), co-occurring with or without preverbs (upasargé=ápi) [and with nominal padás 4].

śúc-au sīd-á-ti = *śuci+∅¹+sad+Kvi̱P* = *śuci-ṣád-∅* 'abiding in purity' (retroflexion by 8.3.106 as this is a Vedic word), but in *div-í sīd-á-ti* = *dyu+sad+Kvi̱P* = *dyu-sád-* 'divine being', there is no retroflexion. *upa-sád-* 'sitting near'. Similarly: *aṇḍa-sū́-* 'oviparous'; *pra-sū́-* 'giving birth to'; *mitra-dvíṣ-* 'treacherous, hating a friend'; *pra-dvíṣ-* 'hating'; *mitra-drúh-* 'betrayer, injuring a friend', *pra-drúh-* 'harming, injuring'; *go-dúh-* 'milkman', *pra-dúh-* 'who milks'; *aśva-yúj-* 'harnessing a horse'; *pra-yúj-* 'joining'; *veda-víd-* 'Vedic scholar', *pra-víd-* 'knower'; *kāṣṭha-bhíd-* 'cleaver of wood', *pra-bhíd-* 'cleaver, breaker'; *rajju-cchíd-* 'slicer of ropes', *pra-cchíd-* 'slicer'; *śatru-jít-* 'conqueror of enemies', *pra-jít-* 'victorious'; *sena-nī́-* 'army commander'; *grāma-ṇī́-* 'village head', *pra-ṇī́-* 'leader'; *viśva-rā́j-* 'universal ruler', *sam-rā́j-* (8.3.25) 'emperor'.

3.2.62 bhaj-aḥ=Ṇvi̱-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṇvi̱ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhaj- 'share, enjoy' (I 1047) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4, but with or without preverbs 61].

árdham bháj-a-te = *ardha+∅¹+bhaj+Ṇvi̱* = *ardha-bhā́j+∅* 'sharing half'; *pra-bhā́j-* 'division'.

3.2.63 chándas-i sáh-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇvi̱ 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sáh- 'bear, endure, suffer' (I 905) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

pṛ̥́tanām sáh-a-te = *pṛ̥tanā+∅¹+sah+Ṇvi̱* = *pṛ̥tanā-sā́h-∅* 'victorious in battle' and similarly *turā-sā́h-* 'overpowering the mighty, n.pr. of Indra'.

3.2.64 vah-aś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇvi̱ 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vah- 'carry, convey' (I 1053) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

pṛ̥ṣṭh-é váh-a-ti = *pṛ̥ṣṭha+∅¹+vah+Ṇvi̱* = *pṛ̥ṣṭha-vā́h-∅* 'a young bull being trained for the plough' and similarly *ditya-vā́h-* 'two-year old bull'.

3.2.65 ¹kavyá-²púrīṣa-³purīṣyè-ṣu ÑyuṬ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ÑyuṬ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with nominal padás 4] kavyá- 'funerary obligation', púrīṣa and purīṣyà- 'ordure'.

kavyám váh-a-ti = *kavya+∅¹+vah+ÑyuṬ* = *kavya-vā́h-ana-* (7.1.1) 'conveyor of funerary oblation to the Manes', and similarly: *purīṣa-°/purīṣya-°/°-vā́h-ana-* 'scavenger, remover of rubbish or ordure'.

3.2.66 hávy-e=án-antaḥ-pādam

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ÑyuṬ 65 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] hávya- 'sacrificial oblation', provided (the word so derived) does not occur in the middle of the verse quarter (án-antaḥ-pādam).

agnír no havya-vā́h-ana-ḥ (RV 4.24.4) 'and Agni is the conveyor of the sacrificial oblation', but *havya-vā́ḍ agnír a-jára-ḥ pitā́ naḥ* (RV 5.4.2) 'the immortal carrier of sacrificial oblations, Agni, is our father'.

3.2.67 ¹jánA-²sánÁ-³kháṉa-⁴krámа̱-⁵gam-o vi̱Ṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] vi̱Ṭ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ján- 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), sán- 'gain' (I 492), 'donate' (VIII 2), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), krám- 'march, tread' (I 502) and gam- 'go' (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal padás 4 or with or without preverbs 61].

ap-sú jā́-ya-te = *ap+∅¹+jan+vi̱Ṭ* = *ap-jaā+∅* (6.4.41) = *ab-jā́-* 'water-born, produced in waters'; *gā́m san-ó-ti* = *go+∅¹+san+vi̱Ṭ* = *go-saā+∅* = *go-ṣā́-* 'winning cattle'; similarly *kūpa-khā́-* 'well-digger'; *dadhi-krā́-* 'n.pr. of a divinity'; *agre-gā́-* 'going in front, leader'.

3.2.68 ad-aḥ=án=anne

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 vi̱Ṭ 67 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] other than anná- 'food'.

āmám át-ti = *āma+∅*[1]*+ad+vi̱Ṭ* = *āmā́d-* 'consumer of raw or uncooked food'; *sasyám át-ti* = *sasyā́d-* 'vegetarian' but *annād-á*(*Ṇ* 1) 'food consumer'.

3.2.69 kravy-é ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 vi̱Ṭ 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ad- 68 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] kravyá- 'raw or uncooked meat, flesh'.

kravyám at-ti = *kravya+∅*[1]*+ad+vi̱Ṭ* = *kravyā́d-* 'flesh-eater, carnivorous', but *kravyād-á*(*Ṇ* 1) 'consumer of cooked meat'.

3.2.70 duh-aḥ KaP=gha-ś ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KáP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] duh- 'milk' (II 4) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] and (ca) the phoneme [gh] replaces (the final 1.1.52) stem-phoneme.

kā́mam dóg-dhi = *kāma+∅*[1]*+duh+KaP* = *kāma-dugh+a+ṬāP* (8.2.32; 4.1.4) = *kāma-dúgh-ā* 'the wish-granting divine cow'.

3.2.71 mántre [1]śveta-vah-a̱-[2]uktha-śás=[3]puro-ḍāś-o Ṇvi̱N

In the domain of the Mántra (portion of the Veda) [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṇvi̱N is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] °-vah- (I 1053) co-occurring with śvetá-, °-śáns- (I 764) co-occurring with ukthá-° and °-dā́ś- (I 931) co-occurring with purás-°.

1. *śvetā́ enám váh-anti* = *śveta+∅*[1]*+vah+Ṇvi̱N* = *śveta-vā́h-* 'borne by white (steeds), n.pr. of Indra'.
2. *ukthā́ni śáṁs-a-ti* = *uktha+∅*[1]*+śans+Ṇvi̱N* = *uktha-śā́∅s-* (irregular ∅ replacement of nasal) 'praising with hymns'.
3. *puró dā́ś-ante enám* = *puras+∅*[1]*+dāś+Ṇvi̱N* = *puro=ḍā́ś-* 'a sacrificial oblation' (irregular retroflexion).

3.2.72 av-e yaj-aḥ

[In the domain of Mántra 71 the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆviN 71 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) co-occurring with the preverb áva- °.

> *áva+yaj+ṆviN* = *ava-yā́j+sU* = *ava-yā́j+Ḍas* (by a vārttika) = *ava-yā́s* = *ava-yā́ḥ* : *tvám yajñé váruṇasyāvayā́ asi* 'you are the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

3.2.73 viC=up-e chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] viC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 yaj- 72] co-occurring with the preverb úpa- °.

> *upa+yaj+viC* = *upa-yáj+∅* 'n.pr. of eleven sacrificial formulae': *upa-yáḍ-bhir ūrdhvám vah-anti* (8.2.36) 'they carry it up with upayáj formulae'.

3.2.74 āT-aḥ ¹maniN=²KvaniP-³vaniP-aś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 73 the kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1 viC 73] and maniN, KvaniP and vaniP are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ā] [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 and also with or without a preverb 61].

1. *su+dā+maniN* = *su-dā́-man-* 'bountiful'.
2. *su+dhā+KvaniP* = *su-dhī́-van-* (6.4.66) 'intelligent'.
3. *bhū́ri+dā+vaniP* = *bhūri dá-dā-ti* = *bhūri-dā́-van-* 'munificent'.
4. *kīlā́lam pib-a-ti* = *kīlāla+∅*[1]*+pā+viC* = *kīlāla-pā́+∅* 'who drinks the sweet beverage called kīlā́la'.

3.2.75 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛś-yánte

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1 maniN, KvaniP and vaniP 74] are also (ápi) introduced [after 1.2] other [verbal stems 1.91 (i.e., those not ending in long °-ā) along with viC 73].

1. maniN: *śobhanam śṛ-ṇā́-ti* = *su-śṝ+maniN* = *su-śár-man-* 'good protection, refuge'.
2. KvaniP: *prātár+é-ti* = *pratár+i+KvaniP* = *prātar-i+tuK+van-* = *prātar-í-t-van-* (6.1.72) 'going out early (in the morning)'.
3. vaniP: *ágr-e gácch-a-ti* = *agre+gam+vaniP* = *agre-ga-ā+van-* (6.4.41) =*agre-gā́-van-* 'leader, going in front'.
4. viC: *riṣ+viC* = *réṣ+∅* 'who injures' in the expression *réṭ=a-si* (8.4.55) 'thou art an injurer'.

3.2.76 KviP ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KviP is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91, whether co-occurring or not with nominal padás 4 or preverbs 61, both in the domain of Chándas 73 or elsewhere 75].

ukhā́-yāḥ sráṁs-a-te = *ukhā́+∅¹+srans+KviP* = *ukhā+srá∅s+∅* (6.4.24) 'falling from the pot'; *parṇā́ni dhváṁs-a-te* = *parṇa+dhvans+KviP* = *parṇa-dhvá∅s+∅* 'causing leaves to fall'.

3.2.77 sth-aḥ Ká ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix KviP 76] as well as Ká are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā́ 'stay, remain' (I 975) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 or a preverb 61].

The introduction of affix [Ká] here while it was already introduced by 4 above is to block out the operation of 14 when [sthā-] co-occurs with the nominal padá śam-°: *śám tiṣṭh-a-te* = *śam+sthā+Ka/KviP* = *śaṁ-sth∅+á-/°-sthā́+∅* 'happy, prosperous'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.78 sUPy á-jāt-au Ṇíni-s tā́cchily-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṇíni is introduced [after a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] not denoting a species (á-jāt-au) to express the meaning of 'habitually addicted' (tā́cchilye).

uṣṇám bhók-tum śī́lam asyá = *uṣṇa+∅¹+bhuj+Ṇini* = *úṣṇa-bhoj-in-* 'habitually accustomed to eat hot (food)'. But *uṣṇám bhuṅk-té kadācit* 'occasionally eats hot (food)', and *brāhmaṇā́n ā-mantr-ay-i-tŕ̥(C)* 'accustomed to invite brahmins' since this is a species word (jāti). Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.79 kartár-i=upa-mā́n-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as an agent (kartár-i) and serving as an object of comparison (upamā́ne).

úṣṭra-ḥ iva króś-a-ti = *uṣṭra+∅¹+kruś+Ṇini* = *úṣṭra-krośín-* 'making a noise like a camel'; similarly *dhvā́ṅkṣa-ḥ iva rau-ti* = *dhvāṅkṣa+∅¹+ru+Ṇini* = *dhvā́ṅkṣa-rāv-in-* 'sounding like a crow'; when the co-occurring nominal padá is not an agent: *apūpā́n iva mā́ṣān bhakṣ-áy-a-ti* 'eats mā́ṣa grain like a cake of flour'; when not an object of comparison: *úṣṭraḥ krόś-a-ti* 'the camel cries harshly'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.80 vrat-é

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] to denote a religious vow (vrat-é).

sthaṇḍil-e śé-te = sthaṇḍila+∅¹+śī+Ṇini = stháṇḍila-śāy-in- 'sleeping on the bare ground (as a religious vow)'. Accent by 6.2.79.

3.2.81 bahulám ā́bhīkṣṇy-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78 is introduced] variously (bahulám) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote repetition (ā́bhīkṣṇy-e).

[ā́bhīkṣṇya-] 'repetition' here is distinct from [tā́cchīlya-] 'habitual disposition': *kaṣāya-pā-yu̱K+ín* (7.3.33) = *káṣāya-pā-y-ín-* 'repeatedly drinking juice' in the phrase *káśāya-pā-y-in-aḥ uśīnarāḥ* 'the residents of Uś. constantly drink juice'. (6.2.79 for accent).

3.2.82 man-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] man- 'think' (IV 67)[co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

darśaníyam mán-ya-te (kám̐-cit) = darśanīya+∅¹+man+Ṇini̱ = dárśanīya-mān-in- 'considers (someone) as handsome or good-looking'.

3.2.83 ātma-mān-é KHaŚ=ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78] as well as (ca) KHáŚ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 man- 82, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] when the object of the verbal stem is oneself (ātma-māné).

darśaníyam ātmā́nam mán-ya-te = darśanīya+∅¹+man+KhaŚ/Ṇini̱ = darśanīya-mu̱M+man+ŚyaN+á- = darśanīya-m̐-man-yá (3.1.69; 6.3.67) / *dárśanīya-mān-in-* 'considering one's self as good-looking'.

3.2.84 bhūt-é

(When the action refers to) the general past (bhūt-é).

This is a governing rule extending up to 122 below. All affixes hereafter introduced, prior to 123, are with reference to the general past tense. The word [bhūté] 'in the general past tense' will recur in all subsequent rules coming under this head.

3.2.85 káraṇ-e yaj-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.92] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as an instrument (i.e., ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet) [to denote the general past tense (bhūt-é) 84].

agni-ṣṭoména iṣṭávān = agniṣṭoma+∅+yaj+Ṇini = ágniṣṭoma-yāj-in- 'one who has performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice'.

3.2.86 kármaṇ-i han-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṇíni̱ 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as its object (kárman-i) [to denote the general past tense 84].

pitṛ̥vyam hatávān = pitṛ̥vya+∅^{1}+han+Ṇini̱ = pítṛ̥vya-ghāt-in- (7.3.32,54) 'who has murdered his paternal uncle'.

3.2.87 [1]bráhm(n)-[2]bhrūṇá-[3]vṛ̥tré-ṣu Kvi̱P

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kvi̱P is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with nominal padás 4] bráhman- 'brahmin', bhrūṇá- 'embryo' and vṛ̥trá- 'n.pr. of a demon, destroyed by Indra' [functioning as its direct object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

bráhman+am+ha-távān = brahman+∅^{1}+han+Kvi̱P = brahma∅+hán- 'who has murdered a brahmin'; similarly *bhrūṇa-hán- / vṛ̥tra-hán-* respectively denoting 'who has killed the embryo / the demon Vṛ̥tra'.

In view of the general rule 76 introducing this affix after all verbal stems, there is a four-fold application derived from that fact: (a) Kvi̱P is introduced after [han-] when co-occurring with these three nominal padás only; (b) with these three úpapadas only, [han-] is followed by this affix, not other verbal stems; in *brahma adhī-tavān* it is inoperative; (c) with these úpapadas it is only to denote the general past time that Kvi̱P is introduced after [han-]; in *bráhmāṇam hán-ti* 'kills a brahmin', it is inoperative; and (d) also in *bráhmāṇ-am han-i-ṣyá-ti* 'will kill a brahmin' it is inoperative.

3.2.88 bahulám chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Kvi̱P 87] is variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with other nominal padás 4 functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

mātár-am ha-távān = *mātr̥+∅*[1]*+han+KviP* = *mātr̥-hán-* 'who has killed his mother' in the passage: *mātr̥-hā́ saptamám nárakam prá-viś-et* 'a matricide will enter the seventh hell'.

3.2.89 [1]sú-[2]kárma(n)-[3]pāpá-[4]mántra-[5]púṇye-su kr̥Ñaḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥Ñ 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with nominal padás 4] sú- 'well', kárman- 'work', pāpá- 'sin', mántra- 'sacred hymn', and púṇya- 'virtue, merit' [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

sú+kr̥+KviP = *su-kŕ̥-tuK+∅* (6.1.71) = *śobhanam kr̥-távān* 'who has done well'; similarly: *karma-kŕ̥-t-*, *pāpa-kŕ̥-t-*, *mantra-kŕ̥-t*, *puṇya-kŕ̥-t-* respectively denoting: 'who has performed all work/committed a sin/composed a sacred hymn/ done a virtuous deed'.

There is a three-fold application here: (a) this affix is applicable only when denoting the general past time: in *kárma kr̥-távān* KviP alone is applicable, not áṆ (1); (b) with other úpapadas, KviP is not applicable, but only áṆ as in *mántram adhī-tavān* = *mantrādhyāy-á-* 'who has studied sacred hymns'; (c) through introducing KviP in the general past tense, it is not applicable when other tenses are indicated: *mántram kari-ṣyá-ti/kar-ó-ti* = *mantra-kār-á(Ṇ)* 'who will compose/is composing sacred hymns'. Since no regulation is intended, in the view of the recurrence of the word [bahulám 88], this rule is applicable also with other úpapadas: *bhāṣya-kŕ̥-t-/śāstra-kŕ̥-t* 'who has composed a commentary/ treatise on science' respectively.

3.2.90 sóm-e suÑ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] suÑ- 'press or distil the Soma' [co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] sóma- [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

sómam su-távān = *soma+su+KviP* = *soma-sú-t-* 'who has pressed Soma'. Here also the four-fold application (in 87 above) is valid.

3.2.91 agn-aú ce-ḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ci- 'heap, pile, arrange' (V 5) [co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] agní- 'fire' [serving as its object to denote the general past tense 84].

agním ci-távān = *agni-cí-t-* 'who has built the sacrificial fire'.

3.2.92 kárman̥-i=agni=ākhyā́-yām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvịP is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84] (and the form derived) with the passive construction (kárman̥-i) denotes the name of a ritual fire (agni=ākhyā́-yām).

śyená-ḥ=iva ci-tá-ḥ = *śyena+∅¹+ci+KvịP* = *śyena-cí-t-* 'a sacrificial fireplace piled in the shape of a hawk'.

3.2.93 kárman̥-i=inị̄ḥ=ví-kriy-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] íni̱ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vi+krī- 'sell' (IX 1) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 functioning as its direct object 85 when indicating the general past tense 84] to denote a despicable act (kárman̥-i).

The repetition of the word [karman̥-i] here while it is already recurring from 92 above is to indicate not 'an object' as defined by 1.4.49 but to denote a despicable or unworthy act and censure the agent of the verbal stem: *sómam ví-krī-tavān* = *soma+∅¹+vi-krī+ín* = *soma-vi-kray-ín-* 'who has sold Soma' implying censure; but *dhānya+vi-krī+áṆ* = *dhānya-vi-krāy-á-* 'who has sold grain' with no censure implied.

3.2.94 dṛ̥śe-ḥ KvaniP

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KvaniP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dṛ̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 functioning as its object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

pārám dṛ̥ṣ-ṭávān = *pāra+∅¹+dṛ̥́ś+KvaniP* = *pāra-dṛ̥́ś-van-* 'who has seen the opposite shore'.

3.2.95 rā́jan-i ¹yudh-i̱-²kṛ̥Ñ-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvaniP 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yudh- 'fight' (IV 64) and kṛ̥Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] rā́jan- 'king' [serving as their object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

rā́jān-aṁ yodh-i-távān = *rājan+*$\emptyset^1$*+yudh+KvaniP* = *rājaY+yúdh-van-* 'who has made war against the king / who has made the king fight a war'; similarly *rā́jān-aṁ kr̥-távān* = *rāja=kŕ̥t-van-* 'who has crowned or enthroned the king'.

3.2.96 sah-é ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvaniP 94] is introduced also (ca) [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 yudh- and kr̥Ñ 95 when co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] sahá- 'with' [when referring to the general past tense 84].

sahá yodh-i-távān = *saha+yudh+KvaniP* = *saha-yúdh-van-* 'who has fought along with'; similarly *saha-kŕ̥t-van-* 'who has cooperated with'.

3.2.97 saptamy-ā́m jáne-r Ḍáḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ḍá is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ján- 'be born' (IV 41) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-ā́m) [when denoting the general past tense 84].

upa-sar-é jā-tá-ḥ = *upa-sará-*$\emptyset^1$*+jan+Ḍá* = *upa-sára-j∅∅+a-* (6.4.143) 'born by impregnation'; similarly *páṅk-e jā-tá-ḥ* = *paṅka-j-á-* 'born in mud, a lotus'. Cf. 6.2.83 for accent.

3.2.98 pañcamy-ā́m á-jāt-au

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-ā́m), not specifying a species (á-jāt-au) [and referring to the general past tense 84].

búddhe-r jā-tá-ḥ = *búddhi+*$\emptyset^1$*+jan+Ḍá* = *buddhi-j-á-* 'arisen or originated in the intellect', but *áśvāt=jā-tá-ḥ* 'born of a horse'.

3.2.99 upa-sarg-é ca saṁjñā́-yām

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] also when co-occurring with a preverb (upa-sarg-é) [and referring to the general past tense 84] to form a name (samjñāyām).

pra+jā-tá-ḥ = *pra+jan+Ḍá* = *pra-j-á+ṬāP* = *pra-j-ā́* 'progeny' as in *áthemā́ mānavī pra-j-ā́* 'now these born of Manu'.

3.2.100 án-au kárman-i

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with the preverb ánu-° [and a nominal padá 4] functioning as its direct object (kárman-i) [when referring to the general past tense 84].

rāmám anu-jā-tá-ḥ = *rāma+∅*[1]*+anu-jan+Ḍá* = *rāmānu-j∅∅-á-* 'born after Rāma (i.e., his younger brother)'.

3.2.101 anyé-ṣu=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ḍá 97] is also (ápi) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with other (anyé-ṣu) [nominal padás 4 when referring to the general past tense 84].

náÑ+jā-ta-ḥ = *a-j-á-* 'was not born'; similarly *dvír-jā-tá-ḥ* = *dvi-j-á-* 'twice-born/born again'.

The word [anyé-ṣu] not only refers to the nominal padás but also to different kā́rakas, other than the fifth and seventh referred to above. The word [ápi] also permits the introduction of other verbal stems: *parí-tas=khā-tá-ḥ* = *pari-∅*[1]*+khan+Ḍá* = *pari-kh∅∅+á+ṬāP* = *pari-kh-ā́* 'a moat dug all around'.

3.2.102 niṣṭhā́

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26 = Ktá- and KtávatU) are introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

kṛ+Ktá(vatU) = *kṛ-tá-* 'was done', *kṛ-távat(U)* 'has done'.

3.2.103 [1]su-[2]yaj-or ṄvaniP

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṄvaniP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] su- 'press, extract' (V 1) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [to denote the general past tense 84].

su+ṄvaniP = *su+tuK+van-* = *sú-t-van-* 'who has pressed or extracted'; similarly *yáj-van-* 'who has sacrificed'.

3.2.104 jṝ-ya-te-r atṚN

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] atṚN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] jṝ- 'grow old, age' (IV 22) [to denote the general past tense 84].

jṝ+atṚN = *jár-atṚ* 'who has grown old or aged'; the marker [Ṛ] indicates that before sUP triplets denoted by [Śi] and [sUṬ] an infixed nuM is introduced after the last vowel of the nominal stem (7.1.70).

3.2.105 chándas-i lIṬ

In the domain of Chándas (l-substitutes of) lIṬ 'Perfect Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past 84].

ahám sū́ryam ubhayá-to da-darś-a 'I saw the sun from both sides'; *ahám dyā́vā-pṛthivī́ ā́-ta-tān-a* 'I stretched heaven and earth'. This is a prior exception to 115 below.

3.2.106 lIṬ-aḥ KānáC=vā

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the kṛ̥t 1.92 affix 1.1] KānáC optionally (vā) replaces (the l-substitutes of) lIṬ [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

ci+lIṬ = *ci-ci+eŚ* (3.4.81; 6.1.8) = *ci-ki-é* (7.3.58) = *ci-ky-é/ci-ci+KānáC* = *ci-ky-āná-* as in : *agním ci-ky-āna-ḥ* 'he constructed the sacrificial fire'.

3.2.107 KvásU-s=ca

[In the domain of Chándas the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KvásU also (ca) [optionally replaces the l-substitutes of lIṬ 105 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

pā+lIṬ = *pa-pā+iṬ+KvásU* = *pa-p∅+i-vás* = *pa-p-i-vás-* 'drank', the marker [U] operating under 7.1.70.

3.2.108 bhāṣā́-yām [1]sáda-[2]vasÁ-[3]śruv-aḥ

In the domain of the spoken language (= current speech: bhāṣā́-yām) [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvásU 107 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sád- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133), vas- 'abide, dwell, reside' (I 1054) and śru- 'hear, listen' (I 980) [as a replacement for l-substitutes of lIṬ 106 to denote the general past tense 84].

úpa+sad+lIṬ = úpa-sa-sad+KvásU = upa-ØØ-sed+iṬ+vás- (6.4.120) = *upa-sed-i-vā́n Kaútsa-ḥ Pā́ṇinim* 'K. became a pupil of P.' The alternate forms are: *upā́-sad-a-t (lUṄ), upā́-sīd-a-t (lAṄ)* and *úpa-sa-sād-a (lIṬ).*

Similarly: *ánu+vas+lIṬ = ánu+va-vas+KvásU = anu-u-us+iṬ+vás-* (6.1.15,17) = *anū-ṣ-ivás = anū-ṣivā́n Kaútsa-ḥ Pā́ṇinim.*

úpa+śru+lIṬ = úpa-śu-śru+KvásU = upa-śu-śru-vás : upa-śu-śruvān Kaútsa-ḥ Pā́ṇinim.

3.2.109 [1]upey-i-vā́n=[2]anāś-vā́n=[3]anūcānás-s=ca

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 the kr̥̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvásU 107 replaces the l-substitutes of lIṬ 109 to generate the irregular forms] upeyi-vā́n 'approached', anāś-vā́n 'did not eat' and anūcāná- 'studied' [with KānáC replacement 106].

1. *úpa+iṆ+lIṬ = upa+i-i+KvásU = upa-ī-i+KvásU* (7.4.69) = *úpa+īy-iṬ+KvásU* (contra 7.2.67) = *upe-y-i-vás+sU = upe-y-i-vā́n* (7.1.70; 6.4.10; 8.2.23).
2. *naÑ+aś+KvásU = an-ā-aś+vas+sU = anā-ś-vā́n* (with irregular absence of initial iṬ increment).
3. *ánu+vac+KānáC = anu-u-uc+āná* (5.1.15,17) = *anū-c-āná-sU = anū-c-āná-ḥ.*

3.2.110 lUṄ

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84, the l-substitutes of] lUṄ 'Aorist' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

kr̥̊+lUṄ = kr̥̊+Cli̲+t (3.1.43) = *kr̥̊+si̲C+t* (3.1.44) = *áṬ+kr̥̊+si̲C+t* (6.4.71) = *á-kār+s+īṬ+t* (7.2.1; 3.96) = *á-kār-ṣ-ī-t* 'made, performed, did'.

3.2.111 án-adya-tane lAṄ

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84] excluding the current day (án-adya-tane) [the l-substitutes of] lAṄ 'Imperfect Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

kr̥̊+lAṄ = kr̥̊+u+t = á-kar-o-t (3.1.79; 7.3.84) 'did, made' (not referring to the current day).

3.2.112 abhijñā-vacané lR̥̊Ṭ

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 excluding the current day 111] (the l-substitutes of) lR̥̊Ṭ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with an expression implying recollection (abhijñā-vacané).

Exception to laṄ 111 above. *smár-a-si devadatta kaśmīre-ṣu vat-syā́-maḥ* 'do you remember, Devadatta, how we lived in Kashmir?' from *vas+lṚṬ* = *vas+syá+mas* (3.1.33) = *vat-syā́-maḥ* (7.3.102; 4.43; 8.3.15).

3.2.113 ná yád-i

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, the l-substitutes of lṚṬ 112] are not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the expression implying recollection co-occurs 112 with] the particle yád 'which, what'.

smár-a-si devadatta yát kaśmīre-ṣu á-vas-āma where the Imperfect (lAṄ 111) operates instead.

3.2.114 vibhāṣā sā̆kāṅkṣ-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 and the expression implying recollection 112 co-occurs or not with yád 113, l-substitutes of lṚṬ 112] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if the speaker needs (another) expression for completion of the sense (sā̆kāṅkṣ-e).

smár-a-si devadatta (yát) kaśmīre-ṣu vat-syā́-maḥ/á-vas-ā-ma, tátra odanam bhok-ṣyā́-mahe/á-bhuñj-mahi 'do you remember, Devadatta, that we lived in K. and there we ate porridge?'. The second phrase complements the first for completion of the sense.

3.2.115 parókṣ-e lIṬ

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111] and beyond the perception of the speaker (parókṣ-e), l-substitutes of lIṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

gam+lIṬ = *gam-gam+lIṬ* (6.1.8) = *ga-gam+ṆaL* (3.4.82; 7.4.60) = *ja+gam+ṆaL* (7.4.62) = *ja-gā́m-a* (7.2.116) 'has gone (before the current day) but I did not see it myself'.

3.2.116 [1]ha-[2]śáśvat-or lAṄ ca

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111 beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of lAṄ 'Imperfect' as well as (ca) [those of lIṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles ha 'verily, indeed' and śáśvat 'constantly'.

1. *iti ha ca-kā́r-a/á-kar-o-t* 'indeed he has done'.
2. *śáśvat=ca-kā́r-a/á-kar-o-t* 'has repeatedly done'.

3.2.117 praśn-é ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115, the l-substitutes of lIṬ 115 and lAṄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a recent (ā-sanna-kāle) past time in an interrogation (praśn-é).

X asks Y: *ja-gā́m-a/á-gacch-a-t devadattá-ḥ?* 'Has D. gone?'. Recent past [ā-sanna-kāla] by interpretation is defined as within five years.

3.2.118 lAṬ sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of lAṬ 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma.

yáj-a-ti sma yudhíṣṭhira-ḥ 'Y. has sacrificed'.

3.2.119 á-parokṣ-e ca

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111] and is within the perception of the speaker (á-parokṣ-e) [the l-substitutes of lAṬ 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 118].

evám̐ sma pitā́ bráv-ī-ti 'thus has the father spoken'.

3.2.120 nan-aú pṛṣṭa-prati-vacan-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84, the l-substitutes of lAṬ 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle nanú in a response to a question (pṛṣṭa-prati-vacané).

á-kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ káṭam devadatta? nanú kar-ó-mi bhoḥ 'O Devadatta! have you made a mat? Yes, I have made (it)'.

3.2.121 [1]ná-[2]nv-ór vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the general past 84 the l-substitutes of lAṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring with the particles ná and nú [in response to a question 120].

Q. *á-kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ káṭam devadatta?* R. *ná kar-ó-mi bhoḥ / ahám nú kar-ó-mi* 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have not made (it) / I have certainly made (it)'. Alternately *á-kār-ṣ-am* replaces *kar-ó-mi.*

3.2.122 pur-í lUṄ ca=á-sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 the l-substitutes of lAṬ 118] and (ca) lUṄ [are optionally 121 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle purấ 'formerly', provided the particle sma does not co-occur.

vás-anti=ihá purấ chātrấḥ 'pupils lived here formerly' or with lUṄ: *á-vas+si̱C+us = á-vās+s+us* (7.2.3) = *á-vāt-s-uḥ* (7.4.49); in addition, when these do not co-occur, lIṬ and lAṄ also operate: *ūṣ-úḥ / á-vas-an* but *yáj-a-ti sma yudhíṣṭhira-ḥ*

3.2.123 vártamān-e lAṬ

When the action refers to the present time (vártamān-e) l-substitutes of lAṬ 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93].

bhū́+lAṬ = bhū́+ŚaP+tiP (3.1.68; 4.78) = *bhó+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'becomes'; similarly *pác-a-ti/ád-mi* 'is cooking/am eating'.

3.2.124 lAṬ-aḥ [1]ŚátṚ-[2]ŚanáC-au=á-prathamā-samāna=adhi-karaṇ-é

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] ŚátṚ̥ and ŚānáC replace the l-substitutes of lAṬ when it has the same reference (samāna=adhi-karaṇé) [with a nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet)] other than the first (á-prathamā-°).

pac+lAṬ = pac+ŚaP+lAṬ = pac+a+ŚátṚ̥/ŚānáC = pác-at- (6.1.97) *pac-a+mu̱K+āná-* (7.2.82) = *páca-m+āna-* in constructions like *pác-ant-am/páca-m-ānam devadattám páśy-a* 'behold D. who is cooking'; *pác-at-ā pác-a-m-ān-ena kṛ̥tám* 'prepared by one who is cooking', but *devadattá-ḥ pác-a-ti.* (Cf. 6.1.186).

The repetition of the word [lAṬ] when it is already recurring from 123 above is to permit occasional use of these affixes even when co-occurring with a padá ending in the first sUP triplet: *sán/ás-ti/víd-ya-te/vid-yá-m-āna-ḥ brāhmaṇá-h* 'the brahmin is'.

3.2.125 sam-bódhan-e ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ and ŚānáC 124 replace the l-substitutes of lAṬ 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when it has the same reference with a nominal padá 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 124] used in invocation or address (sam-bódhan-e).

he pácan/pác-a-m-āna 'O thou who art cooking'.

3.2.126 [1]lákṣaṇa-[2]hetv-óḥ kriyā́-yāḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ and ŚānáC replace the l-substitutes of lAṬ 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] the action denoted by which is a characteristic (lákṣaṇa) or cause (hetú) of (another) action (kriyā́-yāḥ).

1. lákṣaṇa: *śay-ānā́ bhuñj-áte yavanāḥ* 'the Yavanas eat while lying down or reclining'.
2. hetú: *adhīy-ānó vás-a-ti* 'he is staying in order to study (or for the purpose of studying)'.

3.2.127 t-au SAT

(The technical term) SAT denotes those two [kṛ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ and ŚānáC 124].

As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.11; 3.3.14.

3.2.128 [1]pūṄ-[2]yaj-oḥ ŚānaN

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚānaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pūṄ- 'purify' (I 1015) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

1. *pū+ŚānaN = pū́+ŚaP+āna = pó+a+āna-* (7.3.84) = *páv-a+muK+āna* (6.1.78; 7.2.82) = *páv-a-m-āna-* 'Soma, the purifier'.
2. Similarly *yáj-a-m-āna-* 'sacrificer'.

This affix generates nominal stems, while [ŚānáC] is a replacement for l-substitutes of lAṬ.

3.2.129 [1]tā̃cchīlya-[2]vayovacaná-[3]śákti-ṣu CānaŚ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] CānáŚ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote habitual disposition (tā̃c-chīlya), age (vayo-vacaná) or capacity (śákti).

1. *bhóg-am bhuñj-āná-* (= *bhuj+CānáŚ* = *bhuj+ŚnáM+CānáŚ* = *bhu-∅n-j-āná-* 6.4.111) 'habitually disposed to enjoy food'.
2. vayo-vacané: *kávac-am bi-bhr-āṇá-* (= *bhṛ̥+Ślu+CānáŚ* = *bi-bhṛ̥-āṇá-* = *bi-bhr-āṇá-* 7.4.76; 8.4.2) 'of an age to wear a coat of mail'.
3. śákt-au: *śátrum ni-ghn-āná-* 'able to destroy enemies' = *ni-han+CānáŚ* = *ni-h∅n+āná-* (6.4.98) = *ni-ghn-āná-* (7.3.54).

3.2.130 [1]iṄ=[2]dhāry-óḥ ŚátṚ̥=kṛ̥cchriṇ-i

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚátṚ̥ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] iṄ (with ádhi-°) 'study' (I 37) and dhār-í = dhṛ̥+ṆíC (I 948) 'hold' to denote that the agent is free from difficulty (á-kṛ̥cchriṇ-i).

1. *adhīy-án vyākáraṇam* (= *adhi+iṄ+ŚátṚ̥+sU* = *adhīy-án* 7.1.70) 'studying grammar without difficulty', but *kṛ̥cchr-éṇa adhī-té* 'studies with difficulty'.
2. *dhār-áy-an=upaniṣad-am* (= *dhār-í+ŚátṚ̥* = *dhār-áy-at+sU* = *dhār-áy-an*) 'easily quoting or remembering the Upaniṣad'; but *kṛ̥cchr-éṇa dhār-áy-a-ti* 'remembers with difficulty'.

3.2.131 dviṣ-aḥ=a-mítr-e

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ 130 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3) to denote an enemy (a-mítr-e).

dviṣ+ŚátṚ̥ = *dviṣ-∅[1]+át-* 'unfriendly, inimical', but *dvéṣ-ṭi bhāryā̀ pátim* 'the wife dislikes the husband'.

3.2.132 suÑ-aḥ=yajña-saṁ-yog-é

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ 130 is introduced after 1 the verbal stem 1.91] suÑ- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) when expressing a participation in a sacrifice (yajña-saṁ-yog-é).

sárv-e sunv-ántaḥ (= su+Śnú+ŚátṚ̥+Jas = sunv-ánt-aḥ) 'all are participating in the sacrifice', but *su-nó-ti súrām* 'distils liquor'.

3.2.133 árh-aḥ pūjā́-yām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátṚ̥ 130 is introduced after the verbal stem 1.91] árh- 'merit' (I 776) to denote eulogy (pūjā́-yām).

arh+ŚátṚ̥ = *árh+ŚaP+át+sU* = *árh-ant=sU* = *árh-anØØ* (6.1.97; 8.2.23) in *árh-an=íha bhávān pūjā́m* 'you are worthy of honor here'.

3.2.134 ā́-kve-ḥ [1]tác-chīla-[2]tád-dharma-[3]tát-sādhu-kārí-ṣu

Up to and including sūtra 177 below [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 introduced here after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] are meant to express that the agent performs the action as (a) a part of his habitual disposition (tác-chīla-) or (b) as his duty (tád-dharma) or efficiently (tat-sādhu-kāríṣu).

This is a governing or [adhikārá] sūtra and these three meaning conditions will recur in each of the succeeding rules up to and including 177 below.

3.2.135 tṛ̥N

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] tṛ̥N is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the agents natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

kṛ̥+tṛ̥N = *kár-tṛ̥-* 'doer, performer'; (a) natural or habitual disposition: *kár-tā kátam* 'who habitually makes a mat'; (b) duty: *múṇḍ-ay-i-tār-aḥ śrā́viṣṭhāyanāḥ=bháv-anti vadhū́m ūḍhā́m* 'Śrā́viṣṭhāyanas shave the head of their married daughter-in-law'; (c) efficient performance: *kár-tā kátam* 'excellent maker of mat(s)'.

3.2.136 [1]álaṁ-kṛ̥Ñ-[2]nir-ā́-kṛ̥Ñ-[3]prá-jana=[4]út-pacA=[5]út-pata=[6]ún-mada-[7]rúci-[8]ápa-trapa-[9]vṛ̥́tU-[10]vṛ̥́dhU-[11]sáhA-[12]cárÁ iṣṇúC

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] iṣṇúC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] álaṁ+kṛ̥- 'adorn' (VIII 10), nir-ā́-kṛ̥- 'reject', prá+jan- 'be born' (IV 41), út+pac- 'ripen' (I 1045), út+pat- 'fly up' (I 898), ún+mad- 'be mad' (IV 99), rúc- 'shine' (I 781), ápa+trap- 'be ashamed' (I 399), vṛ̥́t- 'turn; abide' (I 795), vṛ̥́dh- 'increase' (I 796). sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) and cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

alaṁ+kṛ̥+iṣṇúC = *alaṁ-kar-iṣṇú-* 'decorating or adorning' (in any of the three senses referred to in 134); similarly: *nir-ā-kar-iṣṇú-* 'repudiating'; *pra-jan-iṣṇú-*

'being born'; *ut-pac-iṣṇú-* 'ripening'; *ut-pat-iṣṇú-* 'flying up'; *un-mad-iṣṇú-* 'intoxicating'; *roc-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'; *apa-trap-iṣṇú-* 'becoming bashful'; *vart-iṣṇú-* 'abiding'; *vardh-iṣṇú-* 'growing, increasing'; *sah-iṣṇú-* 'tolerating'; *cari-iṣṇú-* 'moving, grazing, practising'.

3.2.137 Ṇé-ś chándas-i

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 iṣṇúC 136 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix 1.1] Ṇí(C) in the domain of Chándas [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

dr̥-ṣád-am dhār-ay-iṣṇáv-aḥ 'capable of or accustomed to carry or bear stones'.

3.2.138 bhúv-aś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 137 the kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 iṣṇúC 135 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́- 'become' (I 1) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

This is a prior exception to the following sūtra 139. The implication of the particle [ca] here is not for the purpose of recurrence of [Ṇí] from the preceding rule, but to extend the scope of this rule to other verbal stems not specifically mentioned. *bhav-iṣṇú-* 'becoming'; *bhrāj-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'.

3.2.139 [1]glā́-[2]jí-[3]sthaś ca Ksnú-ḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ksnú (= *Gsnú-) is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] glā́- (glaí- I 862) 'be weary', jí- 'win' (I 159) and sthā 'remain, stand' (I 975) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The affix [Ksnú] is by interpretation derived from the underlying form [*G-snú] in order to derive the correct surface form from [sthā]. The presence of [G] as an IT-marker is also posited by interpretation in the case of 1.1.5 [KṄ-IT = *G-K-N-IT]. *glaí+Ksnú = glā=snú-* (6.1.45) 'exhausted, weary, tired'; similarly: *ji-ṣṇú-* 'victorious'; *sthā+*G-snú- = sthāsnú-* 'disposed to remain firm'; since the marker here is *G and not K, the operation of 6.4.66 is blocked and there is no replacement of stem-vowel by [ī]. The implication of [ca] in this rule is for the recurrence of verbal stem [bhū́-] from the preceding rule: *bhū-ṣṇú-* 'becoming'.

3.2.140 [1]trási̱-[2]gr̥̄dhi̱-[3]dhŕ̥ṣi̱-[4]kṣip-e̱ḥ Knú-ḥ

[The kr̥̄t 1.93 affix 1.1] Knú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] trás- 'tremble' (IV 10), gr̥̄dh- 'be greedy' (IV 136), dhŕ̥ṣ- 'be bold' (V 22) and kṣip- 'throw, cast, toss' (IV 14, VI 15) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

tras+Knú = *tras-nú-* 'trembling'; *gr̥dh-nú-* 'greedy'; *dhr̥ṣ-nú-* 'bold, daring'; *kṣip-nú-* 'tossing, casting, throwing' [8.2.2 in-applicable, cf. 8.4.39].

3.2.141 śam-iti=aṣṭā-bhyáḥ GHínuṆ

[The kr̥̄t 1.93 affix 1.1] GHínuṆ is introduced [after 1.2] eight [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with śam- 'be calm' (IV 92=99) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The marker [GH] of the affix is for the operation of 7.3.52 (of velar replacement of palatal phonemes [c, j]) applicable to the subsequent sūtras and [Ṇ] for the purpose of 7.2.116. In the case of the seven verbal stems referred to here ending in °-m, 7.3.34 blocks the operation of 7.2.116.

śam+GHinuṆ = *śam-ín-* 'calm'; similarly *tam-ín-* 'subduing, taming'; *śram-ín-* 'laboring, exerting'; *bhram-ín-* 'wandering'; *klam-ín-* 'fatiguing'; *kṣam-ín-* 'forebearing'; *un=mād-ín-* 'maddening'.

3.2.142 [1]sáṁ-pr̥ca̱=[2]ánu-rudha̱=[3]ā́Ṅ-yamÁ=[4]ā́Ṅ-yasa-[5]pári-sr̥-[6]sáṁ-sr̥jÁ-[7]pári-devi̱-[8]sáṁ-jvarÁ=[9]pári-kṣipÁ-[10]pári-vadÁ-[11]pári-dahÁ-[12]pári-muhÁ-[13]duṣÁ-[14]dviṣÁ-[15]drúhÁ-[16]duhÁ-[17]yuja̱-[18]ā́-krīḍa̱-[19]ví-vica̱-[20]tyajÁ-[21]rájÀ-[22]bhajÀ=[23]áti-carÁ=[24]ápa-carÁ=[25]ā́-muṣÁ=[26]abhy-ā́-han-aś ca

[The kr̥̄t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínuṆ 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sám+pr̥c- 'connect, contact' (VII 25), ánu+rudh- 'surround' (VII 1), ā́+yam- 'stretch' (I 1033), ā́+yas- 'work hard' (IV 101), pári+sr̥- 'go round' (I 982), sáṁ+sr̥j- 'mix together' (VI 121), pári+dev- 'lament' (I 529), sáṁ+jvar- 'be in great fever or heat' (I 813), pári+kṣip- 'cast all around' (VI 5), pári+raṭ- 'scream' (I 319), pári+vad- 'shout' (I 1058), pári+dah- 'consume' (I 1040), pári+muḥ- 'be bewildered' (IV 89), duṣ- 'err' (IV 76), dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3), drúh- 'be hostile' (IV 85), duh- 'milk' (II 4), yuj- 'join' (VII 5), 'concentrate' (IV 68), ā́-krīḍ- 'sport' (I 373), ví+vic- 'separate' (VII 5), tyaj- 'abandon' (I 1035), ráj (= ránj- I 865) 'desire', bhaj- 'share' (I 1047), áti+car- 'overtake' and ápa+car- 'depart', ā́+muṣ- 'steal' (I 707) and abhi+ā́+han- 'wound'(II 2) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

sam+pr̥c+GHínuN = *sam-park-ín-* (7.3.52,86) 'mixing, blending'; similarly: *anu-rodh-ín-* 'obliging, compliant'; *ā-yām-ín-* 'stretching'; *ā-yās-ín-* 'exhausted by work'; *pari-sār-ín-* 'wandering about'; *saṁ-sarg-ín-* 'mixing together'; *pari-dev-ín-* 'bewailing'; *saṁ-jvār-ín-* 'feeling the heat of fever'; *pari-kṣep-ín-* 'scatterer'; *pari-rāṭ-ín-* 'screaming'; *pari-vād-ín-* 'blaming'; *pari-dāh-ín-* 'burning hot'; *pari-moh-ín-* 'perplexed'; *doṣ-ín-* 'guilty of an offence'; *dveṣ-ín-* 'hating'; *droh-ín-* 'hurting'; *doh-ín-* 'milking'; *yog-ín-* 'uniting'; *ā-krīḍ-ín-* 'sporting'; *vi-vek-ín-* 'discriminating'; *tyāg-ín-* 'renouncing'; *rāg-ín-* 'hankering after'; *bhāg-ín-* 'sharer'; *ati-cār-ín-* 'wrong-doer, transgressor'; *apa-cār-ín-* 'wrong-doer'; *ā-moṣ-ín-* 'thief, robber'; *abhy-ā-ghāt-ín-* 'attacker, attacking' (7.3.32,54).

3.2.143 v-aú [1]káṣÁ-[2]lásÁ-[3]kátthA-[4]srámbh-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínuṆ 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] káṣ- 'injure' (I 716), lás- 'embrace, sport' (I 745), kátth- 'praise' (I 37) and srámbh- 'trust, believe in' (I 794), co-occurring with the preverb ví-° [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vi-kāṣ-ín- 'injuring'; *vi-lās-ín-* 'sportful'; *vi-katth-ín-* 'boasting'; *vi-srambh-ín-* 'confiding'.

3.2.144 áp-e ca láṣ-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínuṆ 142 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] láṣ- 'desire' (I 937), co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° and (ca) [ví-° 143, to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

apa-lāṣ-ín- 'free from desire'; *vi-lāṣ-ín-* 'desirous'.

3.2.145 pr-é [1]lápÁ-[2]sr̥-[3]dru-[4]mátha-[5]vádÁ-[6]vas-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínuṆ 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] láp- 'prattle' (I 429), sr̥- 'flow' (I 982, III 17), dru- 'run' (I 992), máth- 'churn, agitate' (I 901), vad- 'speak' (I 1058), and vas- 'reside, dwell, abide' (I 1054), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to denote the agent's natural disposition,duty or excellence 134].

pra-lāp-ín- 'prattler'; *pra-sār-ín-* 'flowing or moving around'; *pra-drāv-ín-* 'running away'; *pra-māth-ín-* 'churner, agitator'; *pra-vād-ín-* 'reporter' and *pra=vās-ín-* 'traveller'.

3.2.146 [1]nínda-[2]hiṁsa-[3]kliśA-khā́da-[4]ví-nāśa-[5]pári-kliśÁ-[6]pári-raṭÁ-[7]pári-vād-í-[8]vyā́-bhāṣA=[9]asūy-aḥ vuÑ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nínd- 'blame' (I 66), hiṁs- 'hurt, injure' (VII 19), kliś 'torment' (IV 52a), khā́d- 'eat' (I 50), ví+nāś- (= naś+ṆíC IV 85) 'destroy', pári+kṣip- 'scatter' (VI 5), pári+raṭ- 'scream' (I 319), pári+vād-i (= vad+ṆíC I 1058) 'accuse, blame' and vy-ā́-bhāṣ- 'declare' (I 643) and asūy- (kaṇḍv-ādi) 'envy' [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

nind+vuÑ = *nínd-aka-* (7.1.1; 6.1.117) 'who blames or censures'; similarly: *híṁs-aka-* 'who injures'; *kléś-aka-* 'tormentor'; *khā́d-aka-* 'eater'; *vi-nā́ś-aka-* 'destroyer'; *pari-kṣép-aka-* 'scatterer'; *pari-rā́ṭ-aka-* 'screamer, clamorer'; *pari-vā́d-aka-* 'accuser, censurer'; *vy-ā-bhā́ṣ-aka-* 'announcer, declarer'; and *ásūy-aka-* 'envier'.

3.2.147 [1]dev-í-[2]kruś-os=ca=upasargé

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 vuÑ 145] is also (ca) [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dev-i (= dév- I 529+ṆíC) 'lament' and kruś- 'cry' (I 909) when co-occurring with preverbs (upasarg-é) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

ā́-dev-í+vuÑ = *ā-dév-∅+aka-* (6.4.51) = *ā-dév-aka-* 'sporting, playful'; *pari-dév-aka-* 'who laments, wailer'. Here two sets of verbal stems appear to be involved: [div- IV 1, X 166, and X 185 with I 529 as indicated above].

ā-krós-aka- 'reviler', *pari-krós-aka-* 'who laments, wailer'.

3.2.148 [1]cálana-[2]śábda=arth-āt=á-karmak-āt=yuC

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.93] signifying movement (cálana-°) or sound (°-śábda=arthāt) and are intransitive (á-karmak-āt) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. cálana=arthe: *cal+yuC* = *cal-aná-* (7.1.1) 'moving'; similarly *gam-aná-* 'going'.
2. śábda=arthe: *śabd-aná-* 'sounding'; *rav-aṇá-* 'crying'.

3.2.149 ánudātta=IT-as=ca ha̲L-āde-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 an intransitive 148 verbal stem 1.91] beginning with a consonant (ha̲L-āde-ḥ) and having a low pitch as an IT marker (án-udātta-IT-aḥ) (when first introduced in the Dhp.) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vṛ̥́tU (I 795)+*yuC* = *vart-aná-* 'abiding'; similarly *vṛ̥́dhU* (I 796)+*yuC* = *vardh-aná-* 'increasing, growing'; but *bhū́+iṬ+tṛ̥N* =*bháv-i-tṛ̥-* 'becoming'.

3.2.150 [1]ju-[2]caṅ-kram-yá-[3]dan-dram-yá-[4]sṛ̥-[5]gṛ̥dhi̲-[6]jválÁ-[7]śúcÁ-[8]láṣA-[9]páta̲-[10]pad-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ju- 'go', caṅ-kram-yá- 'walk constantly', dan-dram-yá- 'roam about constantly', sṛ̥- 'flow' (I 982), gṛ̥dh- 'envy' (IV 136), jvál- 'burn' (I 842), śúc- 'lament' (I 198), láṣ- 'desire' (I 937), pát- 'fly, fall down' (I 898) and pad- 'tread, walk' (IV 60) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Verbal stems having the sense of 'movement' and [pad-], covered by the preceding rule, are included here when they function as transitive verbs. The verbal stems [caṅ-kram-yá-] and [dan-dram-yá-] are derived intensive or frequentative stems from [kram-] 'walk, tread' (I 502) and [dram-] 'roam' (I 494).

ju+yuC = *jav-aná-* 'fleet, swift'; and similarly: *caṅ-kram-yØ+yuC* (6.4.48) = *caṅ-kram-ØØ-aṇá-* (6.4.49; 8.4.2) 'moving about constantly' and *dan-dram-ØØ-aṇá-* 'wandering about frequently'; *sar-aṇá-* 'flowing', *gardh-aná-* 'envying, greedy'; *jval-aṇá-* 'burning, fire'; *śoc-aná-* 'lamenting'; *laṣ-aṇá-* 'yearning'; *pat-aná-* 'flying, falling'; *pad-aná-* 'moving, treading'.

3.2.151 [1]krudhÁ-[2]maṇḍá=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] signifying 'be angry' [krudhÁ-(arthe-bhyaḥ IV 80)] and 'adorn' [maṇḍ-(ārthe-bhyaḥ I 344)] [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

krudh+YuC = *krodh-aná-* 'wrathful', *roṣ-aṇá-*, *kop-aná-* 'irate'; similarly: *maṇḍ-aná-*, *bhūṣ-aṇá-* 'adorning'.

3.2.152 ná y-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148] is not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme °-y- [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

knūy+iṬ+tṛ̥N = *knū́y-i-tṛ̥-* 'stinking'.

3.2.153 [1]sū́dA-[2]dī́pa̱-[3]dī́kṣ-as=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is not introduced 152 after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sū́d- 'fight, slay' (I 25), dī́p- 'shine, be bright' (IV 42) and dī́kṣ- 'initiate' (I 640) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Exception to 149 above. *sū́d-i-tṛ̥-* 'fighter, combatant'; *dī́p-i-tṛ̥-* 'illuminator'; *dī́kṣ-itṛ̥-* 'initiator'. The general affix [tṛ̥N 135] above is introduced in the place of yuC in 152-3.

3.2.154 [1]láṣA-[2]páta̱-[3]padA-[4]sthā-[5]bhū́-[6]vṛ̥́ṣa̱-[7]hanÁ-[8]káma̱-[9]gama̱-[10]śṝ-bhyaḥ=ukaÑ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ukaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] láṣ- 'desire' (I 937), pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898), pad- 'walk, tread' (IV 60), sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), bhū́- 'become' (I 1), vṛ̥́ṣ- 'rain' (I 738), han- 'strike, kill' (II 2), kám- 'love' (I 470), gam- 'go' (I 1031), śṝ- 'destroy' (IX 18) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

apa+laṣ+ukaÑ = *apa-lā́ṣ-uka-* 'undesirable'; similarly: *pra-pā́t-uka-* 'falling down, miscarrying'; *upa-pā́d-uka-* 'coming into existence or being'; *upa-sthā́-y-uka-* (7.3.33) 'nearing, approaching'; *pra-bhā́v-uka-* 'powerful, mighty'; *pra-várṣ-uka-* 'precipitating, raining'; *ā+han+ukaÑ* = *āghā́n-ukaÑ* (8.3.54) = *āghā́t-uka-* (7.3.32) 'killing, fatal'; *kā́m-uka-* 'lustful, desirous'; *ā-gā́m-uka-* 'arriving'; *kiṁ-śā́r-uka-* 'destroying everything'.

3.2.155 [1]jálpÁ-[2]bhíkṣA-[3]kuṭṭÁ-[4]luṇṭÁ-[5]vṛ̥Ṅ-bhyḥ=ṢākaN

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṢākaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] jálp- 'prattle, murmur' (I 425), bhíkṣ- 'beg, seek alms' (I 637), kuṭṭ- 'to crush, abuse' (X 23), luṇṭ- 'rob, plunder' (X 27), and vṛ̥Ṅ- 'choose' (IX 38) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jálp+ṢākaN = jálp-āka- 'prattler', *bhíkṣ-āka-* 'seeking alms', *kúṭṭ-āka-* 'crusher, abuser'; *lúṇṭ-āka-* 'robber, plunderer', *vár-āka-* 'choosing'. The marker [Ṣ] of affix is to indicate that the feminine derivative has ṄīṢ (4.1.41).

3.2.156 prá-jo-r íni̱-ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] íni̱ is introduced [after the verbal stem 1.91] prá+ju- 'hasten' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

pra+ju+ín- = pra-jav-ín- 'rapid, swift, hastening'.

3.2.157 [1]jí-[2]dr̥-[3]kṣí-[4]ví-śri=[5]iṆ-[6]vámÁ=[7]á-vyathA=[8]abhý-amA-[9]pári-bhū-[10]prá-sū-bhyas=ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 íni̱ 156 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] jí- 'win' (I 59), dr̥- 'honor' (VI 18), kṣí- 'waste away' (I 255), 'reside, move' (VI 114), ví+śri- 'depend on, rely' (I 945), iṆ- 'go' (II 36), vam- 'vomit, throw out' (I 902), náÑ+vyath- 'not tremble' (I 801), abhí+am- 'attack, hurt' (I 493), pári+bhū- 'despise' (I 1) and prá+sū́- 'urge, incite, impel' (VI 115) also (ca) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jí+ín = jay-ín- 'victorious, winning'; similarly: *dar-ín-* 'honoring'; *kṣay-ín-* 'wasting away'; *vi-śray-ín-* 'depending on, relying upon'; *aty-ay-ín-* 'exceeding'; *vam-ín-* vomiting, throwing out'; *a-vyath-ín-* 'not hurting'; *abhy-am-ín-* 'attacking'; *pari-bhav-ín-* 'despising'; *pra-sav-ín-* 'urging, inciting, impelling'.

3.2.158 [1]spr̥h-í-[2]gr̥h-í-[3]pat-í-[4]dáyi̱-[5]ní-drā-[6]tándrā-[7]śrád-dhā-bhyaḥ=ālúC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ālúC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] spr̥h-í- 'desire' (X 325), gr̥h-í- 'grasp, seize' (X 351), pat-í- 'go' (X 315), dáy- 'give' (I 510), ní-drā- 'fall asleep' (II 45), tándrā- 'be tired' (II 45), śrád-dhā- 'have faith, believe in' (III 10) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

spr̥h-i+ālú- = spr̥h-ay-ālú (6.4.55) 'desirous'; similarly: *gr̥h-ay-ālú-* 'disposed to grasp'; *pat-ay-ālú-* 'apt to fly or fall'; *day-ālú-* 'kind, compassionate'; *ni-dr-ālú-* 'disposed towards sleep, sleepy'; *tan-drØ-ālú-* 'tired, lazy, weary'; *śrad-dhØ-ālú-* 'disposed towards faith, trusting'.

3.2.159 [1]dā-[2]dheṬ-[3]si-[4]śada̱-sad-aḥ=rú̥ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] rú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dā 'give' (III 9), dheṬ- 'drink' (I 951), si- 'blind' (V 2), śad- 'fall' (I 908, VI 134) and sad- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

dā+rú- = *dā-rú* 'liberal, bounteous'; *dhe+rú-* = *dhā-rú* (6.1.45) = 'suckling (baby)'; *se-rú-* 'binding'; *śad-rú-* 'unstable, liable to fall down'; *sad-rú-* 'stable, resting'.

3.2.160 [1]sr̥-[2]ghási̱=[3]ad-aḥ KmaráC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KmaráC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sr̥- 'flow' (I 982, III 17), ghás- 'eat' (I 747) and ad- 'eat' (II 1) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

sr̥+KmaráC = *sr̥-mará-* 'running well, a kind of gazelle'; *ghas-mará-, ad-mará-* 'voracious, gluttonous'.

3.2.161 [1]bhanja̱-[2]bhā̃sa̱-[3]míd-aḥ=GHuráC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] GHuráC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhanj- 'break' (VII 16), bhā̃s- 'shine' (I 655) and míd- 'be fat' (I 920) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

bhañj+GHuráC = *bhaṅg-urá-* (7.3.52) 'fragile'; *bhās-urá-* 'luminous, shining'; *med-urá-* 'fat, thick'.

3.2.162 [1]vídi̱-[2]bhidi̱-[3]cchide̱-ḥ KuráC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KuráC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] víd- 'know' (II 55), bhid- 'split' (VII 2) and chid- 'cut' (VII 3) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, dury or excellence 134].

vid+KuráC = *vid-urá-* 'learned, knowledgeable'; *bhid-urá-* 'fragile, brittle'; *chid-urá-* 'easily breaking'.

3.2.163 [1]iṆ-[2]naś-[3]jí-[4]sar-ti-bhyaḥ KvaraP

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KvaraP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] iṆ- 'go' (II 36), naś- 'disapear' (IV 85), jí- 'win' (I 59), and sr̥- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

iN+KvaraP = *í-tuK+vara-* = *í-t-vara-* (6.1.71) 'traveler'; *náś-vara-* 'perishable, transitory'; *jí-t-vara-* 'victorious'; *sŕ̥-t-vara-* 'swift, running'.

3.2.164 gá-t-vara-s=ca

(The irregular form) gá-t-vara- is introduced [as derived with kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvaraP 163 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 gam- (I 1031) to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

gam+KvaraP = *ga∅+KvaraP* (irregular ∅ replacement) = *gá-t-vara-* 'transient, perishable'.

3.2.165 jāgu-r ū́ka-ḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ū́ka is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stem 1.91] jāgr̥- 'wake up' (II 63) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

jāgr̥+ū́ka = *jāgar-ū́ka-* 'wakeful, alert'.

3.2.166 ¹yajÀ-²jápÁ-³daś-ām yaṄ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ū́ka 165 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051), jap- 'mutter' (I 424) and daś- (= danś- I 1038) 'bite', co-occurring with the derivative affix yáṄ (of the frequentative stem) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yaj+yaṄ+ū́ka- = *yā-yaj+ya+ū́ka-* = *yāyaj-∅∅+ū́ka-* (2.4.74) = *yā-yaj-ū́ka-* 'constantly sacrificing'; similarly: *jañ-jap-ū́ka-* (7.4.86; 2.4.72) 'constantly muttering'; *dan-daś-ū́ka-* 'biting repeatedly'.

3.2.167 ¹nami-²kámpi-³smi=⁴á-jasa-⁵káma-⁶hiṁsa-⁷dī́p-aḥ=ra-ḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] rá- is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stems 1.91] nam- 'bend, bow down' (I 1030) kámp- 'tremble' (I 400), smi- 'smile' (I 996), á+jas- 'not be exhausted' (IV 102), kám- 'love' (I 470), hiṁs- 'injure, hurt' (VII 19) and dīp- 'shine' (IV 42) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

nam+rá = *nam-rá-* 'tender, easily bending'; *kamp-rá-* 'tremulous'; *sme-rá-*

'smiling'; *a-jas-rá-* 'inexhaustible'; *kam-rá-* 'loving' ; *hiṁs-rá-* 'predatory'; *dīp-rá-* 'shining, luminous'.

3.2.168 ¹saN=²ā́-śaṁsa-³bhíkṣ-aḥ=ú-ḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] ú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] (ending in 1.1.72) the stem-forming affix saN (= marker of the desiderative) and ā́+śaṁs- 'hope' (I 660) and bhíkṣ- 'seek alms, beg' (I 637) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

kṛ+saN+ú = *ci-kīr-ṣa+ú* (cf. 1.7) = *ci-kīr-sØ+ú-* (6.4.48) = *ci-kīr-ṣ-ú-* 'wishing to do'; similarly: *ā-śaṁs-ú-* 'hoping, wishing, desiring'; *bhikṣ-ú-* 'almsman, medicant, monk'.

3.2.169 vind-ú-r icch-ú-ḥ

(The irregular forms) vind-ú- 'intelligent' and icch-ú- 'who desires or wishes' are introduced [as derived with the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ú 168 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem vid- 'know' (II 5) and iṣ- 'wish, desire' (VI 59) to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vid+u- = *vid+nuM+ú-* (irregular increment) = *vind-ú-* 'intelligent, disposed to know'; *iṣ+u-* = *ich+ú* (irregular replacement of stem-final by [ch] before a non-Ś-IT affix, cf. 7.3.77) = *icch-ú-* (6.1.73).

3.2.170 Kyā́t=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ú 168 is introduced after 1.2 a (denominative) verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affixes 1.1 denoted by the cover term] Kyá (= KyáC, KyáṄ and KyáṢ 1.8,11,13 respectively) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. KyáC: *mitr-ám ātmán-aḥ=icch-á-ti* = *mitra+KyáC* (1.8)*+ú-* = *mitra-ya+ú-* = *mitra-yØ-ú-* = *mitra-y-ú-* 'friendly', corresponding to non-Vedic *mitrī-ya+iT+tṛN* (135) = *mítrī-yØ+i-tṛ-*.
2. *sumná iva ā́-car-a-ti* = *sumna+KyaṄ+ú-* = *sumna+yØ+ú-* = *sumna-y-ú-* 'gracious, benevolent'.
3. *saṁ-svedó bháv-a-ti* = *saṁ+sved+KyaṢ+ú-* = *saṁ-sved+yØ+ú-* = *saṁsveda-y-ú-* (7.4.35) 'perspiring'.

3.2.171 ¹āt̲=²r̥-³gama̲-hanÀ-⁴ján-aḥ ¹Kí-²Kin-au=lIṬ ca

[In the domain of Chándas 170 the kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.2] Kí and KiN are introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes] long [ā] and phoneme-class [r̥] as well as gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) and jan- 'be born' (IV 41) and these affixes function like lIṬ 'Perfect Tense' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Interpretation indicates that the phoneme [t̲] of [āt̲] is not a marker which by 1.1.70 would have constrained the following phoneme [r̥] to the short variety only; Patañjali even suggests that its replacement [d] in saṁdhi served the purpose of separating the two vowels and is used for ease of pronunciation only. When saṁdhi is separated the alternative reading would be [ād̲-r̥-] in the place of [āt̲-r̥-].

1. °-ā: *pā+Kí = pa-pā+Kí* (6.1.8; 7.4.59) = *pa-p∅+í* (6.4.64) *pa-p-í-ḥ sóm-am dad-ír gā́-ḥ* 'imbiber of Soma and donor of cattle' (RV 6.23.4).
2. °-r̥ (phomeme class): *tr̥̄+KiN = tá-tr̥̄+i- = tá-tur-i-* (7.4.78 *bahulam chandas-i*) 'conquering, going over'.
3. *gam+KiN = já-gam+KiN = ja-g∅m+i-* (6.4.98) = *ja-gm-í-* 'going'.
4. *han+KiN = já-han+KiN = ja-h∅n+KiN = já-ghn-i-* (7.3.54; 4.62) in *já-ghn-ir vr̥tr-ám* 'destroyer of V.' (RV 9.61.20).
5. *jan+KiN = já-jan+KiN = já-j∅n+KiN = já-jn-i bī́jam* 'germinating seed'.

3.2.172 ¹svapi̲-²tr̥ṣ-oḥ=náji̲Ṅ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] náji̲Ṅ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) and tr̥ṣ- 'be thirsty' (IV 118) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

svap+náji̲Ṅ = svap-náj- 'sleepy'; *tr̥ṣ-ṇaj-* (8.4.1) 'thirsty'.

3.2.173 ¹śr̥̄-²vándy-or ā́ru-ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] āru is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śr̥̄- 'injure, hurt' (IX 18) and vánd- 'salute' (I 11) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

śr̥̄+āru- = śar-āru- 'injurious'; *vand-āru-* 'saluting'.

3.2.174 bhiy-aḥ [1]Krú-[1]KlukaN-au

[The kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] Krú and KlukaN are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhī- 'fear' (III 2) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

bhī+Krú/KlukaN = bhī-rú-/bhī́-luka- 'timid, timorous'.
A vārttika introduces in addition the affix KrukaN: *bhī́-ruka-*.

3.2.175 [1]sthā-[2]ī́śA-[3]bhā́sA-[4]písa̱-[5]kás-aḥ=varáC

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] varáC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91]sthā- 'stand, remain' (I 975), ī́ś- 'rule' (II 10), bhā́s- 'shine' (I 655), pís- 'go' (I 751) and kás- 'go' (I 913) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

sthā+varáC = sthā-vará- 'stationary, immovable'; similarly: *ī́ś-vará-* 'ruler, lord, master'; *bhās-vará-* 'luminous, shining'; *pes-vará-, kas-vará-* 'moving'.

3.2.176 y-as=ca yaṄ-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 varáC 175 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yā- 'go' (II 40) (ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix) yaṄ (marker of the Intensive or Frequentative 1.22) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yā+yaṄ+varáC = yā+yā-vará- 'vagrant, rambling'.

3.2.177 [1]bhrā́ja̱-[2]bhā́sa̱-[3]dhúrvi̱-[4]dyútA=[5]ūrjí-[6]pr̥̄-[7]ju-[8]grāva-stuv-aḥ Kvi̱P

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kvi̱P is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhrā́j- 'shine' (I 194), bhā́s- 'shine' (I 650), dhúrv- 'injure' (I 604), dyút- 'shine' (I 777), ūrj- 'be strong' (X 16), pr̥̄ 'fill up' (IX 19), ju- 'move rapidly', grāva+stu- 'praise the Soma stones' [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

vi-bhrā́j+Kvi̱P = vi-bhrā́j+∅ 'splendid, luminous'; *bhā́s-* 'luster, brightness'; *dhurv+Kvi̱P = dhúr∅+∅* (6.4.21) = *dhúr-* 'yoke, pole or shaft of a wagon'; *vi-dyút-* 'shining, lightning'; *ū́rj-* 'strength, vigor'; *pr̥̄+Kvi̱P = pur+∅ = púr-* 'fortified city'; *ju+Kvi̱P = jū́-* (irregular replacement by long vowel, contra 6.1.71) 'swift'; *grāva-stú-t+∅* 'pressing the Soma stones'.

3.2.178 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 177] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) as [introduced after 1.2] other (anyé-bhyaḥ) [verbal stems 1.91 to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

> *yúj+KviP* = *yúj+∅* 'joining'; similarly *chíd-* 'cutting', *bhíd-* 'breaking'. The expression [dṛś-yá-te 'seen'] is interpreted as indicating the application of other rules such as replacement of short vowels by long ones as in the case of *jū́* (177) or reduplication as in *di-dyút-* 'shining, glittering', *já-gat-* 'moving', or samprasāraṇa replacement (= vocalization) as in *di-dyút-* or absence of vocalization as in *vac+KviP* = *vā́k-* 'speech, speaking'.

3.2.179 bhúv-aḥ [1]saṁjñā=[2]ántaray-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 177 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́ 'become' (I 1) to form a name or for denoting a surety (ántara).

> *vi+bhū́+KviP* = *vi-bhū́-* 'n.pr. of a person'; *prati-bhū́-* 'surety'.

3.2.180 [1]ví-[2]prá-[3]sám-bhyaḥ=Ḍú=á-saṁjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ḍú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bhū́- 179] co-occurring with the preverbs ví-°, prá-°, sám-° when not denoting a name (á-saṁjñā-yām).

> *vi+bhū́+Ḍú* = *vi-bh∅+ú-* (6.4.143) = *vi-bh-ú-* 'omnipresent'; similarly: *pra-bh-ú-* 'master, lord'; *sam-bh-ú-* 'sire, progenitor'; but *vi-bhū́* 'n.pr.' (179).

3.2.181 dh-aḥ kárman-i ṢṭraN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ṢṭraN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dhā- (= dheṬ I 951) 'drink' and dhā- 'nourish' (III 10) to denote the object (kárman-i) of the verbal stem.

> *dháy-anti/dá-dh-ati tā́m* = *dheṬ+ṢṭraN* = *dhā+ṢṭraN+ṄīṢ* (4.1.41) *dhā-trī́* 'wet nurse'; *dhā+ṢṭraN+ṄīṢ* = *dhā-trī́* = *dá-dh-ati tā́m bhaiṣajyā́rthám* 'they bear it for the purpose of medication: n.pr. Emblica Officinalis'.

3.2.182 [1]dāP-[2]nī-[3]śása-[4]yu-[5]yuja̲-[6]stu-[7]tudÁ-[8]si-[9]sicA-[10]mihÁ-[11]páta̲-[12]daśÁ-[13]nah-aḥ káraṇe

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢṭraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dāP- 'cut' (II 50), nī- 'lead' (I 950), śás- 'injure' (I 763), yu- 'mix' (II 23), yuj- 'join' (VII 7), stu- 'praise' (II 34), tud- 'torment' (VI 1), si- 'bind' (V 2), sic- 'sprinkle' (VI 140), mih- 'urinate' (I 1041), pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898), daś- (= danś- I 1038) 'bite', and nah- 'bind' (VI 57) to denote an instrument (karaṇe).

dāP+ṢṭraN = *dā́-tra-* 'sickle'; similarly: *nē=trá-* 'eye'; *śás-a-ti an-éna* = *śás-tra-* 'weapon'; *yó-tra-* 'the tie which fastens the yoke'; *yók-tra-* 'thong, halter'; *stó-tra-* 'song of praise, eulogy'; *tót-tra-* 'goad'; *sé-tra-* 'bond, fetter, ligament'; *sék-tra-* 'sprinkler'; *méh-a-ti an-éna* = *mih+ṢṭraN* = *méh+tra-* = *méḍh+dhra-* (8.2.31,40; 4.41) = *meØ-ḍhra-* (8.3.13 contra 8.2.1) 'penis'; *pát-tra-* 'pinion, feather; vehicle'; *dáṁś+ṢṭraN+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *dáṁṣ-ṭrā* (8.2.36; 4.1) 'tooth, tusk'. *náh+ṢṭraN* = *nádh+tra-* (8.2.34) = *nádh-dhra-* (8.2.40)+*ṄīṢ* = *nad-dhrī́* (8.4.53) 'a thong'.

3.2.183 [1]halá-[2]sūkaráy-oḥ puv-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢṭraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] when it forms a limb of a plough (halá-°) or of a boar (°-sūkará).

páv-a-te/pu-nā́-ti vā anéna = *pó-tra-* 'ploughshare/snout of a boar'.

3.2.184 [1]ár-ti-[2]lū́-[3]dhū-[4]sū-[5]khána̲-[6]śahA-[7]cár-aḥ=ítra-ḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ítra is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] r̥- 'go' (III 16), lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13), dhū- 'shake' (IV 115), sū- 'urge, incite, impel' (VI 115), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) and cár- 'move; graze' (I 591) [to denote an instrument 182].

íyar-ti anéna = *r̥+ítra-* = *ar-itra-* 'oar'; similarly *lav-ítra-* 'sickle'; *dhav-ítra-* 'fan'; *sav-ítra-* 'an instrument (of production)'; *khan-ítra-* 'spade'; *sah-ítra-* 'endurance'; *car-ítra-* 'behavior, conduct'.

3.2.185 puv-aḥ saṁjñā́-yām

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ítra 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] to derive a name (saṁjñā́-yām).

páv-a-te/pu-nā́-ti an-éna = *pū+ítra-* = *pav-ítra-* 'instrument for purification (such as kuśa grass or darbha-grass)'.

3.2.186 kartár-i ca=[1]ŕ̥ṣi-[2]devatáy-oḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ítra 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pū- 185 to denote the instrument 182] as well as (ca) the agent (kartár-i) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) a seer (ŕ̥ṣi-°) and a divinity (°-devátay-oḥ).

pū-yá-te an-éna = *pav-ítra-ḥ* = *ŕ̥ṣi-ḥ* 'the seer is an instrument of purification (i.e., purifier)'; *páv-a-te/pu-nā́-ti asaú* = *pav-ítram agní-ḥ, sá mā pu-nā-tu* 'May Agni, the purifier, purify me'.

3.2.187 ÑI=IT-aḥ Ktá-ḥ

[The kr̥̄t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] with IT marker ÑI [when the action refers to the present time 123].

ÑI-mid-Ā snéhan-e (I 779, IV 133)*+Ktá* = *min-ná-* (8.2.42) 'grows fat'.

3.2.188 [1]máti-[2]búddhi-[3]pūjā́=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktá 187 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] signifying wish (máti-°), know (°-búddhi-°) and honor (°-pūjā́=artha-) also (ca) [when the action refers to the present time 123].

The two rules 187-8 are exceptions to 102 above where this affix functions when the action refers to the past time.

man+Ktá = *ma∅+tá-* (6.4.37): *rā́jñ-ām ma-táḥ* 'is desired by kings'. Similarly *rā́jñ-am bud-dhá-ḥ* 'is known to kings'; *rā́jñ-ām pūj-i-tá-ḥ* 'is honored by kings'. The genitive is used by virtue of 2.3.65.

3.3.1 úṆ=āday-aḥ=bahulám

[The class of kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] beginning with úṆ is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 when the action refers to the present time 2.123] variously (bahulám) [to form names 2.185].

The word [bahulám] here implies that (a) these affixes are introduced after some verbal bases other than those specified and (b) affixes not specified are inferred from actual usage.

This class of affixes is not taught by Pā́ṇini in the Aṣṭ. He makes a reference to this class again in 4.75 below. There are many recensions of Uṇādi-sūtras independent of Aṣṭ. but their relationship to P. is not established. Commentaries however quote some illustrations: *vāti=vā+úṆ* = *vā+yuK+ú-* (7.3.33) = *vā-y-ú* 'wind, breeze'; *kṛ+úṆ* = *kār-ú-* 'doer'.

3.3.2 bhūt-é=ápi dṛś-yánte

[The class of kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1 beginning with úṆ 1] are also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yánte) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] when the action refers to the general past (bhūt-é).

vṛt-tám idam = *vṛt+maniN* = *várt-man-* 'way'; *bhas-i-tám tad* = *bhás-man-* 'ashes' respectively indicating what was trodden and what was burnt, the results of which respectively stand for the notion of 'way/ashes'.

3.3.3 bhaviṣyát-i gami(n)=āday-aḥ

(The class of expressions) beginning with [gam-ín-] 'intends to go' are introduced when the action refers to the general future (bhavi-ṣyát-i).

By interpretation (through a vārttika) this is restricted to the general future excluding the current day: *śvó gam-ī́ grā́mam* 'he intends going to the village tomorrow'.

3.3.4 [1]yā́vat-[2]purā́-nipātáy-oḥ=lAṬ

(The l-substitutes of) lAṬ 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] while co-occurring with the particles yā́vat 'whenever' and purā́ 'soon, shortly'.

yā́vad bhuṅk-té 'whenever he eats' and *purā́ bhuṅk-té* 'will eat shortly'; but when [yā́vat] is not a particle: *yā́vad dā-syá-ti tā́vad bhok-ṣyá-te* 'he will eat as much as he will give'.

3.3.5 vibhāṣā [1]kadā́-[2]karhy-óḥ

[The l-substitutes of lAṬ (Present Tense) 4] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem when the action refers to the general future 3] when co-occurring wth [the particles 4] kadā́ 'when' and karhí 'id.'

kadā́/karhí + bhuṅk-té/bhok-ṣya-te 'when will he eat?'

3.3.6 kiṁ-vr̥tt-é lipsā́-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3, the l-substitutes of lAṬ 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when co-occurring wth declensional forms of kím- 'what, which, who' (and its derivatives: kiṁ-vr̥tt-e') to denote the agent's desire to gain possession (lipsā́-yām).

kám bhávanto bhoj-áy-anti? 'Whom will you desire to feed?' = *kám bhávanto bhoj-ay-i-tā́-raḥ/bhoj-ay-i-ṣyánti*

kataró bhikṣā́m dā-syá-ti / dá-dā-ti/dā-tā́ 'which one desires to give alms?'.

3.3.7 lip-sya-m-āna-siddh-áu ca

And (ca) [when the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of lAṬ 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote success (síddh-au) arising from the fulfilment of what is desired (lip-syá-m-āna- °).

yó bhaktám dá-dāti/dāsyá-ti/dātā́ sá svargám gácch-a-ti/gam-i-ṣyá-ti/gan-tā́ 'he who will donate food will go to heaven'. X exhorts Y, the donor, with the promise of heaven as a result of the donation.

3.3.8 lOṬ=artha-lakṣaṇ-é ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of lAṬ 4] are also (ca) introduced [optionally 5 after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if that action characterizes the meanings associated with lOṬ (Imperative Mood 162) (lOṬ-artha-lakṣaṇ-é).

upādhyāyáś céd ā́-gacch-a-ti/ā́-gam-i-ṣya-ti/ā́-gan-tā átha tvám vyākáraṇam ádhī-ṣva 'if the teacher comes learn grammar'. The subordinate clause is the characteristic of the Imperative Mood.

3.3.9 lIṄ ca=ū́rdhva-mauhūrtik-e

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] indicating its happening after a short interval (ū́rdhva-mauhūrtik-e) [l-substitutes of lAṬ 4] as well as of lIṄ (ca) (Optative Mood) are [optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, if that action characterises the meanings associated with lOṬ 8].

ūrdhvám muhūrtā́t / upári muhūrtá-sya upādhyāyáś céd á-gacch-et/ā́-gach-a-ti/ ā́-gam-i-ṣya-ti/ā́-gan-tā átha tvám vyākáraṇam ádhī-ṣva 'if the teacher arrives within a muhurta (i.e., shortly) then study gramnar'.

3.3.10 [1]tumuN=[2]ṆvuL-au kriyā́-yām kriyā́-arthā-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kr̥̄t 1.93 affixes 1.1] tumuN and ṆvuL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (another action) which is performed in order to perform this action (kriyā́-yām kriyā́rthā-yām).

bhuj+tumuN = bhók-tum vráj-a-ti 'goes to eat' = *bhuj+ṆvuL = bhój-ako-vráj-a-ti*

3.3.11 bhāva-vácanāś ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kr̥̄t 1.93 affixes 1.1] introduced in the section headed by [bhāvé 18 below] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another action performed in order to perform this action 10].

pac+GHañ (18) = *pāk-á-* (7.3.52; 6.1.159): *pākā́-ya vráj-a-ti* 'is going to cook'.

3.3.12 áṆ kármaṇ-i ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kr̥̄t 1.93 affix 1.1] áṆ also (ca) is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kárman-i) [and with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

kā́ṇḍam lu-nā́-ti = kāṇḍa+∅[1]+lū+aṆ = kāṇḍa-lāv-á+sU = kāṇḍa-lāv-ó vráj-a-ti 'is going to cut a branch'.

3.3.13 lṚṬ śéṣ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of] lṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] (śéṣ-e) and [when co-occurring with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

1. *kṛ+lṚṬ = kar-iṬ+syá+ti = kar-i-ṣyá-ti* (1.33; 7.2.35; 8.3.59) 'he will do/be doing'.
2. *kar-i-ṣyā́-mi=iti vráj-a-ti* 'he goes out to perform or make (something)'.

3.3.14 lṚṬ-aḥ SAT=vā

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. SAT (2.127 = ŚátṚ and ŚānáC) optionally (vā) replace (l-substitutes of) lṚṬ.

This is a regulated option [vyavasthita-vibhāṣā]; it is optional with the first sUP triplet but obligatory with other sUP triplets: *kar-i-ṣyá-n/kar-i-ṣyá-ti devadattá-ḥ* 'D. will be doing', but *kar-i-ṣy-ántam/kar-i-ṣyá-m-āṇam deva-dattám páśya* 'look at D. who is about to perform'.

3.3.15 án-adya-tan-e lUṬ

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] excluding the current day (án-adya-tan-e) (l-substitutes of) lUṬ (periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

śváḥ kṛ+lUṬ= śváḥ kar+tā́s+Ḍā́ (1.33; 2.4.85) = *kar-t00+ā́* (6.4.143) = *śvaḥ kar-t-ā́* 'will be doing tomorrow'.

3.3.16 [1]padA-[2]ruja-[3]viśÁ-[4]spṛś-aḥ=GHaÑ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affx 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pad- 'go' (IV 60), ruj- 'afflict' (VI 123), viś- 'enter' (VI 130) and spṛś- 'touch' (VI 128).

Beginning with this rule onwards all affixes introduced are valid for all the three times: present, past and future.

pad-yá-te an-éna = pad+GHaÑ = pād-á- (7.2.116; 6.1.159) 'foot'; *ruj-á-ti asaú= róg-a-* 'affliction, disease'; *viś-á-ti asaú = véś-a-* 'tenant'; *spṛś-á-i asau=spárś-a-* 'contagious disease', but in other senses affix áC (1.134) operates: *spṛś+áC = sparś-á-* 'touch'.

3.3.17 sr̥ sthir-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sr̥- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) to denote a stable agent (sthiré).

sr̥+GHaÑ = *sār-á-* in *candana-sār-á-* 'essence of sandal-wood'; but in other senses: *sr̥+tr̥C*= *sar-tŕ̥-* 'moving, flowing'; *°-ṆvuL* = *sā́r-aka-* ibid.; by a vārttika GHaÑ is introduced in the following derivations: *atī-sār-á-* 'dysentery', *vi-sār-á-* 'a species of fish'; *sār-á-* 'strength'.

3.3.18 bhāv-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive an action noun (bhāv-é = to denote an action).

pac+GHaÑ = *pāk-á-* (cf. 11 above) 'cooking'; *tyaj+GHaÑ* = *tyāg-á-* 'abandonment, renunciation'; *ranj+GhaÑ* = *raØj+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-á-* 'coloring, dying'.

3.3.19 á-kartar-i ca kā́rak-e saṁjñā́-yām

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive forms denoting a kā́raka other than the agent (á-kartar-i) when the derivative is a (proper) name (saṁjñā́-yām).

Note: 18 and 19 are governing rules [adhikārá-s] heading this section up to 113 below and will recur in all subsequent rules.

prá+as-yanti tám = *pra+as+GHaÑ* = *prās-á-* 'missile'; *pra+siv+GHaÑ* = *pra-sev-á-* 'a sack'; *ā́-har-anti tá-smāt=rasam* = *ā-hār-á-* 'nourishment, food'; but *miṣ-á-ti=asaú miṣ+áC (1.134)* = *meṣ-á-* 'ram'.

3.3.20 parimaṇa=ākhyā́-yām sárve-bhyaḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2] all [verbal stems 1.91] (sárve-bhyaḥ) to denote a measure of capacity (parimāṇa=ākhyā́-yām) [and derive an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

The word [sarvá-] in this rule is to block the affixes áC and aP instead of áC alone (cf. 56-57 below).

éka-s taṇḍula-ni-cāy-á-ḥ 'one heaped measure of rice' : = *ni+ci+GHaÑ*; exception to áC (56 below); *dv-aú śūrpa-niṣ-pāv-aú (= nis+pū+GhaÑ)* 'two winnowing basketfuls of winnowed grain', exception to aP (57 below).

Normally the meta-rule is that a prior exception blocks only the most contiguous general rule; here by employing the word [sarvá-] in the sū́tra this is modified to include the next general rule also.

3.3.21 iṄ-as=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iṄ- (II 37, with adhi-°) 'study' [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than that of the agent 19].

Prior exception to áC (56). *ádhī-te enám* = *adhi+i+GHaÑ* = *adhy- āy-á-* 'lesson'; similarly *up-é-t-ya asmā́t=adhī́-te* = *upa+ádhi+i+GHaÑ* = *upādhy-āy-á-* 'preceptor, teacher'.

3.3.22 upasarg-é ruv-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ru- 'howl, scream' (II 24), co-occurring with a preverb (upasarg-é) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Prior exception to aP (57). *sam+ru+GHaÑ* = *saṁ-rāv-á-* 'clamor'; so also *upa-rāv-á-*, but *ru+aP* = *ráv-a-* 'cry'.

3.3.23 sám-i [1]yu-[2]dru-[3]duv-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yu- 'mix' (II 23), dru- 'run' (I 992) and du- 'burn' (V 10) co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

sáṁ+yu+GHaÑ = *saṁ-yāv-á-* 'a kind of cake made of molasses and cumin'; similarly: *saṁ-drāv-á-* 'a place where people run together'; *saṁ-dāv-á-* 'conflagration'. Exceptions to aP (57); but *pra+yu+aP* = *pra-yav-á-* 'mingling, mixing'.

3.3.24 [1]śri-[2]ṇī-[3]bhū́v-aḥ=anyatará-syām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix GHaÑ 16] is optionally (anyatará-syām) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śri- 'resort to' (I 945), nī 'lead' (I 950) and bhū́- 'become' (I 1) [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

śri+GHaÑ = *śrāy-á-* 'shelter'; similarly *nāy-á-* 'guidance, leadership'; (both exceptions to áC 956), but *pra+śri+áC* = *pra-śray-á-* 'respect' and *pra-ṇay-a-* 'love, affection'.

bhū+GHaÑ = *bhāv-á-*'state, condition, becoming, activity', but *pra+bhū+aP* (57) = *pra-bhav-á-* 'origin, source'.

3.3.25 v-aú [1]kṣu-[2]sruv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] kṣu- 'sneeze' (II 27) and śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] when co-occurring with the preverb ví-°.

vi-kṣu+GHaÑ = *vi-kṣāv-á-* 'sneezing; cough' *vi-śrāv-á-* 'noise', but *kṣu+aP* (57) = *kṣáv-a-*, *śráv-a-*.

3.3.26 [1]áva=[2]úd-or niy-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] nī- 'lead' (I 950), co-occurring with preverbs áva-° or ud-° [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to áC (56). *áva+nī+GHaÑ* = *ava-nāy-á-* 'depression', and *un-nāy-á-* 'elevation. But *nī+áC* = *nay-á-* 'conduct'.

3.3.27 pr-é [1]drú-[2]stu-[3]sruv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drú- 'run' (I 91), stu- 'praise' (II 34) and sru- 'flow' (I 987), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exceptions to aP (57): *pra+dru+GHaÑ* = *pra-drāv-á-* 'flight'; *pra-stāv-á-* 'introductory eulogy or praise'; *pra-srāv-á-* 'urination'; but *dráv-a(P)/stáv-a-/sráv-a-* meaning 'fluid/praise/flow' respectively.

3.3.28 [1]nís=[2]abhy-óḥ [1]pū-[2]lv-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pū 'purify' (I 1015, IX 12) and lū- 'cut' (IX 13), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with the preverbs nís-° and abhí-° [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to aP (57); *nis+pū+GHaÑ* = *niṣ-pāv-á-* 'a species of pulse', but *pū+aP* = *páv-a-* 'purification'. *abhi-lāv-á-* 'reaping' but *lū+aP* = *láv-a-* 'cutting'.

3.3.29 [1]ud=[2]ny-or gr-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] gr̥̄- 'swallow' (VI 117), 'sound' (IX 28), co-occurring with the preverbs °úd-° or ní-° [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

ud+gr̥̄+GHaÑ = *ud-gār-á-* 'roaring'; *ni-gār-á-* 'consuming', but *gar-á(C)* (I 134) 'swallowing'. Exception to aP (57).

3.3.30 kr̥̄ dhāny-è

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥̄- 'scatter' (vI 116)[co-occurring with the preverbs úd-° or ní-° 29 to derive an action noun to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to denote corn or grain (dhāny-é).

ud+kr̥̄+GHaÑ = *ut-kār-á-* 'piling up (of corn, etc.)'; *ni-kār-á-* 'winnowing (of corn etc.)'. But when corn is not implied: *ut+kr̥̄+aP* = *ut-kar-á-* 'heap' and *puṣpa-ni-kar-á-* 'a posy of flowers'.

3.3.31 yajñ-é sám-i stuv-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] stu- 'prase, eulogize' (II 34), co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to signify a sacrificial place (yajñ-é).

sam+stu+GHaÑ = *saṁ-stāv-á-* = *sam-é-t-ya stuv-ánti yá-smin déśe* 'a sacrificial place where Sāman singers chant together'. But *sam+stu+aP* (57) = *saṁ-stav-á-* 'praising together'.

3.3.32 pr-é str-aḥ=á-yajñ-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] str̥̄- 'strew, spread, cover' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to designate (something) unconnected with a sacrifice (á-yajñ-e).

pra+str̥̄+GHaÑ = *pra-stār-á-* 'bed, carpet'; as in *śaṅkha-pra-stār-á-* 'a bed of conches' or *puṣpa-pra-stār-á-* 'a carpet of flowers' but *barhiṣ-pra-star-á(P)* (57) 'a sacrificial bed of kuśa grass'.

3.3.33 práthan-e v-aú=á-śabd-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 str̥̄- 32] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying an extension (práthan-e) unconnected with (articulated) sound (á-śabd-e).

vi+str̥̄+GHaÑ = vi-stār-á- : paṭa-sya vi-stār-á-ḥ 'width of a cloth'; but *vácas-ām vi-star-á(P)-ḥ* 'prolixity of speech'.

3.3.34 chando-nāmn-í ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 str̥̄- 32, co-occurring with the preverb ví-° 33 to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] also (ca) to indicate the name of a metre (chando-nāmn-í).

vi-ṣṭār-á- as a prior member of compounds: *vi-ṣṭār-á-paṅk-ti-/°-br̥hatī* 'n.pr. of two Vedic metres'. Retroflexion by 8.3.94.

3.3.35 úd-i grah-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

úd+grah+GHaÑ = ud-grāh-á- 'the act of lifting up'; By a vārttika the following two derivatives are introduced in the domain of Chándas with this affix: *ud-grābh-á-* 'the act of lifting up the sacrificial ladle', and *ni-grābh-á-* 'the act of lowering it'.

3.3.36 sám-i muṣṭ-aú

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 grah- 35] co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating the fist (muṣṭ-aú).

mallá-sya saṁ-grāh-á-ḥ 'wrestler's fist-hold', but *dhānyà-sya saṁ-grah-á(P)* 'collection of grain' (58 below).

3.3.37 ¹pári-²ny-ór ¹nī-²iṆ-or ¹dyūtá-²ábhreṣa-yoḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nī- 'lead' (I 950) and iṆ 'go' (II 36), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with preverbs pári-° and ní-° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] (respectively 1.3.10) to signify a game of chance (dyūtá-°) and non-infraction (in law) (á-bhre-ṣay-oḥ).

pári+nī+GHaÑ = *pari-ṇāy-á-* 'movement of chessmen on the chess board' but *pari-ṇay-á(C)* (56) 'wedding'.
ní+iṆ+GHaÑ = *ni+āy-á-* = *ny-āy-á-* 'non-infraction, propriety', but *ny-ay-á(C)* 'going off, loss, destruction'.

3.3.38 pár-au=án-upa=atyay-e=iṆ-aḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iṆ- 'go' (II 36), co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying regular succession (án-upa=aty-ay-e).

pári+iṆ+GHaÑ = *pary-āy-á-* 'turn, privilege, opportunity', but *pary-ay-á(C)* (56) 'passage; lapse'.

3.3.39 ¹ví=²úpay-oḥ śete-ḥ pary-āy-é

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] śī- (11 22), 'lie down, sleep' co-occurring with the preverbs ví-° or úpa-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating 'turn, privilege, opportunity' (pary-āy-é).

vi+śī+GHaÑ = *vi-śāy-á-* = *vi-śáy-i-tum pary-āyá-* 'turn to sleep'; *upa-śāy-á-* = *upa-śáy-itum pary-āy-á-* 'turn to follow in sleep'; but *vi-śay-á(C)* (56) 'doubt', *upa-śay-á-* 'sleeping near'.

3.3.40 hasta=ā-dān-é ce-r á-stey-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ci- 'collect, heap, pile' (V 5) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify 'taking in hand' (hasta=ā-dān-é) excluding 'stealing' (á-stey-e).

puṣpa-pra-cāy-á- 'assembling flowers by hand', but *vr̥kṣa-śikhar-é phala-pra-cay-ám (+áC)* (56) *kar-ó-ti* 'collects fruit on top of the tree'. Similarly *puṣpa-pra-cay-á-* 'collecting flowers by theft'.

3.3.41 ¹nivāsá-²cíti-³śarīra-⁴upa-sam-ā-dhā́ne-ṣu ādés=ca ka-ḥ

[The kr̥̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40] and the phoneme [k] replaces its initial (ādé-ḥ) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to designate: a residence (nivāsá), funeral pyre (cíti), the body (śárīra) and accumulation (upa-sam-ā-dhā́na).

ci+GHaÑ = *ki+GHaÑ* = *kāy-á-* in : *cikhalli-ni-kāy-á-* 'n.pr. of an inhabited place'; *ā-kāy-á- (agni-)* 'funeral fire'; *a-nitya-kāy-á-* 'impermanent body' *gomaya-ni-kāy-á-* 'accumulation of cow-dung cakes'.

3.3.42 saṁgh-é ca=án-auttarādhary-e

[The kr̥̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40 and phoneme [k] replaces its initial phoneme 41 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] designating an orderly assemblage (saṁgh-é) not involving confusion (an-auttarādhary-e).

bhikṣuka-ni-kāy-á- 'an orderly assembly of almsmen', but *sūkara-ni-cay-á- (áC)* (56) 'a herd of hogs'.

Since the rule refers to animate beings, affix áC operates in *pra-māṇa-sam-uc-cay-á-* 'a collection of the means of knowledge'.

3.3.43 karma-vy-ati-hār-é ṆáC striy-ā́m

[The kr̥̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆáC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18, denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] expressing reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hāré) and ending in (1.1.72) a feminine affix (striy-ā́m).

vi+avá+kruś+ṆáC+aÑ (5.4.14)*+ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *vy-áva-kroś-ī* (6.1.97; 4.148; 7.3.6) 'mutual reproach'.

3.3.44 abhi-vidh-aú bhāv-é=inuṆ

[The kr̥̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] inuṆ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to signify a state or condition (bhāv-é) for expressing co-extension (abhi-vidh-aú).

sam+kūṭ+inuN+áN (5.4.15) = *sam-kūṭ-in-ám* (6.4.164) 'total conflagration'.

The repetition of the word [bhāvé] here when it is already recurring from 18 above is to block out GHaÑ; when [abhi-vidhí] is not expressed: *sam+kūṭ+GHaÑ* = *saṁ-koṭ-á-* 'conflagration'.

3.3.45 ā-kroś-é=¹áva-²ny-ór gráh-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverbs áva-° or ní-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying malediction (ā-kroś-é).

ava+grah+GHaÑ = *ava-grāh-á-* 'curse, imprecation' but *ava-grah+á(P)* (58) 'separation (of a padá into stem and affix)', similarly *ni-grāh-á-* 'punishment, chastisement', but *ni-grah-á(P)* (58) 'restraining, controlling'.

3.3.46 pr-é lipsā́-yām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 grah- 45] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] when expressing a desire to acquire (lipsā́-yām).

pra+grah+GHaÑ = *pra-grāh-á-* *pātra-pra-grāh-éṇa cár-a-ti bhikṣú-ḥ* 'the almsman/mendicant moves around, holding a vessel with the desire to collect food', but *pra-grah-á(P)* 'seizing, grasping'.

3.3.47 pár-au yajñ-é

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 grah- 45] co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when signifying (something) pertaining to a sacrifice (yajñ-é).

pari-grah-GHaÑ = *pari-grāh-á-* : *uttara-pari-grāh-á-* 'northern fencing of the sacrificial altar' but *pari-grah-á(P)* (58) 'surrounding, encircling'.

3.3.48 n-aú vṛ̥ dhāny-è

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vṛ̥- 'choose' (IX 38), 'cover' (V 8), co-occurring with the preverb ní-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] to specify (a particular variety of) grain (dhāny-è).

ní-vr̥-ṇo-ti enám = *ni+vr̥+GHaÑ* = *nī-vār-á-* (6.3.112) 'a kind of wild rice', but *ni-var-á(P)* (58)+*ṬāP* = *ni-var-ā́ kanyā́* 'unmarried daughter/girl, virgin'.

3.3.49 úd-i [1]śráy-a-ti-[2]yaú-ti-[3]pū́-[4]druv-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śri- 'rest, lean on, take refuge in, resort to', yu- 'mix' (II 23), pū- 'purify'(I 1015, IX 12) and dru- 'run' (I 992) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

ud+śri+GHaÑ = *uj-śrāy-á-* (8.4.40) = *uc-chrāy-á-* (8.4.55,63) 'rising (of a planet)'; similarly *ud-yāv-á-* 'blending'; *ut-pāv-á-* 'purifying (ghee)'; *ud-drāv-á-* 'flight, running away'.

3.3.50 vibhāṣā=ā́Ṅ-i [1]ru-[2]pluv-oḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ru- 'howl, scream' (II 24) and plu- 'float' (I 1007) co-occurring with the preverb ā́Ṅ-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

ā́+ru+GHaÑ/aP(57) = *ā-rāv-á-/ā-rav-á* 'howling, screaming'; *ā+plu+GHaÑ/aP* = *ā-plāv-á-/ā-plav-á-* 'bathing, ablution'.

3.3.51 áv-e grah-aḥ=varṣa-prati-bandh-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] signifying obstruction to precipitation (varṣa-pari-bandh-é).

áva+grah+GHaÑ+aP = *ava-grāh-á/°-grah-á-* (58) 'drought, withholding rain'.

3.3.52 pr-é vaṇíj-ām

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 grah- 51] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] for expressing something relating to merchants or traders (vaṇíj-ām).

By interpretation the item denoted is the string of the balance by which it is held while weighing: *tulā-pra-grāh-á-/pra-grahá-* = *tulā́ prá-gr̥hya-te yéna sū́tr-eṇa*.

3.3.53 raśm-aú ca

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 grah- 51, co-occurring with the preverb prá-° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] signifying 'rein, bridle' (raśm-aú).

prá+grah+GHaÑ/aP = pra-grāh-a/grah-á-.

3.3.54 vṛ̊-ṇó-te-r ā-cchā́dan-e

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vṛ̊- 'cover' (V 8) [co-occurring with the preverb prá-° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] when expressing a covering (ā-cchā́dan-e).

pra+vṛ̊+GhaÑ/aP = prā-vār-á- /pra-vār-á- (6.3.122) 'a coverlet, covering', but *pra-var-á+ṬāP = pra-var-ā́ gau-ḥ* 'an excellent cow'.

3.3.55 pár-au bhúv-aḥ=ava-jñā́n-e

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́- 'become'(I 1), co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] when expressing disrespect (ava-jñā́n-e) [optionally 50].

pari+bhū+GHaÑ/ap = pari-bhāv-á-/°-bhav-á- 'insult, humilation, disgrace', but *sarvá-taḥ=bháv-anam = pari-bhav-á(P)-* 'enclosing, containing, surrounding'.

3.3.56 e-r áC

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] áC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [°-i] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *iN+áC- = e+á- = ay-á-* 'moving towards the right (in chess)'; similarly: *cay-á-* 'heaping, piling',; *jay-á-* 'victory', etc.

3.3.57 ṝ̊d-o-r aP

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] aP is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ṝ̊] or the phoneme-class [u] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. °-ṝ : kṝ+aP = kár-a- 'a ray of light; tax' similarly: śár-a- 'arrow'; gár-a- 'poison'.

°-u : yu+aP = yáv-a 'barley' stáv-a- 'eulogy, panegyric'; lū+aP = láv-a 'reaping'; páv-a- 'winnowing purfying'.

3.3.58 [1]grahÀ-[2]vṝ-[3]dṝ-[4]nís=ci-gam-aḥ=ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is also introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] grah- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), vṝ- 'cover' (V 8), 'choose' (IX 38), dṝ- 'injure' (V 34), 'honor' (VI 118), nís+ci- (V 5) 'ascertain' and gam- 'go' (I 1031) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16 and in the case of [ci-] to áC 56. *grah+aP = gráh-a-* 'holding, grasping, a planet'; *vár-a-* 'choice, boon' or 'enclosing, covering' *dár-a-* 'cave' *ā-dar-á-* 'respect, honor'; *nís-cay-á-* 'ascertainment'; *gám-a-* 'march'.

3.3.59 upasarg-é ad-aḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1), co-occurring with a preverb [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GhaÑ 16. *ví-ad+aP = vi+ghas+aP* (2.4.38) = *vi-ghas-á-* 'devourer, eater', but *ghās-á-* 'food'.

3.3.60 n-aú Ṇá ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] as well as (ca) Ṇá are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ad- 59] co-occurring with the pre-verb ní-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

ni+ad+aP/Ṇá = ni-ghas-á-/ny-ād-á- 'eating, consuming'.

3.3.61 [1]vyadhÀ-[2]jáp-or án-upasarg-e

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 72) and jáp- 'mutter' (I 424) when not co-occurring with a preverb (án-upasarg-e) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *vyadh+aP = vyádh-a-* 'wound', but *ā+vyadh+GHaÑ+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *ā-vyādh-ā́* 'the art of piercing'.

jap+aP =jáp-a- 'muttering, murmuring', but *upa+jap+GHaÑ = upa-jāp-á-* 'a kind of sacred hymn'.

3.3.62 ¹svánÁ-²hás-or vā

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] svánˆ 'resound' (I 879) and hás- 'laugh' (I 757) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19 when not co-occurring with preverbs 61].

svan+GHaÑ/aP = svān-á-/sván-a- 'sound, resounding' but *pra+svan+GHaÑ = pra-svān-á-* 'loud noise'.
Similarly: *hās-á/hás-a-* 'laughter', but *pra-hās-á-* 'irony'.

3.3.63 yam-aḥ ¹sám-²úpa-³ní-⁴ví-ṣu

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- 'restrain' (I 1033), (whether) co-occurring with preverbs sám-°, úpa-°, ní-° or ví-° [or not 61 to form an action noun 18 to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

sám+yam+GhaÑ+aP = saṁ-yām-á-/°-yam-á- 'control, restraint'; similarly: *upa-yām-á/°-yām-á-* 'marriage'; *ni-yām-á-/°-yam-á-* 'rule, restriction'; *vi-yām-á/°-yam-á-* 'patience, forbearance' *yām-á-/yám-a-* 'control'.

3.3.64 n-aú ¹gádÁ-²nádÁ-³paṭhÁ-sván-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] gád- 'speak' (I 53), nád- 'resound' (I 551), páṭh- 'recite, read' (I 91) and svánˆ 'reverberate', co-occurring with the preverb ni-° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

ni+gad+GHaÑ/aP = ni-gād-á/°-gad-á- 'recitation'; *ni-nād-á-/ni-nad-á-* 'sound'; *ni-pāṭh-á-/ni-paṭh-á-* 'reading'; *ni-svān-á-/ni-svan-á-* 'resounding, reverberation'.

3.3.65 kváṇ-aḥ=vī́ṇā-yāṁ=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kváṇ- 'jingle' (I 477) [co-occurring 64 or not 61 with the preverb ní-° 64 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] when designating the musical instrument (vī́ṇā 'lute').

By interpretation the musical instrument is designated only when accompanied by the preverb: (a) when co-occurring with [ní-°]: *ni-kvāṇ-á-/ni-kvaṇ-á-* 'muscal note (on the vī́ṇā)'; (b) not co-occurring with any preverb: *kvāṇ-á-/kvaṇ-á-* 'sound'; (c) designating the lute: *kalyāṇa-pra-kvaṇ-ā́ vī́ṇā* 'a true-sounding lute'.

3.3.66 nítyam páṇ-aḥ pari-mā́ṇ-e

[The kŕ̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is necessarily (nítyam) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] páṇ- 'barter, exchange, trade' (I 466) [to form an action noun 18 or denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] for designating a measure (pari-mā́ṇ-e).

páṇ+aP = páṇ-a- 'handful' in *mūlaka-paṇ-á-* 'a handful of radishes', but when not designating a measure: *paṇ+GHaÑ = pāṇ-á-* 'exchange, trade, barter'.

3.3.67 mád-aḥ=án=upasarg-e

[The kŕ̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] mád- 'intoxicate, exhilerate' (IV 99), when not co-occurring with any preverb (án-upasarg-e) [to form an action/or designating a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *mad+aP = mád-a-* 'pride, intoxiation' as in *vidyā-mad-á-* 'pride of knowledge', *dhana-mad-á-* 'pride of wealth' etc., but *ud+mad+GHaÑ = un-mād-á-* 'insanity'; *pra-mād-á-* 'error'.

3.3.68 [1]pra-mad-á-[2]sam-mad-aú harṣ-e

(The irregular forms) pra-mad-á- and sam-mad-á- are introduced as derived [with kŕ̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 mád- 67] to express 'joy' (hars-é).

This is an exception to the preceding rule which blocks aP when [mád-] co-occurs with preverbs: *kanyā-n-ām pra-mad-á-ḥ* 'the joy of maidens'; *kokilā́-n-āṁ sam-mad-á-ḥ* 'the rejoicing of cuckoos', but *pra-mād-á-* 'error'.

3.3.69 [1]sám-[2]úd-or áj-aḥ paśú-ṣu

[The kŕ̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] áj- 'go' (I 248) co-occurring with preverbs sám-° or úd-° [to form action nouns 18 or denoting a kā́raka other than the agent 19] for designating (something) pertaining to beasts (paśú-ṣu).

sam+aj+aP = *sam-aj-á-ḥ paśū-n-ām* 'a herd of animals' so also *ud-aja-á-ḥ paśū-n-ām* 'driving of cattle'; but *sam-āj-á-ḥ* 'a community (of human beings)' and *ud-āj-á-* 'marching (of human beings, such as warriors, etc.)'.

3.3.70 akṣé-ṣu gláh-aḥ

(The irregular expression) gláh-a- is introduced as derived with [kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57, introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 grah- 'seize' (IX 61) to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to signify 'gambling with dice (akṣé-ṣu).

Whle aP has already been indicated in 58 above after grah-, the present rule is meant to indicate the irregular replacement of phoneme [r] by [l]: *grah+aP* = *gláh-a-* 'a throw of dice' but in other senses *gráh-a-* 58.

3.3.71 pra-jan-é sar-te-ḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sṛ- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) [to form an action noun or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to signify first impregnation (pra-jan-é).

gav-ā́m upa-sar-á-ḥ 'first covering of cows'.

3.3.72 hv-aḥ sam-pra-sā́raṇaṁ ca [1]ní=[2]abhí=[3]úpa-[4]ví-ṣu

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hve- 'summon, challenge' (I 1057), co-occurring with preverbs ní-°, abhí-°, úpa-° and ví-°, and sam-pra-sā́raṇa (vocalization) replaces [the semi-vowel 1.1.45, to form an action noun or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 18-19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *ni+hve+aP* = *ni-huØ+aP* = *ni-hav-á-* 'invocation'; similarly: *abhi-hav-á-* 'calling near'; *upa-hav-á-* 'invitation'; *vi-hav-á-* 'invocation', but *pra+hve+GHaÑ* = *pra=hvā+yuk+GHaÑ* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) = *pra-hvā-y-á-* 'invocation'.

While these derivatives can normally be derived from the verbal stem [hu- III 1] the present rule is to block GHaÑ after [hve-] when co-occurring with these four preverbs.

3.3.73 ā́Ṅ-i yuddh-é

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve- 72 with samprasārana replacement of its semivowel 72] when co-occurring with the preverb ā́Ṅ-° [to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for signifying a battle (yuddh-é).

> *ā́+hve+aP* = *ā+hu∅+aP* = *ā-hav-á-* = *ā́-hū-yante asmín* 'battle, strife'. In other senses *ā=hve+GHaÑ* = *ā-hvā-y-á-* 'invocation'.

3.3.74 ni-pā́n-am ā-hāv-á-ḥ

(The irregular form) ā-hāv-á- is introduced [as derived with kṛ̥t 1.93 affix aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem hve- 72 to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for designating a drinking trough (ni-pā́n-am).

> *ā+hve+aP* = *ā+hu∅+aP* = *ā-hāv-á-* (with irregular samprasāraṇa and vṛ̥ddhi replacement); in other meanings: *ā-hvā-y-á-* (cf. 73).

3.3.75 bhāv-é=án-upa-sarga-sya

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve-, with samprasāraṇa replacement of its semi-vowel 72] when not co-occurring with preverbs to form an action noun (bhāv-é).

> The use of the word [bhāv-é] here when it already recurs from 18 above is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of 19. *hve+aP* = *hu∅+aP* = *háv-a-* 'calling'. But *ā-hvā-y-á-*.

3.3.76 han-as=ca vadh-á-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [not co-occurring with preverbs 75, to form an action noun 75] while the substitute vadh-á- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem.

> *han+aP* = *vadh-á+aP* = *vadh+∅+áP* (6.4.148; 1.161) = *vadh-á-* 'killing, slaying, striking'; when action [bhāvá] is not indicated: *han+GHaÑ* = *ghat+GHaÑ* (7.3.32,54) = *ghāt-á-* 'a blow'; similarly *pra-ghāt-á-* 'combat, battle'.
>
> The expression [ca] in the rule is not related to [vadh-á] replacement, and consequently permits introduction of the general affix GHaÑ 16 in *ghāt-á-*.

3.3.77 mū́rt-au ghaná-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) verbal stem [to form an action noun 18] to denote a solid mass (mū́rt-au).

han+aP = *ghaná+aP* = *ghan+∅+áP* (6.4.48; 1.161) = *ghan-á-* in *abhra-ghan-á-* 'a solid mass of clouds'.

3.3.78 antar-ghan-á-ḥ=deś-é

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with the indeclinable antár-° [and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem 76 to form an action noun or to denote a kā́raka other than the agent 18-19] for designating the name of a region or place (deś-é).

antár+han+aP = *antar-ghan-∅+áP* = *antar-ghan-á-* 'n.pr. of a region in the Vāhīka country', alternating with *antar-ghaṇ-á-*.

While designating a non-region: *antár han-yánte prāṇín-aḥ átra* = *antár+han+GHaÑ* = *antar-ghāt-á-* 'slaughter house'.

3.3.79 agāra=eka-deś-é [1]pra-ghaṇ-á=[2]pra-ghāṇ-aú ca

(The irregular expressions) pra-ghaṇ-á- and pra-ghāṇ-á- are introduced [as derived with kṛ̥t .93 affix 1.1 aP introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] for designating a porch or portico before the entrance of a house (agāra=eka-deś-é).

prá+han+aP = *pra-ghan-á+aP* = *pra-ghaṇ-á-/°ghāṇ-á-* (6.4.48; 1.161; 8.4.2), but *pra+han+GHaÑ* = *pra-ghāt-á-* (cf. 76).

3.3.80 ud-ghan-á-ḥ aty-ā-dhā́na-m

(The irregular form) ud-ghan-á- is introduced [as derived with kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 han- 76], co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [and substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] designating a carpenter's bench (aty-ā-dhā́na).

úd+han+aP = *ud-ghan-á-*; *ud+han+GHaÑ* = *ud-ghāt-á-*'striking'.

3.3.81 apa-ghan-á-ḥ=áṅga-m

(The irregular form) apa-ghan-á- is introduced [as derived with the kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° [with substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem(1.1.5) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19] to signify a limb (áṅga-m).

ápa+han+aP = apa+ghan-á+aP = apa-ghan+∅+áP = apa-ghan-á- but *apa+han+GHaÑ = apa-ghāt-á-* 'striking off'.

By interpretational restriction [apa-ghan-á] denotes either 'hand' or 'foot'.

3.3.82 káraṇ-e [1]áyas=[2]ví-[3]drú-ṣu

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with áyas-° 'metal, iron', preverb ví-° and drú- 'wood' [with substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form a derivative denoting a kā̆raka other than the agent 19] to signify an instrument (káraṇ-e).

áyo han-yá-te an-éna = áyas+han+aP = ayas+ghan-á+aP = ayas+ghan-∅+áP = ayo-ghan-á (8.2.66; 6.1.87,113) 'hammer' similarly: *vi-ghan-á-* 'mallet' and *dru-ghan-á-/°ghaṇ-á-* 'hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.

3.3.83 stamb-é Ká ca

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] as well as (ca) Ká are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76 with substitute ghan-á 77 replacing the whole of it 1.1.55] when co-occurring with the [nominal padá 1.4] stambá- 'a clump of grass' [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19 to signify an instrument 82].

stambá-ḥ han-yá-te an-éna = stamba+han+aP/Ká = stamba+ghan-á+aP/Ká = stamba-ghan-∅+áP = stamba-ghan-á-/stamba-han+Ká = stamba+h∅n+Ká (6.4.98) = stamba-ghn-á- (6.3.54) 'a hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.

3.3.84 pár-au ghá-ḥ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb pári-°, and the substitute ghá- replaces the whole (1.1.55) of the verbal stem [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19, designating an instrument 82].

pári-han-ya-te an-éna = pári+han+aP = pari+ghá+aP = pari-gh∅+áP = pari-gh-á-/pali-gh-á- (8.2.22) 'iron bar or beam used for locking doors'.

3.3.85 upa-ghn-á-ḥ ā-śray-é

(The irregular expression) upa-ghn-á- is introduced [as derived with kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76, (with irregular replacement of the stem vowel) to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify a contiguous resting place or support (ā-śray-é).

úpa+hán+aP = upa+h∅n+a= upa-ghn-á- as in *parvatopa-ghn-á-* 'mountain slope' or *grāmopa-ghn-á-* 'bordering the village'.

3.3.86 [1]saṁ-gh-á=[2]ud-gh-aú [1]gaṇá-[2]pra-śaṁsáy-oḥ

(The irregular expressions) saṁ-gh-á- and ud-gh-á- are introduced, respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'herd, drove or flock' (gaṇá-°) and 'praise' (pra-śaṁsā) [as derived with kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) wth the preverbs sám-° an úd-° [with irregular replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel by ∅ and of h by gh to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

sam-hán-ana-m = sám+hán+aP = sam-h∅[1]∅+aP = saṁ-gh-á- (bhāv-é) 'a herd (of cattle, etc.)'; *úd+han-ya-te = ud-gh-á-* 'excellent, praiseworthy'. In other meanings: *sam-/ud+han+GHaÑ = saṁ-ghāt-á-* 'union', *ud-ghāt-á-* 'the act of striking'.

3.3.87 ni-gh-á-ḥ=níimita-m

(The irregular expression) ni-gh-á- is introduced [as derived with the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76, with irregular replacement of its syllable beginning with the last vowel and of /h/ by /gh/] when co-occurring with the preverb ní-° [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying 'as high as broad' (ni-mi-tam).

ni+hán+aP = ni-gh∅∅(rregular)+áP = ni-gh-á-, but in other senses *ni+han+GHaÑ = ni-ghāt-á-* 'a blow'.

3.3.88 ḌU=IT=aḥ=Ktrí-ḥ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktrí is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ḌU as IT (in-the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

ḌU-pac-A-Ṣ pākḗ (Dhp. I 1033): *pac+ktrí* = *pak+trí+maP* (4.4.10; 8.1.30) = *pak-trí-ma* = *pāk-éna nír-vṛ̊t-ta-m* 'matured, ripened'; similarly *vap-: up-trí-ma-* (6.1.15) 'sown', and *kṛ̊-trí-ma-* 'artificial'.

3.3.89 ṬU-IT-aḥ=athúC

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] athúC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ṬU as IT (in the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

TU-vép-Ṛ̊ kámpan-e (Dhp. I 391): *vep+athúC* = *vap-athú-* 'trembling, shaking'; *ṬU-O-śví gáti-vṛ̊́ddhy-oḥ* (Dhp. I 1059)+*athúC* = *śvay-athu-* 'edema, swelling'; *ṬU-kṣu śábd-e*(II 27)+*athúC* = *kṣav-athú-* 'sneezing'.

3.3.90 [1]yajA-[2]yā̆ca̱-[3]yáta̱-[4]vichÁ-[5]prachÁ-[6]rákṣ-aḥ=náṄ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] náṄ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051), yā̆c- 'beg, solicit' (I 916), yát- 'exert' (I 30), vich- 'go, move' (VI 129), prach- 'ask' (VI 120), rákṣ- 'protect' (I 688) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

yaj+náṄ = *yaj-ñá-* 'sacrifice' *yāc+naṄ+ṬāP*(4.1.4) = *yac-ñā́* 'request, plea'; similarly: *yat-ná-* 'attempt, exertion'; *vich+ná* = *viś-ná-* (6.4.19) 'luster, splendor'; *praś-ná-* 'question'; *rakṣ-ṇá-* 'protection, guard'.

Since Pā̆ṇini himself uses the form [praśná- in 3.2.117: praśn-e ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é] it is inferred that vocalization (sam-pra-sā̆raṇa) replacement does not take place before affix náṄ despite 6.1.16.

3.3.91 svap-aḥ=naN

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] naN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā̆raka other than the agent 19].

svap+naN = *sváp-na-* 'dream'.

3.3.92 upa-sarg-é GHO-ḥ Kí-ḥ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kí is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), co-occurring with preverbs (upa-sarg-é) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19].

> *pra+dā+Kí* = *pra+d∅+í* (6.4.64) = *pra-d-í-* 'gift, present'; similarly: *pra-dh-í-* 'the felly of a wheel'; *antar-dh-í-* 'disappearance'.

3.3.93 kárman-i=adhi-káran-e ca

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1 Kí 92 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 denoted by the t.t. GHU 92 when co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kárman-i) [to form an action noun or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 18-19] to indicate a substratum or locus (adhi-káraṇ-e).

> *jalá-m dhī-yá-te asmín* = *jala+∅+dhā+Kí* = *jala-dh-í-* 'ocean, sea'; similarly *śara-dh-í-* 'a quiver'.

3.3.94 striy-ā́m KtiN

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] KtiN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] in the feminine gender (striy-ā́m).

> *kṛ̊́+KtiN* = *kṛ̊́-ti-* 'action, work, performance'. Exception to GHaÑ 16. Similarly *cí-ti-* 'layer, pile'; *stú-ti-* 'praise'.

3.3.95 [1]sthā-[2]gā-[3]pā-pac-ām bhāv-é

[The kṛ̊t 1.1 affix 1.1 KtiN 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sthā- 'stay, remain, stand' (I 975), gā (=gai- I 965) 'sing', pā- 'drink' (I 972) and pac- 'cook' (I 1045) to form action nouns (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

> *sthā+KtiN* = *sthí-ti-* (7.4.40) f. 'standing, remaining'; *pra-sthí-ti-* 'departure, journey'; similarly: *ud+gai+KtiN* = *ud+gā+KtiN* = *ud-gī́-ti-* (6.4.66) 'chanting aloud'; *pra-pī́-ti-* 'cistern', *sam-pī́-ti-* 'carousal', *pac+KtiN* = *pák-ti-* 'cooking'.
> This rule blocks out the operation of 106 below as well as 19.

3.3.96 mántr-e [1]vṛ̥ṣa=[2]iṣA-[3]pacA-[4]manA-[5]vídÁ-[6]bhū-[7]vī-[8]rā-ḥ udā́tta-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94] with high-pitch (udā́tta) accent is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vṛ̥ṣ- 'rain' (I 738), iṣ- 'desire' (VI 59), pac- 'cook' (I 1045), man- 'think' (IV 47), víd- 'know' (II 55), bhū́- 'become' (I 1), vī- 'go' (II 39), and rā- 'give' (II 48) [to form action nouns 95 in the feminine gender 94] in the domain of Mántra.

The affix KtiN, by virtue of its marker N, places the udā́tta accent on the initial syllable of the verbal stem (6.1.197) but in these instances in the Mántra portion of the Veda , it is shifted to the affix itself.

vṛ̥ṣ+KtiN = *vṛ̥ṣ-ṭí-* (8.4.1) 'rain, precipitation'; *iṣ-ṭí-* 'wish, desire, request' (besides *icchā́/íṣ-ṭi-* 101); *pak-tí-* 'cooking'; *man+KtiN* = *ma∅-tí-* (6.4.37) = *ma-tí-* 'thinking, thought'; *vit-tí-* 'knowledge'; *bhū-tí-* 'becoming'; *vī-tí-* 'enjoyment'; *rā-tí-* 'giving, bestowing'.

Other than in the Mántra, the accent falls on the initial syllable of the derived form.

3.3.97 [1]ū-tí-[2]yū-tí-[3]jū-tí-[4]sā-tí-[5]he-tí-[6]kīr-táy-as=ca

(The irregular expressions) ū-tí- 'help', yū-tí- 'junction', jū-tí- 'speed', sā-tí- 'destruction', he-tí- 'missile' and kīr-tí 'renown' are introduced [as derived with kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94 bearing the udā́tta accent 96 and form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

av+KtiN = *ū-tí-* (6.4.20); *yu/ju+KtiN* = *yū-tí-*, *jū-tí-*; *so+KtiN* = *sā-tí-* (6.4.42) without replacement of semi-vowel by vocalization as required by 7.4.40, or alternately: *san+KtiN* = *sā-KtiN* (6.4.42) = *sā-tí-*; *han+KtiN* = *ha-i-KtiN* = *he-tí-* (irregular replacement of /n/ by /i/ or *hi+KtiN* with irregular replacement of stem vowel by guṇa contra 1.1.5) = *he-tí-*; *kṛ̥t+KtiN* = *kīrt+KtiN* = *kīrt-tí-* (7.1.101), whereas by 107 below affix [yuC] is to be introduced.

3.3.98 [1]vrájÁ-[2]yaj-or bhāv-é KyáP

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KyáP [bearing the udā́tta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vráj- 'march' (I 272) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) to form an action noun (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

vráj+KyáP+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *vraj-yá+ā* = *vraj-yā́* (6.1.161) 'roaming, wandering'; similarly *yaj+KyáP+ṬāP* = *ij-yā́* (6.1.15,1616) 'worshipping, sacrificing'.

The marker [P] has no relevance here but is required for the following sūtras for insertion of augment [tuK] (6.1.71).

3.3.99 saṁjñā́-yām [1]sám-ajÁ-[2]ní-ṣada-[3]ní-páta-[4]manA-[5]vídÁ-[6]ṣuÑ-[7]śīṄ-[8]bhr̥Ñ=[9]iṆ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 bearing the udā́tta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sám+aj- (I 248) 'collect together', ní+ṣad- (I 907, VI 135) 'sit down', ní+pat- (I 898) 'fly or settle down, alight', man- 'think' (IV 67), víd- 'know' (II 55), su- 'press, extract or distil soma juice' (V 1), śī́- 'lie down, sleep' (II 27), bhr̥- 'bear' (III 5) and iṆ- 'go'(III 36) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kā́raka other than the agent 19] to derive names (saṁjñā́-yām) [in the feminine gender 94].

sam+aj+KyáP+ṬāP = *sam-aj-yā́* 'assembly'; likewise: *ni-ṣad-yā́* 'a small bed or couch'; *ni-pat-yā́* 'slippery ground'; *man-yā́* 'nape of the neck' (cf. Vedc *mán-yā*); *vid-yā́* 'knowledge'; *su-t-yā́* (6.1.71) 'day for pressing soma juice'; *śay-yā́* (7.4.12) 'bed, bedstead'; *bhr̥-t-yā́* 'service for wages' *i-t-yā́* 'palanquin'.

Because of the use of the expression [saṁjñā] here, the allomorph [vī] does not replace the verbal stem [aj-] before affix [KyaP] as required by 2.4.56.

3.3.100 kr̥Ñ-aḥ Śá ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 with udā́tta accent 96] as well as (ca) Śá are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥Ñ- 'do, make, perform' (VIII 10) [to form a derivative in the feminine gender 94].

This sū́tra is split into two parts by interpretation: kr̥Ñ-aḥ and Śá ca in order that with the first part [KyaP] is introduced and with the second part both KtiN (94) and Śá are introduced, yielding three derivatives: *kr̥+KyaP+ṬāP* = *kr̥-t-yā́* / *kr̥+Śá+ṬāP* = *kri+á+ā* (7.4.28) = *kriy-ā́* (6.1.77) / *kr̥+KtiN* = *kŕ̥=ti* 'act, action, activity, performance'.

3.3.101 icch-ā́

(The irregular form) icch-ā́ is introduced [as derived with the kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Śá 100 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 iṣ- 'wish, desire' (VI 59) in the feminine gender 94].

iṣ-yá-te = *iṣ+yaK+Śá+ṬāP* = *icch+∅*(irregular ∅ replacement of *yaK*)+*á+ā* = *icch-ā́* 'desire, wish'. The derivation is under the governing rule 18 only.

3.3.102 á praty-ay-ā́t

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] á is introduced [after 1.2] a derived [verbal stem 1.91] (praty-ay-ā́t) [to form an action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

Exception to KtiN 94. *kṛ+saN+á = ci-kīr-ṣa+á+ṬāP = ci-kīr-ṣ-ā́* 'a desire to perform' = *kár-tum icch-á* similarly: *putrī-yá*(1.8)*+á+ṬāP = putrīy-ā́* 'desire for having a son' or (1.10) 'desire to be like a son'; *putra-kām-y-ā́* 'desire for having a son'; *lo-lū-y-ā́* (1.22) 'repeated or intensive cutting'; *kaṇḍū-y-ā́* 'itch' [Cf. 1.7-30 for derived verbal stems].

3.3.103 guró-s=ca haL-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 á 102] also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) and containing a heavy syllable (guró-s) [to form a derivative action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

kuṇḍ+á+ṬāP = kuṇḍ-ā́ 'adultress'; similarly *huṇḍ-ā́* 'tigress'; *īh-ā́* 'striving'; *ūh-ā́* 'filling out an ellipsis', but *bhaj+KtiN =bhák-ti-* 'devotion' and *nī́-ti-* 'polity'.

3.3.104 [1]Ṣ-IT=[2]bhid-ā́=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṄ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] áṄ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker [Ṣ] as IT (in the Dhp.) and the class of stems beginning with bhid- 'break' (VII 2) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

The class of stems beginning with [bhid-] is to be inferred not from the Dhātu-pāṭha, but from the Gaṇa-pāṭha where the derived forms are listed in the feminine gender beginning with [bhid-ā́].

Verbal stems with marker Ṣ: *jṝṢ* (*vayo-hān-aú* IV 22)*+áṄ+ṬāP = jar-ā́* (7.4.16) 'old age, senility'; *trapŪ-Ṣ* (*lajjā-yām* 1 399): *trap-ā́* 'bashfulness, shyness'.

bhid+aṄ+ṬāP = bhid-ā́ 'breaking'; *chid-ā́* 'cleaving'; *guh-ā́* 'cave'; *ā-r-ā́* 'bore, probe'.

3.3.105 [1]cint-í-[2]pūj-í-[3]kath-í-[4]kumb-í-[5]carc-as=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 áṄ 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] cint-í- (X 2) 'recollect', pūj-í- 'honor' (X 101), kath-í- 'relate, narrate' (X 307), kumb-í- 'cover, envelope' (X 113) and carc- 'study, discuss' (X 172) [to derive feminine 94 action nouns 18].

cint+ṆíC+áṄ+ṬāP =cint-∅+á+ā (6.4.51) = *cint-ā́* 'anxious thought, care, anxiety';

similarly: *pūj-ā́* 'worship'; *kath-ā́* 'narrative'; *kumb-ā́* 'thick petticoat' and *carc-ā́* 'discussion'.

Normally this would have been a prior exception to 107 below, but by interpretation of the particle [ca] here, this rule will not block the operation of affix [yuC]: *cint+yuC+ṬāP = cint-anā́ = cint-ā́*.

3.3.106 āT=as=ca=upa-sarg-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 a 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1 91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [°-ā] co-occurring with preverbs (upa-sarg-é) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

Exception to KtiN 94: *pra+dā+áṄ+ṬāP = pra+d∅+á+ā = pra-d-ā́* 'giving'; *upa-d-ā́* 'an offering to the king'; *pra-dh-ā́* 'offering'; *upa-dh-ā́* 'test of honesty' (and in Ast. t.t. for 'penultmate phoneme' 1.1.65).

3.3.107 [1]Ṇi=[2]ā́sA-[3]sranth-aḥ=yuC

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] ṆíC and ā́s- 'sit down' (II 11) and śranth- 'loosen, release' (IX 39) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

1. ṆíC: *kr̥+ṆíC+yuC+ṬāP = kār-i+aná+ā* (6.4.51; 7.1.1) = *kār-aṇ-ā́* (8.4.2) 'instigation', and similarly *hār-aṇ-ā́* 'causing to take or seize'.
2. *ās+yuC = ās-an-ā́* 'sitting'; *śranth-an-ā́* 'loosening, releasing'. Exceptions to KtiN 94,102,103.

3.3.108 roga=ākhyā́-yāṁ ṆvuL bahulám

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆvuL is variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote the name of a disease (roga-ākhyā́-yām).

pra+chr̥d+ṆvuL+ṬāP = pra-cchárd-aka+ā (7.1.1) = *pra-cchárd-ik-ā* (7.3.44) 'vomiting, throwing up'; *pra-vā́h-ik-ā* 'diarrhoea, loose motions'; *vi-cárc-ik-ā* 'itch, scabies'.

Does not occur: *śíras+ard+KtiN = śiras+árt+ti* (8.4.55) = *siró-r∅-ti* (8.4.65) 'headache'.

3.3.109 saṁjñā́-yām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆvuL 108 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote a name (saṁjñā-yām).

uddā́laka-sya púṣpā-ṇ-i bhaj-yánte yá-syām krīḍā́-yām sā́ = *uddālaka-puṣpa+bhanj+ṆvuL+ṬāP* = *uddālaka-puṣpa-bhánj-ik-ā* 'a game played in the eastern districts in which the flowers of the Uddā́laka tree are broken'. This is an obligatory Tatpuruṣá compound (2.2.17).

3.3.110 vibhāṣā=[1]ākhyā́na-[2]pari-praśná-yor iÑ ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆvuL 108] as well as (ca) iÑ are introduced optionally (vibhāṣā) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] when it relates to a question (pari-praśná) and response (ā-khyā́-na).

The word [vibhā́ṣā] 'optionally' provides for introduction of other affixes also occurring in this section.

Q. *kā́m tvám kā́r-i-m (iÑ) / kā́r-ikām (ṆvuL) / kṛ̥́-ti-m (KtiN) / kriy-ā́-m (Śá) / kṛ̥-t-yā́-m* (*KyáP* 100) *á-kār-s-ī-ḥ*? 'What work have you done?'

R. *sárvā-m kā́r-i-m/kā́r-ik-ā-m/kṛ̥́-ti-m/kriy-ā́-m/kṛ̥-t-yā́-m á-kār-ṣ-am* 'I have done everything'.

3.3.111 [1]pary-āyá=[2]árha=[3]ṛṇá=[4]ut-pátti-ṣu ṆvuC

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆvuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote (a) regular succession (pary-āyá-°), (b) worthiness (°-árha-°), (c) debt (°-ṛṇá-°) and (d) something that is produced (°-ut-pátti-ṣu).

1. *śī+ṆvuC+ṬāP* = *śāy-aká+ā* (4.1.4; 7.1.1) = *śāy-ik-ā́* (7.3.34) : *bhávat-aḥ śāy-ik-ā́* 'your turn to sleep'.
2. *árh-a-ti bhávān ikṣu-bhakṣ-ik-ā́-m* 'you deserve (= are worthy of) to have a meal of sugar cane'.
3. *ikṣu-bhakṣ-ikā́-m me dhār-áy-a* 'you owe me a meal of sugar cane'.
4. *odana-bhoj-ik-ā́ me ud-á-pād-i* 'a meal of rice has been produced for me'.

3.3.112 ā-krośé náÑ-i=áni-ḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] áni is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle náÑ-° [to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] for denoting an imprecation (ā-krośé).

Exception to KtiN 94. *náÑ+kṛ+áni-* = *a-kar-áṇi-s te vṛṣala bhū-yā́t* 'O sinner! May failure happen to thee'.

3.3.113 [1]kṛ́tya-[2]Lyuṭ-aḥ=bahulám

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the cover term kṛ́tya (3.1.95ff.) and LyuṬ are variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] (to denote various meanings other than those specified = bahulám).

The governing rules 18 and 19 are no longer recurring from this rule onwards. By 3.4.70 kṛ́tya affixes are generally introduced to denote [bhāv-é] 'impersonal' and [kárman-i] 'passive' constructions, but this rule provides for their introduction with other kārakas: *dī-yá-te a-smaí* = *dā+anī́yaR+sU* = *dānī́ya-s* = *dā-nī́y-o brāhmaṇá-ḥ* 'a brahmin to whom a donation is to be made'.

LyuṬ is normally introduced under 115-17, but can also occur under other conditions: *ápa-sic-ya-te tád* = *apa-sic+LyuṬ* = *apa-séc-ana-* (functioning as an object) 'sprinkling'; *áva-srāv-ay-a-te tád* = *ava-srā́v-aṇa-* 'causing to flow (something) down'; *prá-skand-a-ti a-smā́t* = *pra-skánd-ana-* 'leaping over (from)'; similarly *prá-pat-a-ti a-smā́t* = *pra-pát-ana-* 'falling (from)'.

3.3.114 nápuṁsak-e bhāv-é Ktá-ḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive a neuter (nápuṁsak-e) action noun (bhāv-é).

has+Ktá = *has+iṬ+Ktá* = *has-i-tá-m* 'laughter'; similarly *jalp-i-tá-m* 'prattle'.

3.3.115 LyuṬ ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktá 114] as well as (ca) LyuṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a neuter action noun 114].

has+LyuṬ = *hás-ana-m* 'laughter'; similarly *śóbh-ana-m* 'shining, beauty, luster, brilliance'; *jálp-ana-m* 'prattling' *śáy-ana-m* 'lying down'; *kár-aṇa-m* 'doing, performing, instrument'.

3.3.116 kárman̩-i ca y-éna saṁ-spraś-ā́t kart-úḥ śarīra-sukhá-m

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 LyuṬ 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kárman̩-i), contact with which (y-éna saṁ-spraś-ā́t) results in physical pleasure (śarīra-sukhá-m) experienced by the agent (kart-úḥ).

cándana-m ánu-limp-a-ti = *candana+∅*[1]*+anu+lip+LyuṬ* = *candanānu-lép-ana-ṁ sukhá-m* 'pleasure arising from anointing with sandal-wood paste'; *páyaḥ píb-a-ti* = *payaḥ-pā́na-ṁ sukhá-m* 'satisfaction arising from drinking milk'; but *tū́likā-yāḥ utthā́na-m* 'getting up from the bed of down is pleasant', since the upapadá is not the direct object. Similarly *agni-kuṇḍá-sya=upā́-sana-ṁ sukhá-m* 'it is pleasant to sit near the fire-place' since there is no physical contact; *guró-ḥ snā́-p-ana-ṁ sukhá-m* 'bathing of the preceptor is a pleasure', since the preceptor is not the agent of the action.

The purpose of this rule is in connection with the obligatory formation of nominal compounds, as otherwise the derivative is already provided for by the preceding rule 115.

3.3.117 [1]kárana-[2]adhi-káranay-os=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 LyuṬ 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an instrument (kárana-°) or a locus (°-adhi-kárana).

prá-vraśc-a-ti an-éna = *pra+vraśc+LyuṬ* = *pra-vrā́śc-ana-* 'instrument for cutting wood', in the genitive Tatpuruṣa compound *idhma-pra-vraśc-aná-* 'axe/wood-cutter'. Similarly: *śad+ṆiC+LyuṬ* = *śā́t-∅+ana-* (7.3.42) 'lopper, cutter' in *palā́śa-śāt-aná-* 'an instrument for lopping the foliage of P. tree'.

duh-yá-te a-syā́m = *duh+LyuṬ+ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *dóh-an-ī* in the Tatpuruṣá compound *gó-r dóh-anī* = *go-doh-an-ī́* (6.1.113) 'a pail in which the cow is milked, a receptacle for milk'; likewise *saktu-dhā-nī́* 'a vessel in which rice gruel is kept'.

3.3.118 púṁs-i saṁjñā́-yām GHá-ḥ prāy-éṇa

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] GHá is generally (prāy-éṇa) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote an instrument or locus 117] to form a masculine (púṁs-i) noun denoting a name (saṁjñā́-yām).

1. kárane : *chād-yá-te an-éna* = *chad+GHá* = *chad-á-* (6.4.51,96) 'covering' in the compound *danta-cchad-á-* 'a lip'.
2. adhi-káran-e: *ā+í-t-ya (LyaP)* = *é-t-ya tá-smin ku-rv-ánti* = *ā+kṛ̥+GHá* = *ā-kar-á-* 'a mine' in *ratnā-kar-á-* 'a mine of jewels (the ocean)'.

Counter-examples: when not masc.: *pra-sā́dh-ana-m* 'a comb' (with LyuṬ); when not a name: *pra-hár-aṇa-ḥ daṇḍá-ḥ* 'a staff or stick for beating'.

3.3.119 [1]go-cará-[2]saṁ-cará-[3]vahá-[4]vrajá=[5]vyaj-á=[6]ā-paṇ-á-[7]ni-gamā́s=ca

(The irregular expressions) go-car-á- 'domain', saṁ-car-á- 'pasturage', vahá- 'conveyance', vraj-á- 'cow-pen', vyajá- 'fan', ā-paṇ-á- 'market place' and ni-gam-á- 'Vedic passage' are introduced [as derived with the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHá 118, signifying an instrument or a locus 117 to form a masculine name 118].

This is a prior exception to 121 below. *gā́v-as=cár-anti a-smín deś-é = go+$\emptyset^1$+car=GHá = go-car-á- : indirya-go-car-á-ḥ* 'within the domain of perception by the sense organs'; *sáṁ-car-ante an-éna = saṁ-car-á-ḥ; váh-anti t-éna = vah-á-ḥ; vráj-anti t-éna = vraj-á-ḥ; vy-áj-anti t-éna = vy-aj-á-ḥ; é-t-ya tá-smin ā́-paṇ-anti = ā-paṇ-á-ḥ.*

3.3.120 áv-e [1]tṝ-[2]str-or GHaÑ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] tṝ- 'cross over, traverse' (I 1018) and stṝ- 'cover, spread' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 117-118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *áva-tar-a-ti a-smín = ava+tṝ=GHaÑ = ava-tār-á-ḥ* 'descent, especially of a divinity, incarnation'; similarly *ava-stār-á-ḥ* 'screen of cloth round a tent, a curtain in general'.

The word [prāy-éṇa] in 118 extends the use of these expressions to cover such cases as *ava-tār-ó nady-ā́ḥ* 'the descent or fall of a river' = *ava-tár-aṇa-m* where it is not a proper noun or name (saṁjñā).

3.3.121 ha̱L-as=ca

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (ha̱L-aḥ) [to form a mascuine noun 118 denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *likh-á-ti an-éna = likh+GhaÑ = lékh-a-ḥ/likh-á-ti a-smín vā = likh+GHaÑ = lékh-a-ḥ* 'writing instrument/document'; *vét-ti=an-éna = vid+GHaÑ = véd-a-ḥ* 'Véda, source of all knowledge'; *véṣṭ-a-te an-éna/a-smín vā = véṣṭ-a-ḥ* 'covering, cloth'; *ápa-mṛ̥j-ya-te an-éna vy-ā-dhíḥ = apa+mṛ̥j+GHaÑ = apā-mārg-á-ḥ* (6.3.112) 'the plant Achyranthus Aspera'.

3.3.122 [1]adhy-āy-á-[2]ny-āy-á-[3]ud-yāv-á-[4]saṁ-hār-á=[5]ā-dhār-á=[6]ā-vayā́s=ca

(The irregular expressions) adhy-āy-á- 'lesson, chapter', ny-āy-á- 'rule, law', ud-yāv-á- 'mixture', saṁ-hār-á- 'destruction', ā-dhār-á- 'support', ā-vā-y-á- 'cloth mill' are introduced [as derived with kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120, forming masculine nouns denoting names 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

adhī́-ya-te a-smín = adhi+iṄ+GHaÑ = adhy-āy-á-ḥ; nī-yá-te an-éna = ny-āy-á-ḥ; úd-yuv-anti a-smín = ud-yāv-á-ḥ; sáṁ-hri-yante saṁ-hār-á-ḥ; ā́-dhri-ya-te a-smín = ā-dhār-á-ḥ; ā́-vay-anti a-smín = ā-vāy-á-ḥ. Exceptions to GHá 118.

3.3.123 ud-aṅk-á-ḥ=án-udak-e

(The irregular expression) ud-aṅk-á- is introduced [as derived with the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117], when not co-occurring with udaka-.

While the form [ud-aṅk-á-] is derivable by 121 above, the irregularity lies in the fact that it is blocked out when co-occurring with [udaka-°]: *taila-m úd-ac-ya-te = úd-dhri-ya-te a-smín = taila+∅+ud+anc+GHaÑ = tailodaṅk-á-ḥ* 'a leather bag for storing oil', but *udakod-ánc-ana-ḥ* 'water jar'.

3.3.124 jā́l-am ā-nāy-á-ḥ

(The irregular expression) ā-nāy-á- is introduced to denote a net (jā́la-m) [as derived with the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to derive a masculine noun signifying a name 118 denoting an instrument 117].

ā́-nīyante an-éna (mátsyāḥ/mr̥gā́ḥ vā) = ā-nāy-á-ḥ 'a net to catch fish or animals'. The irregularity lies in restricting the meaning.

3.3.125 khán-aḥ=GHá ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 GHaÑ 120] as well as GHá are [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927) [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 indicating an instrument or locus 117].

ā́+khan+GHá/GHaÑ = ā-khan-á-/ā-khān-á-ḥ = ā́khan-a-ti/ā́-khan-ya-te vā an-éna 'a spade'.

3.3.126 ¹īṣád-²dús-³sú-ṣu ¹kṛcchrá=²ákṛcchra=artheṣu KHaL

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] KHaL is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles īṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° [to form an action noun 18 (cf. 3.4.70)] expressing the sense of 'difficult' (kṛcchrá-°) or 'easy' (á-kṛcchra-arthe-ṣu).

[kṛcchrá] qualifies [dús-°] while [á-kṛcchra-] qualifies the other two: *īṣát kri-yá-te* = *īṣat+kṛ+kHaL* = *īṣat-kár-a-* 'easily made or produced', and similarly *su-kár-a-; duṣ-kár-a-* 'made, produced or done with difficulty'; *suṣṭhú bhuj-yá-te* = *su+bhuj+KHaL* = *su-bhój-a-* 'easy to eat'.

The marker [KH] of the affix is for the purpose of inserting the augment [muM] (6.3.67) in the succeeding rules below.

3.3.127 ¹kartṛ́-²kárman-os=ca ¹bhū́-²kṛÑ-oḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.9 affix 1.1 KHaL 126] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhū́- 'become' (I 1) and kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) [with nominal padás 1.4] functioning as agent (kartṛ́-°) and direct object (kárman-) [and with the particles īṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126].

án-āḍhy-ena bhávat-ā sukhéna āḍhy-éna bhū-yá-te = *īṣad+āḍhya+* $\emptyset^1$*+muM+bhū́+KHaL* = *īṣad-āḍhya-bháv-a-m bhávat-ā* 'it is easily possible for you who are poor to become a little richer'.

Similarly *án-āḍhya-ḥ devadattá-ḥ sukh-éna āḍhayá-ḥ kri-yá-te* = *īṣad-āḍhya-ṁ-kára-ḥ devadattá-ḥ* 'poor D. can be made rich'.

3.3.128 āT-aḥ=yuC

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [-ā] [co-occurring with the particles īṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° to form action nouns 18 signifying 'easy' or 'difficult' 126].

Exception to KHaL 126. *īṣat+pā+yuC* = *īṣat+pā+aná* (7.1.1) = *iṣat-pāná-ḥ sóma-ḥ=bhávat-ā* 'Sóma can be easily drunk by you'; similarly *duṣ-pān-á-ḥ* / *su-pān-á-ḥ* 'drunk with difficulty/drunk with ease'.

3.3.129 chándas-i gáty-arthe-bhyaḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting the sense of 'movement' (gáty-arthe-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles īṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying 'difficult' or 'easy' 126].

su+upa+sad+yuC = *su-upa-sad-aná-* in *sūpa-sad-aná-ḥ=agní-ḥ* 'Agni who is easy to be approached' (T.S. 7.5.20.1); *sūpa-sad-aná-m antárikṣa-m* 'the intermediate region which is easy to be approached'.

3.3.130 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛ̥ś-yá-te

[In the domain of Chándas 129 the kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting (a sense other than 'movement' : anyé-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles īṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying 'difficult' or 'easy' 126].

su+vid+yuC+ṬāP = *su-ved-aná+ā* : *su-ved-anā́-m a-kṛ̥-ṇo-r bráhmaṇ-e gā́m* (RV 10.112.8) 'thou hast made the cow easy to be found'.

3.3.131 vartamāna-sāmīpy-é vartamāna-vát=vā

When the action refers to (a past or future time) proximate to the present time (varta-m-āna-sāmīpy-é), operations apply optionally (vā) which would apply when the action refers to the present time (varta-m-āna-vát).

In other words, an action taking place in the past or future time proximate to the present can be followed by l-substitutes specific to those times or alternately by those of the present time. To the question *ka-dā́ ā-ga-tá-ḥ=á-si* 'When have you arrived?' the response could be: *ayám ā́-gacch-ā-mi/āgácch-ant-am mā́ṁ víd-dhi* (+*ŚatṚ̥* 2.134) 'I have arrived just now/know that I have arrived just now'. Similarly for Q. *ka-dā́ gam-i-ṣyá-si* 'When will you go?' R. would be: *eṣá gácch-ā-mi* 'I will be going shortly' or alternately *eṣá gam-i-ṣyā́-mi/gantā́s-mi*.

3.3.132 ā-śaṁsā́-yām bhūta-vát=ca

When a wish (ā-śaṁsā́-yām) is expressed (that something will happen, necesssarily referring to the future) [l-substitutes proper to the present and future 131] as well as (ca) of the past (bhūta-vát) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

upādhyāyás=céd ā́-gam-at (lUṄ) / ā-ga-tá-ḥ (Ktá) / ā́-gacch-a-ti (lAṬ) /

ā́-gam-i-ṣya-ti (lṚ̥Ṭ) et-é vyā-káraṇa-m adhy-á-gī-ṣ-mahi / ádhī-ta-vant-aḥ / ádhī-mahe / ádhy-e-ṣyā-mahe 'if the teacher were to come today we would study grammar'. Only the Aorist is possible among the past tenses since it represents the general past. When a wish is not expressed, only the future forms occur.

3.3.133 kṣipra-vacan-é lṚ̥Ṭ

(The l-substitutes of) lṚ̥Ṭ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kṣiprá-° or its synonyms (kṣipra-vacan-é) 'quickly' [when a wish is expressed 132].

upādhyāyás=céd kṣiprám ā́-gam-i-ṣya-ti kṣiprám vyākáraṇa-m ádhy-e-ṣyā-mahe 'if the teacher were to come soon we will soon study grammar'.

3.3.134 ā-śaṁsā-vacan-é lIṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ (Optative or Potential Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the expression ā-śaṁsā́ 'hope' or its synonyms [when a wish is expressed 132].

upādhyāyás=céd ā́-gacch-et, ā́-śaṁs-e /ávapkalp-ay-e/yuk-tá-ḥ/kṣi-prá-m ádhīy-īya 'if the teacher will come I hope I will study with zeal'.

3.3.135 ná=an-adya-tana-vát [1]kriyā-prabandhá-[2]sā́mīpyay-oḥ

When there is continuity of action (kriyā-prabandhá-°) or proximity in the time of action (°-sā́mpīyay-oḥ) (l-substitutes of l-members="tenses and moods") not pertaining to the current day (an-adya-tana-vát) [= lAṄ 'Imperfect' and lUṬ 'Periphrastic Future'] are not (ná) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

1. *kriyā-prabandh-é: yā-vad=jīvá-m bhṛ̥śá-m ánna-m dā-syá-ti/á-dā-t* 'throughout his life he will be continuously giving food/has continuously given food' where lṚ̥Ṭ 'Sigmatic Future' and lUṄ 'Aorist' alone are introduced.
2. *sā́mīpy-e: yā́=iyám paurṇamāsī́=atī-tā́, etá-syām upādhyāyá-ḥ agní-m ā́-dhi-ta, sóm-ena=á-yaṣ-ṭa, gā́m á-di-ta* 'during the full-moon which has just passed, the teacher consecrated the fire, performed a Soma sacrifice and donated a cow', introducing the l-substitutes of lUṄ; similarly: *yā́=iyám paurṇamāsī́=ā-gām-ín-ī, etá-syām upādhyāyá-ḥ agní-m ā́-dhā-sya-te, sóm-ena yak-ṣyá-te, gā-m dā-syá-te* 'introducing the l-substitute of lṚ̥Ṭ.

3.3.136 bhav-i-ṣyát-i maryādā-vacan-é=ávara-smin

When the action refers to the future time (bhav-i-ṣy-át-i) and there is indication of a limit (maryādā-vacan-é) on this side (ávara-smin) of a place the future tense [not pertaining to the current day (= lUṬ 15 above) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

yá-ḥ=ayám ádhvā gan-távya-ḥ=ā́ pāṭaliputrāt, tá-sya yád ávara-m kauśā́mby-āḥ, tá-tra=odaná-m bhok-ṣyā́-mahe 'on this side of the road from K. to P. we will eat rice'. If this limit is not indicated, l-substitutes of lUṬ can also be introduced after verbal stems, and so also when the other side is indicated.

3.3.137 kāla-vi-bhāg-é ca=án-aho-rātrā́-ṇām

[When the action refers to the future time and there is indication of a limit on this side 136] with reference to a division of time (kāla-vi-bhāg-é) excluding day and night (án-aho-rātrā-ṇām) [the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135 (=lUṬ) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

yá-ḥ=ayám saṁvatsará-ḥ=ā-gā-mī́, tá-tra yád ávaram āgra-hāyaṇy-ā́ḥ tá-tra yuk-tā́-ḥ=ádhy-e-ṣyā-mahe 'in the year which is to come, in the month of Caitra (= March-April) we shall study with zeal' (lṚṬ). This restriction does not apply if the time division is day or night, or refers to a period other than the future, or there is no indication of limit, or this side is not denoted (cf. 138 below).

3.3.138 pára-smin vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the future time and there is an indication of a limit 136] on the other side (pára-smin) [of a place 136 or of a division of time, excluding day or night 137, the l-substitutes of the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135] are optionally (vibhāṣā) [not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

In the examples cited under 136-7, the Periphrastic Future Tense [lUṬ] forms can occur by this option.

3.3.139 lIṄ-nimitt-é lṚṄ kriyā=ati-patt-aú

(The l-substitutes of) lṚṄ (Conditional) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, when the action refers to the future time 136] under conditions prescribed for lIṄ (156 below: that one action is cause and the other an effect or result), provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about (kriyā=ati-patt-aú).

dákṣiṇ-ena céd ā́-yā-syat, ná śákaṭa-m pary ā́-bhav-i-sya-t 'if he had gone on the right side (of the road) the carriage would not have turned upside down'.

3.3.140 bhūt-é ca

When the action refers to the past time (bhūt-é) also (ca) [the l-substitutes of lṚṄ 139 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, under conditions prescribed for lIṄ provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about 139].

yádi surabhí-m ávāp-sya-s tan-mukhocchvāsa-gandhá-m táva ráti-m á-bhav-i-ṣyad puṇḍárīk-e kím a-smín? 'If you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus?'

3.3.141 vā=ā=[1]utá=[2]ápy-oḥ

Prior to the sūtra 152 [[1]utá=[2]ápy-oḥ sám-arthay-oḥ] the expressions [when the action refers to the past 140 the l-substitutes of lṚṄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 under conditions prescribed for lIṄ, provided the action which is the result does not actually come about 139 will recur in the subsequent statements] optionally (vā).

This is a governing rule or adhikārá.

3.3.142 garhā́-yām lAṬ=[1]ápi-[2]jā́tv-oḥ

(The l-substitutes of) lAṬ (Present Tense) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with ápi-° 'is it?' and jā́tu-° 'perhaps' to express censure (garhā́-yām).

This rule extends the scope of lAṬ, which by 2.123 was restricted to the present time only, to a general or common time (kāla-sāmānya).

ápi tatra-bhavān vṛṣalá-ṁ yājáy-a-ti? 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra?' / *jā́tu tatra-bhavān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-a-ti? gárh-ā-mahe* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra, we censure (you)'.

Since this is not covered by the conditions prescribed for lIṄ, lṚṄ does not operate.

3.3.143 vibhāṣā kathám-i lIṄ ca

[The l-members of lAṬ 142] as well as (ca) of lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kathám-° 'how?' [to denote censure 141] optionally (vibhāṣā).

Since there is option (141 above), l-substitutes of other l-members as required can also operate.

katháṁ nā́ma tátra-bhávān vr̥ṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-a-ti/yāj-ay-i-ṣya-ti/yāj-áy-ī-ta/yāj-áy-et/á-yāj-ay-a-t/yāj-ay-ā́ṁ+ca-kā́-ra? 'how can you officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not come about lR̥Ṅ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.144 kiṁ-vr̥tt-é [1]lIṄ-[2]lR̥Ṭ-au

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ and lR̥Ṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with declined forms of (the pronominal stem) kím- 'what, who, which?' (kiṁ-vr̥tt-é) [to denote censure 142].

Exception to all other l-members: *kó nā́ma vr̥ṣalá-ḥ yá-ṁ tátra-bhávān yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti* 'who indeed is the śūdra for whom you will officiate at a sacrifice? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually take place, lR̥Ṅ will occur optionally: *ká-ḥ=nā́ma vr̥ṣalá-ḥ yáṁ tátra-bhávān yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti?*

3.3.145 [1]an-ava-kl̥pti=[2]á-marṣay-or á-kiṁ-vr̥tt-e=ápi

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ and lR̥Ṭ 144 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with 144] as well as without the declined forms of (the pronominal stem) kím- 'who, what, which?' to denote an impossibility (án-ava-kl̥pti-°) or intolerance (°-á-marṣay-oḥ).

Exception to all other l-members.

1. án-ava-kl̥pt-au: *ná sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi/śrád-da-dhe tátra bhávān nā́ma vr̥ṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti* 'I do not believe it is possible for you to officiate at a sacrifice for a vr̥. (an outcast)' (i.e., there is none).
2. á-marṣ-e: *na marṣ-áy-ā-mi tátra-bhávān vr̥ṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti* 'I cannot tolerate you officiating at a sacrifice for a vr̥.'; or *ká-ḥ=nā́ma vr̥ṣalá-ḥ=yáṁ tátra-bhávān yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti?*

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually come about, lR̥Ṅ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future: *ná=áva-kalp-ay-ā-mi tátra-bhávān nā́ma vr̥ṣalá-m á-yāj-ay-i-ṣya-t.*

3.3.146 [1]kíṁ=kíla=[2]asti=arthé-ṣu lṚṬ

(The l-substitutes of) lṚṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kíṁ-kíla and expressions denoting the sense of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) (= as-, kṛ-, bhū́- and vid- IV 62) [denoting improbability or intolerance 145].

Exceptions to lIṄ.

1. *kíṁ-kíla nā́ma tátra-bhávān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti* 'what a pity you are officiating at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'
2. *bháv-a-ti / víd-ya-te nā́ma tátra-bhávān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-ay-i-ṣyá-ti* 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ? (I think it is improbable, I cannot tolerate it)'.

3.3.147 [1]jā́tu-[2]yád-or lIṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with jā́tu 'perhaps' and yád- 'which, what' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

Exception to lṚṬ; *jā́tu tátra-bhávān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-et* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ? (I do not think it probable)'; *yád=nā́ma tátra-bhávān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-et* 'that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ (I cannot tolerate it)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not actually come about lṚṄ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.148 [1]yát=ca-[2]yátray-oḥ

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yát=ca 'and which' and yátra 'where' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

yát=ca / yátra tátra-bhávān vṛṣalá-ṁ yāj-áy-et 'I don't think it probable / I cannot bear to think that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'

If the resulting action is not realized (kriyā=atipatt-aú 139,141) lṚṄ will optionally occur when it refers to the past and necessarily if the action refers to the future.

3.3.149 garhā́-yām̐ ca

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yát=ca and yátra 148] to denote censure (garhā́-yām) also.

Exception to all l-members. *yát=ca/yátra tátra-bhávān vr̥ṣalá-m̐ yāj-áy-et, r̥ddhá-ḥ vr̥ddhá-ḥ sán brāhmaṇá-ḥ, gárh-ā-mahe, aho ányāyya-m etát* 'we censure you, an elderly, prosperous brahmin, that you would officiate at a sacrifice for a vr̥; it is entirely unbecoming'.

If the action is not realized (149,151) and refers to the past, lR̥Ṅ is optionally introduced.

3.3.150 citrī-káraṇ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yát=ca and yátra 148] to denote wonder (citrī-káraṇ-e).

yát=ca/yátra tátra-bhávān vr̥ṣalá-m̐ yāy-áy-et āścarya-m etat 'it is a wonder that you should officiate at a sacrifice for a vr̥.' When [kriyā-ati-pattí 145] occurs lR̥Ṅ is optionally used.

3.3.151 śéṣ-e lR̥Ṭ=á-yad-au

In the remaining cases (śéṣ-e : excluding co-occurrence with yác-ca and yátra 148) (the l-substitutes of) lR̥Ṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] not co-occurring with yádi 'if' [to express wonder 150].

Exception to all other l-members. *āścárya-m/citrá-m/ádbhuta-m andhá-ḥ=nā́ma párvata-m ā́-rok-ṣya-ti, badhirá-ḥ=nā́ma vy-ā-kárana-m ádhy-e-ṣya-te* 'it is verily wonderful/strange/astonishing that a blind man should climb a mountain (or) a deaf person should study grammar'. But with [yádi] *āścárya-m̐ yádi sa bhuñj-ītá* 'it will be a wonder if he will eat'.

3.3.152 [1]utá-[2]ápy-oḥ sám-arthay-oḥ=lIṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with utá and ápi denoting the same sense (sám-arthay-oḥ) (= 'doubtless, certainly').

Exception to all other l-members. *utá/ápi kur-yā́t* 'assuredly he does/will do'. *utá/ápi ádhīy-ītá* 'certainly he will study', but in other senses: *utá daṇḍá-ḥ pat-i-ṣyá-ti*? 'will the staff fall down?' and *ápi dvā́ra-m̐ dhā-syá-ti* 'hope he shuts the door'.

3.3.153 kāma-pra-vedan-é=á-kaccit-i

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] except when co-occurring with káccid (a particle of interrogation) to make known one's desire (kāma-pra-vedan-é).

Exception to all other l-members: *kāmá-ḥ=me bhuñj-ītá bhávān* 'it is my wish that you should eat', but *káccid jī́v-a-ti te mātā́ káccid jī́v-a-ti te pitā́* 'is your mother alive, is your father alive?'

3.3.154 sam-bhávān-e=álam iti cét siddha=a-prayog-é

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ 152 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the expectation (sam-bhā̂van-e) (that someone is capable of performing the action), provided the implied word álam 'capable' (or its synonym) is not actually used (siddha=a-prayog-é).

ápi párvata-ṁ śíras-ā bhind-yā́t '(it seems) that he is capable of breaking the hill with his head'; *ápi droṇa-pā́ka-m bhuñj-ītá* '(it seems) that he is capable of eating a whole droṇa measure of cooked food'; but *videśa-stháḥ devadattá-ḥ prāy-éṇa gam-i-ṣyá-ti grā́ma-m* 'it is expected that D., who has gone abroad, will return (some day) to his (original) village', and *álaṁ devadattá-ḥ hastín-am han-i-ṣyá-ti* 'D, has the capacity to kill an elephant'. When the action which is the result does not actually come about, lṚṄ is necessarily introduced to denote the past and future times.

3.3.155 vibhāṣā dhā́t-au sam-bhāvana-vacan-é=á-yadi

[The l-substitutes of lIṄ 152] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with a verbal stem (dhā́t-au) denoting expectation (sam-bhāvana-vacan-é) but not with yád- 'which'.

sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi / áva-kalp-ay-ā-mi bhuñj-ītá/bhok-ṣyá-te bhávān 'I expect that you are capable of eating', but *sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi yád bhavān bhu-ñ-j-ītá*.

3.3.156 [1]hetú-[2]hetu-mát-or lIṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] which is the cause (hetú) and (another verbal stem 1.91) which is the effect (hetu-mát-oḥ).

Exception to all other l-members: by repeating the word [lIṄ] here when it already recurs from 152 above, this usage is restricted to the future time only.

dákṣiṇ-ena céd yā-yā́t śákaṭa-ṁ ná pary-ā́-bhav-et 'if he goes by the right side (of the road), the cart will not turn upside down'. The Optative forms are derived thus: *yā+lIṄ* = *yā+ŚaP+tiP* (1.68; 4.78) = *yā+∅*[1]*+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t∅* (4.100,103,107) =*yā-yā́∅+∅+t* = *yā-yā́-t; pary-ā́+bhū+lIṄ* = *pary-ā́-bhū+ŚaP + yā́s+suṬ+t* = *pary-ā́-bhav-a+yā∅+∅+t* = *pary-ā́-bhav-a+iy+t* (7.2.80) = *pary-ā́-bhav-e-t* (6.1.87).

By interpretation the expression [vibhāṣā 155] recurs here so as to provide for introduction of lṚṬ to denote the future time: *dákṣiṇ-ena céd yā-sáy-ti śákaṭa-m ná pary-ā́-bhav-i-ṣya-ti*.

3.3.157 icchā=arthé-ṣu ¹lIṄ-²lOṬ-au

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ and lOṬ (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verbal stem 155] denoting the sense of 'desire, wish' (icchā=arthé-ṣu).

icch-ā́-mi/kām-áy-e/prā́-rth-ay-e bhuñj-īt́á/bhuṅk-tā́m bhávān 'I wish you would eat'; the modal forms are derived thus: *bhuj+lIṄ* = *bhuj+ŚnaM+sīyuṬ+suṬ+tá* (1.78; 4.102,107) = *bhu-na-j+∅īy+∅+tá* (7.2.79) = *bhu-n∅-j+īy+tá* (6.4.111) = *bhuñj-ī∅+tá* (6.1.66) = *bhuñj-ī-tá; bhuj+lOṬ* = *bhuj+ŚnaM+tā́m* (4.90) = *bhu-n∅+j+tā́m* (6.4.111) = *bhuṅk-tā́m* (8.2.30).

3.3.158 samāná-kartṛke-ṣu tumuN

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] tumuN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verb 155 denoting the sense of 'wish' 157] provided the two (or more) actions are performed by the same agent (samāná-kartṛke-su).

icch-á-ti/kām-áy-a-te/váṣ-ṭi/vā́ñch-a-ti bhók-tum (= *bhúj+tumuN* = *bhój+tum* 7.3.84 = *bhók-tum* 8.2.30) 'desires to eat'; but *devadattá-ṁ bhuñj-āná-m icch-á-ti yajñadattá-ḥ* 'Y. desires D. to eat (something)', the two agents being not identical.

3.3.159 lIṄ ca

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another verb 155 meaning 'wish, desire' 157, provided both actions are performed by the same agent 158].

bhuñj-īyá=iti=icch-á-ti = *bhók-tum icch-á-ti* 'wishes to eat (lit. I will eat, he wishes)'. When [kriyā-ati-pat-tí 139] is indicated, lṚṄ is introduced.

3.3.160 icchā-arthe-bhyaḥ=vibhāṣā várt-a-m-ān-e

When the action refers to the present time (vart-a-m-ān-e) [the l-substitutes of lIṄ 159 are introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when they denote 'desire, wish'.

This is an alternative to lAṬ 2.123. *icch-é-t/icch-á-ti; uś-yā́-t/váṣ-ṭi kām-áy-e-ta/kām-áy-a-te* 'desires, wishes'.

3.3.161 [1]vidhí-[2]ni-mántr-aṇa-[3]ā-mántr-aṇa=[4]ádhi=iṣṭa-[5]sam-praś-ná-[6]pra=árth-ane-ṣu lIṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote (a) a command (vi-dh-í), (b) summons (ni-mántr-aṇa), (c) invitation (ā-mántr-aṇa), (d) respectful command (ádhi+iṣ-ṭa), (e) deliberation (sam-praś-ná) and (f) request (pra+árth-ana).

The repetition of [lIṄ] here when it already recurs from 159 is to block the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from 160.

1. vidhí: *káṭa-ṁ-kur-yā́-t* 'he shall/must make a mat'; *grā́ma-m bhávān gacch-é-t* 'you shall/must go the village'.
2. ni-mántr-aṇa: *i-há bhávān bhuñj-ī-tá* 'here you will eat'.
3. ā-mántr-aṇa: *i-há bhávān ās-ī-tá* 'please sit here'.
4. ádhīṣṭa: *māṇavaká-m bhávān úpa-nay-e-t* 'kindly initiate the lad'.
5. sam-praśná: *kíṁ nú khálu vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhīy-īy-a?* 'should/must I indeed study grammar?'.
6. prārthana: *vȳ-a-kár-aṇa-m ádhīy-īy-a* 'please, I would like to study grammar'.

3.3.162 lOṬ ca

(The l-substitutes of) lOṬ (Imperative Mood) also (ca) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote a command, summons, invitation, respectful command, deliberation and request 161].

The splitting of this from the preceding statement is for restricting the following sūtra-s only to lOṬ.

1. vidhí: *grā́ma-m bhavān gácch-a-tu.*
2. nimántrana: *ihá bhávān bhuṅk-tā́m.*
3. āmántrana: *ihá bhávān ās-tā́m.*
4. ádhīṣṭa : *māṇavaká-m bhávān úpa-nay-a-tām.*
5. sampraśná: *kíṁ nú khálu vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ay-ai.*
6. prārthana: *vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ay-ai.*

The meanings correspond to those cited in the preceding sūtra.

3.3.163 [1]praiṣá=[2]ati-sargá-[3]prā́pta-kāle-ṣu kr̥̄tyās=ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.2] denoted by the t.t. kr̥tya (1.95ff.) in addition to (ca) [l-substitutes of lOṬ 162 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an order (praiṣá°), permission (atisargá) and appropriate time or opportunity (prāpta-kālá).

[praiṣá] differs from [vidhí] in that it is an order given to a hired servant, while [vidhí] is a general rule applicable to all. More specifically it is an act of sending or commission.

bhávat-ā káṭa-ḥ kar-távya-ḥ/kar-tavyà-ḥ/kar-aṇī́ya-ḥ/kŕ̥-t-ya-ḥ/kāryà-ḥ = kar-ó-tu bhavān káṭa-m i-há préṣ-i-ta-ḥ/átisr̥ṣṭa-ḥ/bhávat-aḥ prāpta-kālá-tā kaṭa-karaṇ-é 'you must/you may/it is the proper time to make a mat'.

3.3.164 lIṄ ca=ū́rdhva-mauhurtik-e

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ (Optative or Potential Mood) in addition to (ca) [those of lOṬ 162 and the kr̥t 1.93 affixes denoted by the t.t. kr̥tya 163 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express a directive, permission and appropriate time or opportunity 163] when the action takes place in the future within a muhūrtá (ū́rdhva-mauhūrtik-e).

ūrdhvá-m muhūrt-ā́t / upári muhūrtá-sya bhávat-ā khálu káṭa-ḥ kar-távya-ḥ / kar-tavyà-ḥ / kar-aṇī́ya-ḥ / kŕ̥-t-ya-ḥ / kār-yà-ḥ = bháván káṭa-ṁ kur-yā́-t / kar-ó-tu 'you must / you may / it is the proper time to make a mat within the hour'.

3.3.165 sm-e lOṬ

(The l-substitutes of) lOṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma [to denote a directive, permission or proper time 163 when the action takes place within a muhūrtá 164].

Exception to lIṄ and kr̥tya affixes 163-4. *bhávān ūrdhvá-m muhūrt-ā́t káṭa-ṁ kar-ó-tu sma* 'you must/you may/it is the proper time for you to make a mat within the hour'.

3.3.166 ádhīṣṭ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of lOṬ 165 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 165] also (ca) to express a respectful command or request (ádhīṣṭ-e).

Exception to lIṄ 161. *bhávān sma mā́-m ádhy-āp-ay-a-tu* 'please instruct me'.

3.3.167 ¹kāla-²samaya-³velā-su tumuN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] tumuN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [nominal padás 1.4] kālá-, samayá- 'time' and vélā 'moment, time'.

kālá-ḥ/samayá-ḥ/vélā bhók-tum 'it is time to eat'.

3.3.168 lIṄ yád-i

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yád [and the nominal padás 1.4 kālá-, samayá- and vélā 167].

kālá-ḥ/samayá-ḥ/vélā yád bhávān bhuñj-ī-tá 'it is the time for you to eat'.

3.3.169 arh-é ¹kṛtya-²tṛC-as=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) and tṛC in addition to [l-substitutes of lIṄ 168 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to express (that the agent is) deserving of the action (arh-é).

bhávat-ā khálu kanyà vo-ḍhavyā́/vo-ḍhávyā/ vāh-yā́/vah-anī́yā 'you are fit/worthy to marry the girl' or *bhávān khálu kanyā́-yāḥ = vah+tṛ́C = vaḍh+tṛ́-* (8.2.31) = *voḍh+tṛ́-* (6.3.112) = *voḍh+dhṛ́-* (8.2.40) = *voḍh+ḍhṛ́-* (8.4.41) = *vo-∅+ḍhṛ́+sU* (8.3.13) = *vo-ḍhā́* (7.3.94; 6.1.68; 4.8; 8.2.7)/ = *bhávān khálu kanyā̀m váh-e-t*.

3.3.170 ¹ā́vaśyaka=²ā́dhamarṇyay-oḥ=Ṇíni-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṇíni is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote that the (agent) performs the action as a necessity (ā́vaśyak-e) or as an obligation (ā́dhama-rṇy-e).

1. necessity: *ávaśya-m+kṛ+Ṇíni* = *avaśya-ṁ+kār-ín-* 'performing as a necessity' (2.1.72).
2. obligation: *śatá-m+dā+Ṇini* = *śatá-ṁ dā-y-ín-* (7.3.33) 'obliged to pay a hundred pieces'.

3.3.171 kṛ́tyās=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote that the agent performs the action as a necessity or obligation 170].

1. necessity: *ávaśya-ṁ kar-távya-ḥ / kar-tavyà-ḥ / kar-aṇī́ya-ḥ / kār-yà-ḥ / kṛ́-t-ya-ḥ* 'must necessarily be done'.
2. obligation: *sahásra-ṁ dā-távya-am/dā-tavyà-m/dé-yam* 'obliged to pay a thousand pieces'.

3.3.172 śak-i lIṄ ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 denoted by the t.t. kṛtya 171] as well as (ca) (l-substitutes of) lIṄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to denote (the agent's) capacity (śak-i) to perform the action.

bhávat-ā khálu bhārá-ḥ vo-ḍhávya-ḥ/vo-ḍhavayà-ḥ/vah-anī́y-aḥ/vāh-yà-ḥ = bhávān khálu bhārá-ṁ váh-e-t 'you are able to carry the load'.

3.3.173 āśíṣ-i [1]lIṄ-[2]lOṬ-au

(The l-substitutes of) lIṄ and lOṬ (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to express benediction (āśíṣ-i).

cirám jīv-yā́-t/jī́v-a-tu bhávān 'may you live long'. The specific lIṄ here is the Benedictive or Precative Mood and is derived as follows: *jīv+lIṄ(āśíṣi) = jīv+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* (4.100,103,107) = *jīv+yā́s+s+t = jīv-yā́∅+∅+t* (8.2.29) = *jīv-yā́-t*. *jīv+lOṬ = jī́v+ŚaP+tu* (4.86) = *jī́v-a-tu*.

3.3.174 [1]KtíC=[2]Kt-aú ca saṁjñā́-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] KtíC and Ktá are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express benediction 173] to derive a name (saṁjñā-yām).

1. *tan-u-tā́t = tan+KtíC = tan-tí-* (6.4.39) 'a weaver'; *san-u-tā́t = san+KtiC = sā∅-tí- / san-tí- / sa∅-tí* (6.4.42,45) 'gift'; similarly: *bhū-tí-* 'existence'; *man-tí-* 'respect'.
2. Ktá: *dev-ās=enam de-yās-uḥ = deva-dattá-ḥ* (cf. 6.2.148).

3.3.175 mā́Ṅ-i lUṄ

(The l-substitutes of) lUṄ (Aorist) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle mā́Ṅ.

Exception to all other l-members. *mā́ kṛ+lUṄ = mā́ á-kār+siC+s* (1.44; 4.100; 7.2.1) = *mā́+á-kār+s+īṬ+s* (7.3.96) = *mā́ ∅-kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ* (6.4.74; 8.4.1) 'don't do (it)'.

3.3.176 sma=uttar-e lAṄ ca

[The l-substitutes of lUṄ 175] as well as (ca) of lAṄ (Imperfect) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma following [particle māṄ 175] (sma=uttar-e).

mā́ sma+kr̥+laṄ/lUṄ = mā́ sma kar-o-ḥ (6.4.74/*kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ*).

3.4.1 dhātu-sam-bandh-é praty-ayā́ḥ

Affixes (praty-ayā́ḥ) [which are introduced under specific conditions of time such as past (bhūt-é 2.84), present (várt-a-m-āne 2.128) or future (bhav-i-syát-i 3.3)] occur also when their verbal stems are connected with other verbal stems (dhātu-sambandhé) [and the actions denoted are related to other actions referring to dfferent times].

In the sentence *agni-ṣṭoma-yāj-ī́=a-syá putrá-ḥ=jan-i-tā́* 'to him a son will be born who will have performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice' the word *agni-ṣṭoma-yājín-* denotes one who has actually performed that sacrifice in the past (bhūté 2.84ff.) while the word *jani-i-tā́s+Ḍā* represents the future (lR̥̥Ṭ 3.13). The reference to *jan-i-tā́s-* gives *agni-ṣṭomá-yāj-ín-* (basically applying to the past) a future meaning. The main verb with personal l-substitutes (tiṄ=antas) determines the general trend of other affixes despite their time differences.

3.4.2 kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é lOṬ, lOṬ-aḥ=[1]hí-[2]sv-aú vā ca [1]tá-[2]dhvám-oḥ

(The l-substitutes of) lOṬ (Imperative Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times 1] when the action is repetitive (kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é) and the substitute affixes °-hí and °-svá replace (the l-substitutes of) lOṬ (lOṬ-aḥ), but optionally (vā) the affixes °ta and °dhvám (of lOṬ).

lu-nī-hí lu-ní-hí iti=evá=ayáṁ lu-nā́ti/lav-i-ṣyá-ti/á-lāv-ī-t 'he cuts/will cut/has cut repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "cut, cut")'; instead of *ay-ám lu-nā́-ti* the string can have: *im-aú lu-nī-táḥ / im-é lu-n-ánti* with an alternative *lu-nī-tá lu-nī-tá* or *lu-nī-dhvám lu-nī-dhvám* and similarly *lu-nī-ṣvá lu-nī-ṣvá* for *lu-nī-hí lu-nī-hí.*

ádhī-ṣva ádhī-ṣva/ádhī-dhvam ádhī-dhvam ity evá=ayám/imé ádhīte/ádhīy-ate 'he studies/they study repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "study, study")'.

3.4.3 sam-uc-cay-é=anya-tará-syām

[The l-substitutes of lOṬ 2] are optionally (anya-tarásyām) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when there is an accumulation (sam-ut=cay-é) of many verbal stems [to denote all times 1 when the action is repetitive or intensive and substitute affixes °-hí and °svá replace the l-substitutes of lOṬ, but optionally the affixes °tá and °-dhavám 2].

1. accumulation of a single verbal stem: ***bhrā́ṣṭra-m ā́ṭ-a, maṭha-m ā́ṭ-a, khadūra-am ā́ṭ-a ity evá=ayám ā́ṭ-a-ti/aṭ-i-ṣyáti/ā́ṭ-ī-t*** 'roams continuously (lit. 'go to the fireplace, go to college, go to the inner apartment', thus thinking he roams/will roam/has roamed continuously)'.
2. accumulation of different verbal stems: ***sáktū-n pib-a, dhānā́ḥ khā́d-a ity evá=ayám abhy-áva-har-a-ti*** 'consumes without stopping (lit. 'drink barley meal, eat fried rice', thus thinking he eats continuously)'.
3. ***chándaḥ ádhī-ṣva, vy-ākár-aṇa-m ádhī-ṣva/ádhī-dhvam ity evá=ayám ádhī-te/imé ádhī-y-ate*** 'continuously he studies/they study (lit. 'study metrics, study grammar', thus thinking he studies/they study continuously)'.

3.4.4 yathā-vidhí=anu-pra-yog-á-ḥ pū́rva-smin

In the first case (pū́rva-smin = referred to in 2 above) the subsequent clause employs (the same verbal stem) as the one (after which the l-substitutes of lOṬ are introduced) (yathá-vidhí anu-pra-yogáḥ).

The examples have been cited accordingly under 2 above.

3.4.5 sam=ut=cay-é sāmānya-vacaná-sya

In the case of accumulation (of verbal stems: sam-ut=cay-é as in 3 above) [the subsequent clause employs a verbal stem] which denotes the sense common (to all the verbal stems: sāmānya-vacaná-sya) [after which the l-substitutes of lOṬ are optionally introduced 3].

The examples are cited accordingly under 3 above.

3.4.6 chándas-i [1]lUṄ-[2]lAṄ-[3]lIṬ-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas (the l-substitutes of) lUṄ (Aorist), lAṄ (Imperfect) and lIṬ (Perfect) are [optionally 3 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times in relation to other verbal stems 1].

1. lUṄ: ***ahám té-bhyaḥ=á-kar-am námaḥ = ahám té-bhyaḥ kar-ó-mi námaḥ*** 'I make obeisance to them'. The Aorist form is derived thus: ***kr̥+lUṄ = kr̥+Cli+am*** (1.43; 4.101) = ***á-kr̥+aṄ+am*** (1.59) = ***ákar-am*** (7.4.16), the accent being dropped by 8.1.28.
2. lAṄ: ***agní-m adyá hotā́r-am á-vr̥-nī-ta=ayám yáj-a-m-āna-ḥ*** 'this sacrificer chooses today Agni as the Priest'. ***vr̥+lAṄ = ávr̥+Śnā+ta*** (1.81) = ***á-vr̥-nī-ta*** (6.4.113) = ***ávr̥-ṇī-ta*** (8.4.1) for ***vr̥-ṇī-té***.
3. lIṬ: ***adyá ma-mā́r-a = mr̥+lIṬ = ma-mr̥+ṆaL*** (6.1.8; 7.4.66); = ***ma-mā́r-a*** (7.2.115) = ***adyá mri-yá-te*** 'dies today'.

3.4.7 lIṄ=arth-e lEṬ

(The l-substitutes of) lEṬ (Subjunctive Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in the domain of Chándas 6] to denote the meanings of lIṄ (Optative or Potential Mood 3.156,161).

juṣ+lEṬ = *juṣ+si̱P+t* (1.34; 4.97) = *joṣ+iṬ+s+t* (7.2.35; 3.98) = *joṣ-i-s+aṬ+t* (4.94) = *jóṣ-i-ṣ-a-t* (8.3.59) 'let him take pleasure in' (RV 2.35.1) for the regular current form: *juṣ+lIṄ* = *juṣ+Śa+sīyuṬ+suṬ+tá* (1.77, 4.102,107) = *juṣ+a+∅-īy+∅+tá* (7.2.79) = *juṣ+a+y∅+tá* (6.1.66) = *juṣ-e-tá* (6.1.87).

Similarly *tā́r-i-ṣa-t* 'let him stretch forth'; *né-ṣ-a-t* 'may he lead'; *pát-ā-ti vi-dyút* 'may lightning fall' [= *pat+ŚaP+āṬ+ti* (94)].

3.4.8 [1]upa-saṁ-vāda=[2]ā-śaṅkay-os=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the l-substitutes of lEṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a mutual accord (upa-saṁ-vādá) or apprehension (ā-śaṅk-ā́).

upa-saṁ-vādá: *ahám evá paśū́-nām ī́ś ai* 'as for me, I shall control the cattle' [*īś+lEṬ* = *īś+e* (79) = *īś+ai* (93)].

3.4.9 tum=arth-é [1]sé-[2]seN-[3]áse=[4]aseN-[5]Ksé-[6]KaseN+ [7]ádhyai=[8]ádhyaiN-[9]Kádhyai-[10]KadhyaiN-[11]Śádhyai-[12]ŚadhyaiN-[13]tavaí-[14]táveṄ-[15]taveN-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kr̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] (beginning with) sé and (ending with 15) taveN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense (of the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumu̱N).

(1) sé: *vac+sé* = *vak-ṣé* (8.2.30; 3.57) = *vák-tuṁ : vak-ṣé rā́y-aḥ* 'to speak of wealth'.
(2) seN: = *´-se: iN̥+seN* = *é-ṣe* = *é-tum* 'to go'.
(3) áse: *jīv-áse* = *jī́v-i-tum* 'to live'.
(4) aseN = *´-ase: jī́v-ase.*
(5) Ksé: *pra+iN̥+Ksé* = *pra+i-ṣe* = *pre-ṣé* = *praí-tum* 'to send'.
(6) KaseN = *´-ase: śri+KaseN* = *śrí+ase* = *śríy-ase* (6.4.77) 'to find support'.
(7) ádhyai: *upa+ā+car+ádhyai* = *upā-car-ádhyai* 'to approach'.
(8) adhyaiN = *´-adhyai: upā-cár-adhyai.*
(9) Kádhyai: *ā+hu+Kádhyai* = *ā-huv-ádhyai* 'to sacrifice'.
(10) KadhyaiN = *´-Kadhyai: śri+KadhyaiN* = *śríy-adhyai* 'to find support'.
(11) Śádhyai: *mad+N̥ic+ŚaP+Śádhyai* = *mād-ay-ádhyai* 'to cause exhilaration'.
(12) ŚadhyaiN = *´-Sadhyai: pā́+ŚaP+adhyai* = *píb-adhyai* (6.1.97) = *pā́-tum* 'to drink'.
(13) távaí = *´-tavaí* (6.1.200): *pā́-tavaí* = *pā́-tum.*

(14) táveṄ: *sūtáve* = *sótum* 'to give birth to'.
(15) taveN = *´-tave: kár-tave* = *kár-tum* 'to drink'.

3.4.10 prayaí rohíṣyai a-vyathíṣyai

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] prayaí 'to advance', roh-íṣyai 'to ascend' and a-vyath-íṣyai 'for not trembling' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN].

By interpretation the forms are derived as follows: *pra+yā+Kaí* = *pra-y∅+aí* (6.4.64) = *pra-y-aí* = *pra-yā́-tum* 'to advance, go forward'.
ruh+íṣyai = *roh-íṣyai* 'to mount, ascend'. *naÑ+vyath+íṣyai* = *a-vyath-íṣyai* 'not to torment'.

3.4.11 dr̥śé vikhyé ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] dr̥ś-é 'to see' and vikhy-é 'to consider, behold' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9].

dr̥ś+Ké = *dr̥ś-é* = *dráṣ-ṭum; vi+cakṣ+Ké* = *vi-khyā+Ké* = *vi-khy∅+é* (6.4.64) = *vi-khy-é* = *vi-khyā́-tum*.

3.4.12 śak-i [1]ṆamuL-[2]KamuL-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kŕ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] ṆamuL and KamuL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9] when co-occurring with the verbal stem śak- 'be able' (V 15).

agním vai devā́ vi-bhā́j-am nā́-śak-nuv-an 'the gods were incapable of dividing Agni': *vi+bhaj+ṆamuL* = *vi-bhā́j-am* (7.2.116; 6.1.193).
apa-lúp-am nā́-śak-nuv-an 'were unable to cut off' = *apa-lóp-tum*.

3.4.13 ī́śvar-e [1]tosuN-[2]KasuN-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kŕ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] tosuN and KasuN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 9] co-occurring [with the nominal padá 1.4] ī́śvara.

ī́ś-vara-ḥ=abhi-cár-i-toḥ/vi-líkh-aḥ/vi-tŕ̥d-aḥ 'capable of enchanting/scratching/piercing'. *abhi+car+iṬ+tosūN* = *abhi-cár-i-tos* = *abhi-cár-i-toḥ* (8.3.15). *vi+likh/tr̥d+KasuN* = *vi-líkh-as/vi-tŕ̥d-as* = *vi-líkh-aḥ/vi-tŕ̥d-aḥ*.

3.4.14 kṛtya=arth-é ¹tavaí-²Ken-³Kénya-⁴tvaN-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛ́t 1.93 affixes 1.1] tavaí, KeN, Kénya and tvaN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense of kṛ́tya 1.95 affixes (1.1).

anu+iṆ+tavaí = *ánv-e-tavaí* (6.1.200) = *anv-e-távya-* 'to go along, follow'; *ava+gāh+KeN* = *ava-gā́h-e* = *ava-gāh-i-tavyàT* 'to be plunged'; *dṛś+saN+Kénya* = *di-dṛś+sa+Kénya* = *di-dṛs-sa-énya* (8.2.36) = *di-dṛk-ṣ∅-éṇya* (8.2.41; 6.4.48; 8.3.59) = *di-dṛk-ṣ-i-távya-* 'deserving of being seen'; *kṛ+tvaN* = *kár-tva-* = *kar-távya-* 'to be accomplished'.

3.4.15 ava-cákṣ-e ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expression] ava-cákṣ-e 'to be perceived' is also (ca) introduced [with the meaning of kṛ́tya 14 affixes 1.1].

ava+cakṣ+eŚ = *ava-cákṣ-e* (with irregular accent) = *ava-khyā-távya-* 'to look down upon'.

3.4.16 bhāva-láksaṇ-e ¹sthā=²iṆ-³kṛ-⁴vádi̲-⁵cári̲-⁶hu-⁷tami̲-⁸jáni̲-bhyas tosu̲N

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] tosu̲N is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] sthā- 'remain, stand' (I 975), iṆ- 'go' (II 36), kṛ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), vád- 'speak' (I 1058), cár- 'move; graze' (I 591), hu- 'offer an oblation' (III 1), tám- 'grow tired' (IV 93) and ján- 'be born' (IV 41) when expressing verbal action (bhāva-lákṣaṇ-e) [to denote the sense of the kṛ́t 1.93 affix tumu̲N 9].

ā saṁ-sthā́-toḥ = *saṁ-sthā́-tum* 'up to the end or finish'; *purā́ sū́rya-sya ud-é-toḥ* [= *ud+iṆ+tosu̲N*] 'before the rising of the sun'; *apa-kár-toḥ* = *apa-kar-tum* 'to remove, for removing'; *pra-vád-i-toḥ* = *pra-vád-i-tum* 'for uttering'; *pra-cár-i-toḥ* = *pra-cár-i-tum* 'for proceeding'; *ho-toḥ* = *hó-tum* 'for offering an oblation'; *tám-i-toḥ* 'for becoming tired'; *vi-ján-i-toḥ* 'for originating'.

3.4.17 ¹sṛpi̲-²tṛd-oḥ Kasu̲N

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1] Kasu̲N is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sṛp- 'creep' (I 1032) and tṛd- 'pierce' (VII 9) [to express verbal action 16 in the sense of the kṛ́t 1.93 affix tumu̲N 9].

vi-sr̥p+KasuN = *vi-sŕ̥p-aḥ* 'to be scattered'; similarly *ā-tŕ̥d-aḥ* 'for piercing'.

3.4.18 [1]álam=[2]khálv-oḥ prati-ṣedháy-oḥ prā́cām Ktvā́

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktvā́ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles álam and khálu expressing a prohibition (prati-ṣedháy-oh) according to Eastern Grammarians (prā́cām).

The reference to [prā́cām] is to indicate that this rule is optional.
álam/khálu kr̥+Ktvā́ = *kr-tvā́* = *na kar-távyam* 'do not do'. *álam bā́le rud-i-tvā́* 'do not cry, little girl'; alternately *álam ródan-ena* 'enough of crying'.

3.4.19 udī́c-ā́m māṄ-aḥ=vy-atīhār-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1Ktvā́ 18 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] māṄ- 'exchange, barter' (I 1010) for expressing reciprocity (vy-atī-hār-é) according to Northern Grammarians (udī́c-ā́m).

The verbal stem involved here is [meṄ] but is represented by [ā] replacement of the stem vowel before [Ktvā́] by 6.1.45 and indicates a general metarule that such a replacement with a marker in the stem includes the original stems, as in the rule 1.1.20 [dā-dhā=GHU=a-dāP] where the stem [dāP] includes [daiP] also.
apa+me+Ktvā́ = *apa+mā+Lyap* (6.1.45; 4.70) = *apa-mi-t-ya* (6.1.71); *yāc-i-tvā́ ápa-may-a-te* = *apa-mí-t-ya yā́c-a-te* 'demands an exchange'.

3.4.20 [1]para=[2]avara-yog-é ca

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvā́ 18 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote what is situated on that side (pára-°) or this side (°-ávara-yoge) (of some object).

The particle [ca] here is for the recurrence of [Ktvā́] from 18 above.
1. pára: *á-prāp-ya nadī́-m párvata-ḥ sthi-tá-ḥ* 'the hill is on that side of the river'.
2. ávara: *ati-krám-ya tu párvata-ṁ nadī́ sthi-tā́* 'the river lies beyond the hill', i.e., the hill is situated on this side of the river, whereas in (a) the river is on the far side away from the hill.

3.4.21 samāná-kartr̥kay-oḥ pūrva-kāl-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvā́ 18 is introduced after 1.2] that one of two [verbal stems 1.91] having the same agent (sa-māná-kartr̥kay-oḥ) whose action precedes that of the other (pūrva-kāl-é).

bhuj+Ktvā́ = bhuk-tvā́ vráj-a-ti 'having eaten (= after eating) he goes'. This rule is applied even when there are more than tow verbs having the same agent: *snā-tvā́ pī-tvā́ bhuk-tvā́ vráj-a-ti* 'goes out after having bathed, drunk and eaten'.

3.4.22 ā́bhīkṣṇy-e ṆamuL ca

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ 18] and (ca) ṆamuL are introduced [after 1.2 that one of two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent, whose action precedes that of the other 21] when that action is repeated (ā́bhīkṣṇy-e).

bhuj+ṆamuL = bhój-am bhoj-am / bhuk-tvā́ bhuk-tvā vráj-a-ti 'goes after repeatedly eating'. The expressions are doubled to indicate [ā́bhīkṣṇya] (8.1.4) and the second repetition does not bear the udā́tta accent (8.1.3).

3.4.23 ná yád-i=án-ā-kāṅkṣ-e

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affixes Ktvā́ 18 and ṆamuL 22] are not (ná) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yád 'when', provided [the two verbs having the same agent and whose actions follow one another 21] do not require a third one to complete the sense (án-ā-kāṅkṣe).

yád ayám bhuṅk-té tá-taḥ páṭh-a-ti 'he eats and then studies', but *yád ayám bhuk-tvā́ vráj-a-ti ádhī-te=evá tá-taḥ pára-m* 'having eaten, he goes out and then reads'.

3.4.24 vibhāṣā=[1]ágr-e=[2]prathamá-[3]pū́rve-ṣu

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ 18 and Ṇamul 22] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 that one of the two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent whose action precedes that of the other 21] co-occurring with [nominal padás 1.4] ágre-, prathamá- and pū́rva- 'before, first'.

ágr-e/prathamá-m/pū́rva-m bhój-am/bhuk-tvā́ vráj-a-ti 'having first eaten, he goes', alternating with *ágr-e/prathamá-m/pū́r-va-m bhuṅk-té, tá-taḥ=vráj-a-ti.*

3.4.25 kárman-i=ā-krośé kṛ̊Ñ-aḥ KHamuÑ

[The kṛ̊t 1.93 affix 1.1] KhamuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛ̊Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kárman-i) to denote censure (ā-krośé).

cora-śabdá-m uc-cār-ya krós-a-ti 'he abuses: "you are a thief, you are a robber"' = *cora+Ø=kr̥+KHamuÑ* = *cora+muM+kār-am* (6.3.67; 7.2.115) *krós-a-ti*.

3.4.26 svā́dum-i ṆamuL

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆamuL is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 25 whose action precedes that of another verbal stem having the same agent 21] co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] svā́du-m (and its synonyms) 'tasty, delicious' (with a final increment m).

svā́du-m+kr̥+ṆamuL = *svādu-ṁ-kār-am bhuṅk-té* 'eats, after sweetening the food'; similarly *lavaṇa-ṁ-kār-am bhuṅk-té* 'having added salt (to the food), eats'.

3.4.27 [1]anyáthā=[2]evám=[3]kathám=[4]itthám-su siddha=a= prayogá-s=cét

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ-25] co-occurring with [indeclinable padás 1.4] anyáthā 'otherwise', evám 'thus', kathám 'how' and itthám 'thus', if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yields the same meaning (siddha=a-prayogá-s=cét).

anyáthā+kr̥+ṆamuL = *anyathā-kār-am bhuṅk-té* = *anyáthā bhuṅk-té* 'eats otherwise', both expressions being identical in meaning.

Similarly: *evaṁ-kār-am/kathaṁ-kār-am/itthaṁ-kār-am bhuṅk-té* 'eats in this manner/which manner?/in this manner', equivalent to *evám/kathám/itthám bhuṅk-té*.

3.4.28 [1]yáthā-[2]táthay-or asūyā-prati-vacan-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 25] co-occurring with the indeclinable [padás 1.4] yáthā 'in what manner, how?' and tá-thā 'in that manner' for expressing an indignant response (to a question: asūyā-prati-vacan-é) [if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yuelds the same meaning 27].

yathā-kār-am/tathā-kār-am bhok-ṣy-é kíṁ táva=an-éna 'I will eat in this/that manner, what is it to you?' = *yáthā/táthā bhok-ṣy-é, kíṁ táva=an-éna?*.

3.4.29 kárman-i [1]dṛśi-[2]víd-oḥ sā́kaly-e

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆasmuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dṛ̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) and víd- 'know' (II 55) co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kármaṇ-i) to denote a totality (sā́kaly-e).

kanyā́+dṛ̥ś+ṆamuL = kanyā-darś-am var-áy-a-ti = yā́ḥ yā́ḥ kanyā́ḥ páśy-a-ti tā́s tā́ var-áy-a-ti 'he woos each girl he sees'.
brāhmaṇá+víd+ṆamuL = brāhmaṇa-véd-am bhoj-áy-a-ti = yám yám brāhmaṇám vét-ti = jā-nā́-ti/lábh-a-te/vi-cār-áy-a-ti vā tā́n sárvān bhoj-áy-a-ti 'feeds each and every brahmin he knows'.

3.4.30 yā́-vat-i [1]vinda-[2]jī́v-oḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vind- 'gain' (VI 138) and jī́v- 'live' (I594) co-occurring with the indeclinable [padá 1.4] yā́-vat 'as much as, as long as'.

yā́-vat+vind+ṆamuL = yāvad-véd-am bhuṅk-té 'one eats as much as one gets' = *yā́-vat=vind-á-te tā́-vat=bhuṅk-té.*
yā́-vat+jīv+ṆamuL = yāvaj-jī́v-am (8.4.40) *ádhī-te = yā́vat=jī́v-a-ti tā́-vat=ádhī-te* 'learns throughout his life'.

3.4.31 [1]cárma(n)=[2]udáray-oḥ pūr-é-ḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pūr-í- 'fill up' (X 261) co-occurring [with the nominal padás 1.4] cárman- 'skin' and udára- 'stomach' [functioning as its direct objects 29].

cárma pūr-ay-án stṛ̥-ṇā́-ti = carma∅[1]+pūr-i+ṆamuL = carma-pū́r-∅+am (6.4.51) = *carma-pū́r-aṁ stṛ̥-ṇā́-ti* 'he spreads (some thing) so as to cover the whole skin'.
Similarly: *udara-pūr-am bhuṅk-té = udára-m pūr-áy-an bhuṅk-té* 'he eats so as to fill his stomach fully'.

3.4.32 varṣa-pra-māṇ-é=ū-lpa-s=ca=asyá=anyátarā́syam

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pūr-í 31] with optional replacement by lopa (∅) of phoneme [ū] when expressing the amount of rainfall (varṣa-pra-māṇ-é).

goṣ-padá-m pūr-áy-an = goṣ-pada+∅[1]+pūr-i+ṆamuL = goṣ-pada-pū́r-∅=am/goṣ-pada-pr-ám vṛ̥ṣ-ṭá-ḥ devá-ḥ 'it rained as much as to fill a cow's hoofmark' i.e., 'as much as a cow's footstep can hold'.

The significance of the expression [asyá] in the rule is to limit the ∅ replacement to the verbal stem: *mūṣikā-bila-pū́r-am/mūṣikā-bila-pr-ám* = 'as much as to fill in a rat-hole'.

3.4.33 cel-e knop-é-ḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] knop-í- (= knūy+ṆíC I 514) 'make wet', co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] cela- 'cloth' [functioning as its direct object 29 to denote the amount of rainfall 32].

cela-ṁ kno-p-áy-an = *cela+∅*[1]*=knop-í+ṆamuL* = *cela-knṓp-∅-am vṛṣṭá-ḥ devá-ḥ* 'it has rained enough to wet the cloth'. Similarly *vastra-knóp-am/vasana-knóp-am*

3.4.34 [1]ní-mūla-[2]sá-mūlay-oḥ káṣ-aḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] káṣ- 'scrape' (I 716) co-occurring with [nominal padás 1.4] ní-mūla- 'down to the roots' and sá-mūla- 'along with the roots' [functioning as its direct objects 32].

nímūla-ṁ/sámūla-ṁ kaṣ-a-ti = *ni-mūla-kā́ṣ-aṁ káṣ-a-ti* 'scrapes down to the roots' and similarly *sa-mūla-kā́ṣ-am káṣ-a-ti* 'totally uproots'.

3.4.35 [1]śuṣ-ká-[2]cūrṇá-[3]rūkṣé-ṣu piṣ-aḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] piṣ- 'grind' (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal padás 1.4] śuṣ-ká- 'dry', cūrṇá- 'flour' and rūkṣá- 'dry' [functioning as its direct objects 29].

śuṣ-ká-m pi-na-ṣ-ṭi (3.1.78; 8.4.41) = *śuṣ-ka+∅*[1]*+piṣ+ṆamuL* = *śuṣ-ka-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi* 'grinds it dry'; similarly *cūrṇa-péṣ-am/rūkṣa-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi* 'grinds into meal/grinds it dry'.

3.4.36 [1]sá-mūla=[2]á-kṛta-[3]jīvé-ṣu [1]han-[2]kṛÑ-[3]gráh-aḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), kṛÑ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) and gráh- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring [respectively 1.3.10] with [nominal padás 1.4] sá-mūla- 'along with the roots', á-kṛta- 'not made' and jīvá- 'life' [functioning as their direct objects 29].

sá-mūla-ṁ han-ti = *sa-mūla+$\emptyset^{1}$+han+ṆamuL* = *sa-mūla+ghan+ṆamuL* (7.3.54) = *sa-mūla+ghat+ṆamuL* (7.3.32) = *sa-mūla-ghā́t-am* (7.2.116) *hán-ti* 'destroys everything including the roots'.

Similarly: *a-kr̥-ta-kā́r-aṁ kar-ó-ti* 'does what has not been done before'; *jīva-grā́h-aṁ gr̥h-ṇā́-ti* = *jī́v-ant-am gr̥h-ṇā́-ti* 'captures alive'.

3.4.37 kár-aṇ-e han-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'strike, kill' (II 2), co-occurring [with a nominal padá 1.4] denoting an instrument (kár-aṇ-e).

pāṇí-nā hán-ti = *pāṇi+$\emptyset^{1}$+han+ṆamuL* = *pāṇi-ghā́t-aṁ hán-ti* 'strikes with the hand'.

3.4.38 snéh-an-e piṣ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] piṣ- 'grind' (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] having the sense of 'lubricating'. (snéh-an-e) [to indicate an intrument 37].

udak-éna pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi= *udaka-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi* 'grinds with water'; likewise *taila-péṣ-am/ghr̥ta-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi* 'grinds with oil/clarified butter'.

3.4.39 hást-e ^{1}várt-í-^{2}gráh-oḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vart-í (= vŕ̥t- I 795+ṆíC) 'cause to turn or revolve' and gráh- 'seize' (IX 61), co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] hásta- 'hand' (and its synonyms) [denoting an instrument 37].

hást-ena vart-áy-a-ti = *hasta+$\emptyset^{1}$+vart-i+ṆamuL* = *hasta-várt-∅-am vart-áy-a-ti* 'turns or revolves with the hand'; similarly *kara-várt-am/pāṇi-várt-am vart-áy-a-ti*.

hást-ena gr̥h-ṇā́-ti = *hasta-grā́h-am/kara-grā́h-am/pāṇi-grā́h-am gr̥h-ṇā́-ti* 'grasps or seizes with the hand'.

3.4.40 sv-é puṣ-aḥ

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] puṣ- 'nourish' (IX 57), co-occurring with (synonyms of) [the nominal padá 1.4] svá- 'one's own' [denoting an instrument 37].

sv-éna pus-ṇā́-ti = *sva+∅*[1]*+puṣ+ṆamuL* = *sva-póṣ-am puṣ-ṇā́-ti* 'nourishes by one's self'; similarly *go-póṣ-am puṣ-ṇā́-ti* '*gav-ā́ puṣ-ṇā́-ti*.

3.4.41 adhi-kár-aṇ-e bandh-aḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆmuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bandh- 'bind' (IX 37) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] denoting a locus or substratum (adhi-kár-aṇ-e).

cakr-é badh-nā́-ti = *cakra+∅*[1]*+bandh+ṆamuL* = *cakra-bándh-am badh-nā́-ti* 'ties to a wheel'.

3.4.42 saṁjñā́-yām

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bandh- 41] to denote a name (saṁjñā́-yām).

krauñcám iva badh-nā́-ti = *krauñca+bandh+ṆamuL* = *krauñca-bandh-ám badh-nā́-ti* 'ties a knot in the shape of a heron'. Formation according to 45 below. Similarly *mayūrikā-bándh-am/aṭṭālikā=bándh-am bad-dhá-ḥ*. These are names of special formations.

3.4.43 kartr-ór [1]jīvá-[2]púruṣay-or [1]náśī-[2]vah-oḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] naś- 'disappear' (IV 850) and vah- 'bear' (I 1051), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) [with nominal padas 1.4] jīvá- 'life' and púruṣa- 'person' denoting agents (kartr-oḥ).

jīvá-ḥ náś-ya-ti = *jīva+naś+∅*[1]*+ṆamuL* = *jīva-nā́ś-aṁ náś-ya-ti* 'life disappears, dies'; so also *púruṣa-ḥ váh-a-ti* = *puruṣa-vā́h-aṁ váh-a-ti* 'a person (becoming a servant) carries (another person)'.

3.4.44 ūrdhv-é [1]śuṣi̱-[2]pūr-oḥ

[The kṛ̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.92] śuṣ- 'become dry' (IV 74) and pūr- 'fill up' (IV 43) co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] ūrdhvá- 'upright' [as agent 43].

(vṛ̥kṣā́di-ḥ) ūrdhvá-ḥ (tíṣṭh-an) śúṣ-ya-ti = *ūrdhva-śóṣ-am śúṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up/withers while still upright'. Similarly: *ūrdhva-pū́r-am pū́r-ya-te* 'fills up while still upright'.

3.4.45 upa-mā́n-e kárman-i ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring [with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as a direct object (kárman-i) and also (ca) serving as an object of comparison (upa-mā́n-e).

1. upamā́ne: *ghṛtá-m iva ní-hi-ta-ḥ = ghṛta+∅¹+ni-dhā+ṆamuL = ghṛta+ni-dhā+yuK+am = ghṛta-ni-dhā́-y-am ní-hi-ta-ḥ* 'preserved like clarified butter'. Cf. 42 above.
2. *ajaká-nāś-am naṣ-ṭá-ḥ = ajaká iva naṣ-ṭá-h.*

3.4.46 káṣ-ādi-ṣu yathā-vidhí=anu-pra-yogá-ḥ

In the case of [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with káṣ- 'scrape' (34 above) the subsequent verbal stem is the same [as the one after 1.2 which the kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced].

Examples cited under 34-45 on this basis.

3.4.47 úpa-daṁś-as tṛtī́yā-yām

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] úpa+daṁś- 'eat as a relish or side dish' (I 1038), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛtī́yā-yām).

mū́lak-ena upa-dáś-ya = mūlaka+∅¹+upa+daṁś+ṆamuL = mūlaka+upa-dáṁś-am = mūlakopa-dáṁś-am bhuṅk-té 'he eats radish as a side dish' where *mū́laka-* functions as the direct object of *upa-daṁś-*, but as an instrument of the second verbal stem *bhuj-*.

3.4.48 hiṁsā́=arthānāṁ ca sa-māná-kartṛkā-ṇām

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting 'strike, hurt, injure' (hiṁsā́=arthānām), having the same agent (sa-māná-kartṛkāṇām) [as the subsequent verbal stem 46, co-occurring with a nominal padá (1.4 ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet 47].

daṇḍ-éna upa-há-t-ya = daṇḍa+∅¹+upa+han+ṆamuL = daṇḍopa-ghā́t-am gāḥ kāl-áy-a-ti 'herds the cattle by striking with a stick'.

3.4.49 saptamy-ā́m ca=úpa-¹pīḍA-²rudha-³karṣ-aḥ

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] úpa+pīḍ- 'press down, hurt' (X 11), úpa-rudh- 'block' (VII 1) and úpa+kṛṣ- draw towards one's self' (I 1039), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamyā́m) as well as (ca) [the third 47].

pārśváy-oḥ/pārśvā́-bhyām upa-pī́ḍ-ya = pārśva+∅¹+upa-pīḍ+ṆamuL = pārśvopa-pī́ḍ-am śé-te 'sleeps, pressing down his sides'.

vrajopa-ródh-am = vraj-é vraj-éna vā upa-rúdh-ya gā́ḥ sthā-p-áy-a-ti 'herds the cattle into the cow-pen'.

pāṇy-upa-kárṣ-am = pāṇí-nā/pāṇ-aú vā upa-kṛ́ṣ-ya dhānā́ḥ sáṁ-gṛh-ṇā-ti 'he collects the fried rice with his hand, drawing it towards him'.

3.4.50 sam-ā-sátt-au

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote an immediate contiguity (sam-ā-sát-t-au).

kéśe-ṣu/kéś-aih gṛh-ī-tvā́ yúdh-y-ante = keśa+∅¹+grah+ṆamuL = keśa-grā́h-am yúdh-y-ante 'they fight each other, taking hold of each other's hair'; similarly *hasta-grā́h-am yúdh-y-ante.*

3.4.51 pra-mā́ṇ-e ca

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.71 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote a measure (of length: pra-mā́ṇ-e).

dvy-aṅgul-é/dvy-aṅgul-éna ut-kṛ́ṣ-ya = dvy-aṅgula+∅¹+ut-kṛ́ṣ+ṆamuL = dvy-aṅgulot-kárṣ-am khaṇḍikā́m chi-ná-t-ti 'he cuts a piece of the length of two fingers'.

3.4.52 apa=ā-dā́n-e parīpsā́-yām

[The kṛ́t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as a stable point of separation (apādān-é 1.4.24) to denote haste (parīpsā́-yām).

śayyā́-yāḥ ut-thā́-ya = *śayyā+∅*[1]*+ut+sthā+ṆamuL* = *śayyot-tthā́-y-am* (7.3.33) *dhā́v-a-ti* 'rising from the bed he runs immediately'.

3.4.53 dvitī́yā-yām̐ ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet also [to denote haste 52].

yaṣṭí-m gr̥h-ī-tvā́ = *yaṣṭi+∅*[1]*+grah+ṆamuL* = *yaṣṭi-grā́h-am yúdh-y-ante* 'they fight, having hastily grabbed sticks'.

3.4.54 sva=aṅg-é=á-dhruv-e

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] denoting a non-vital (á-dhruv-e) member of one's body (svāṅg-é).

ákṣi-ṇ-ī ni-kā́ṇ-ya = *akṣi+∅*[1]*+ni-kaṇ+ṆamuL* = *akṣi-ni-kā́ṇ-am jálp-a-ti* 'he speaks after closing his eyes'. Similarly *bhrū-vi-kṣép-am* = *bhrúv-au vi-kṣíp-ya kath-áy-a-ti* 'he speaks after raising his eyebrows'; but *ut-kṣíp-ya śíraḥ kath-áy-a-ti* 'he speaks bending his head to one side', since it is a vital member of the body.

3.4.55 pari-kliś-yá-m-ān-e ca

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] totally afflicted by that action (pari-kliś-yá-m-āne).

úraḥ piṣ-ṭvā́ = *uras+piṣ+ṆamuL* = *uraḥ-péṣ-am yúdh-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing chests'; similarly *śiraḥ-péṣ-am yúdh-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing heads'.

3.4.56 [1]viś*ḹ*-[2]páti-[3]padi-[4]skand-ām̐ [1]vy-āp-yá-m-āna-[2]ā-sev-yá-m-ānay-oḥ

[The kr̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] viś- 'enter' (VI 130), pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898), pad- 'go' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [co-occurring with nominal padás 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] to denote complete pervasion (vy-āp-yá-a-āna-°) or total absorption (ā-sev-yá-m-ānay-oḥ).

1. *gehá-m anu-pra-viś-ya* = *geha+∅[1]+anu-pra-viś+ṆamuL* = *gehānu-pra-véś-am ā́s-te* 'entering (each) house he sits down' = *geháṁ gehám anu-pra-véś-am ā́ste. gehám anu-pra-véś-m anu-pra-véś-am ā́s-te. gehānu-pra-pā́t-am/gehá-ṁ gehá-m anu-pra-pā́t-am ā́s-te, anu-pra-pā́t-am amu-pra-pā́t-am* = *gehám anu-pra-pát-ya ā́s-te. gehānu-pra-pā́d-am/geháṁ gehá-m anu-pra-pā́d-am/ gehá-m anu-pra-pā́d-am anu-pra-pā́d-am ā́s-te. gehāva-skánd-am/geháṁ gehá-m ava-skánd-am/gehá-m ava-skánd-am ava-skánd-am ā́s-te* = *gehá-m ava-skád-ya ā́s-te* 'jumping from house to house, he sits down'.

Reduplication introduced by 8.1.4 does not apply to the compound which conveys the meaning, but when no composition takes place, the substantive is reduplicated when indicating pervasion and the verbal form to denote absorption.

3.4.57 [1]ás-ya-ti-[2]tr̥̥ṣ-aḥ kriyā=antar-é kālé-ṣu

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] as- 'toss' (IV 100) and tr̥̥ṣ- 'be thirsty' (IV 118) to express an interruption in the action (kriyā=antar-é), co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 denoting expressions of time (kālé-ṣu) [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet 53].

dvy-ahá-m aty-ás-ya = *dvy-aha+∅[1]+aty+as+ṆamuL* = *dvy-ahāty-ā́s-am gā́ḥ pā-y-áy-a-ti* 'makes the cattle drink at an interval of two days'.

Similarly: *dvy-ahá-m tr̥̥ṣ-i-tvā́* = *dvy-aha-tárṣ-am gā́ḥ pāy-áy-a-ti* 'makes the cattle drink, after making them thirsty for two days'.

3.4.58 nā́mn-i=[1]ā́-diśi̱-[2]gráh-oḥ

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ā́+diś- 'announce' (VI 3) and gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61) [co-occurring with the nominal pada 1.4] nā́man- 'name' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53]

nā́ma ā-diś-ya = *nāman+∅[1]+ā-diś+ṆamuL* = *nāmā-déś-am* (8.2.7) *ā́-caṣ-ṭe* 'he speaks after announcing his name'. Similarly *nāma-grā́h-am* = *nā́ma gr̥̥h-ī-tvā́ ā́-caṣ-ṭe*

3.4.59 avyay-é=á-yathābhipreta=ākhyān-e kr̥̥Ñ-aḥ [1]Ktvā́-[2]ṆamuL-au

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1] Krvā́ and ṆamuL are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kr̥̥Ñ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), co-occurring with an indeclinable (ávyay-e) [nominal padá1.4] to express some thing in an undesirable or improper manner [á+ya-thā+abhi+pra+i-ta+ā-khyān-e].

The expression [á-yathābhi-preta=ākhyān-e] refers to a loud announcement of an unpleasant item of news or a low announcement of a pleasant one.

uccaíḥ kr̥-tvā́ / uccaiḥ-kā́r-am (= uccais+kr̥+ṆamuL) á-priya-m ā́-caṣ-ṭe 'announces an unpleasant item of news in a loud voice'; likewise *nīcaíḥ kr̥-tvā́/ nīcaiḥ-kā́r-am priyá-m ā́caṣ-ṭe* 'announces a pleasant item of news in a low voice'.

3.4.60 tiryác-i=apa-varg-é

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ and ṆamuL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kr̥Ñ- 'do, perform' 59] co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4] tiry-ác 'obliquely' to denote the sense of completion (apa-varg-é).

tiry-ák kr̥-tvā́ = tiryak-kŕ̥t-ya/tiryak-kā́r-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ 'he left, after having finished (something . . .)' but *tiryák kr̥-tvā́ kāṣṭhá-m ga-tá-ḥ* 'he left, after placing the piece of wood obliquely'.

3.4.61 sva=aṅg-é tas-pratyay-é [1]kr̥-[2]bhv-óḥ

[The kŕ̥ 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ and ṆamuL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] kr̥- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) and bhū́- 'become (I 1) [co-occurring with nominal padás 1.4] denoting members of one's body (svāṅg-é) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix °tás (5.4.45).

mukha-táḥ kr̥-tvā́ = mukha-taḥ-kŕ̥-t-ya/mukha-taḥ-kā́r-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ 'he left facing (something. . .)'.

pr̥ṣṭha-tó bhū-tvā́ = pr̥ṣṭha-to-bhū́-ya/pr̥ṣṭha-to-bhā́v-aṁ ga-tá-h 'he left, turning back'.

3.4.62 [1]nā́-[2]dhā́-artha-pratyay-e Cvi̱=arth-e

[The kŕ̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ and ṆamuL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 kr̥- and bhū́- 61, co-occurring with an indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes (°-pratyay-é) having the sense of nā́ (5.2.27) or of dhā́ (5.3.42) when they denote the meaning of affix Cvi̱ (5.4.50).

1. °-nā́: *nā́nā kr̥-tvā = nānā-kŕ̥-t-ya/nānā-kā́r-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ = á-nānā nā́nā kr̥-tvā́ ga-ta-ḥ* 'he left, after making manifold what was not so before'. Similarly *nā́nā bhū-tvā́ = nā́nā-bhū́ya/nānā-bhā́v-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ* 'having become manifold he left'.
2. °dha: *dvi-dhā́ kr̥-tvā́ = dvi-dhākŕ̥-t-ya/dvi-dhā-kā́r-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ* 'he left, after making (something) two-fold'; likewise *dvi-dhā́ bhū-tvā́ = dvi-dhā-bhū́-ya/ dvi-dhā-bhā́v-aṁ ga-tá-ḥ* 'becoming double he left'.

3.4.63 tūṣṇī́m-i bhúv-aḥ

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ and ṆamuL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū́- 'become' (I 1) co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4] tūṣṇī́-m 'silently'.

tūṣṇīm bhū-tvā́ = *tūṣṇīm-bhū́-ya/tūṣṇīm-bhā́v-am* 'having become silent'.

3.4.64 anv-ác-i ā́nu-lomy-e

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā́ and ṆamuL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bhū́- 63, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4] anv-ác 'friendly' to denote a friendly disposition (ā́nu-lomy-e).

anvág bhū-tvā́ = *anvag-bhū́-ya/anvag-vhā́v-am ā́s-te* 'he remains well-disposed'; but *anvág bhū-tvā́ tíṣṭh-a-ti* 'he remains a follower or servant'.

3.4.65 [1]śaka-[2]dhr̥̥ṣÁ-[3]jñā-[4]glā́[5]ghā́ṭA-[6]rabhA-[7]labhA-[8]kráma-[9]sáhA-[10]árhÁ-[11]asti=arthe-ṣu tumuN

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] tumuN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (verbal stems) śak- 'be able' (V15), dhr̥̥ṣ 'dare' (V 22), jñā- 'know' (IX 36), glā́ (= glaí-) 'weary, tire' (I 868), ghā́ṭṭ- 'strive' (I 800), rabh- 'begin' (I 1023), labh- 'obtain' (I 1024), krám- 'march' (I 502), sáh- 'be capable of' (I 905), árh- 'merit, deserve' (I 776) and verbal stems having the meaning of as- 'be' (II 56).

śak-nó-ti bhók-tum 'is able to eat'; *dhr̥̥ṣ-ṇó-ti bhók-tum* 'dares to eat'; *jā-nā́-ti bhók-tum* 'knows how to eat'. *glā́y-a-ti bhók-tum* 'tires of eating'; *ghā́ṭ-a-te bhók-tum* 'strives to eat'; *ā́-rabh-a-te bhók-tum* 'begins to eat'; *lábh-a-te bhók-tum* 'gets (something) to eat'; *prá-kram-a-te bhók-tum* 'proceeds to eat'; *sáh-a-te bhók-tum* 'is capable of eating'; *árh-a-ti bhók-tum* 'deserves to eat'; *ás-ti/bháv-a-ti/víd-ya-te bhók-tum* 'there is (something) to eat'.

3.4.66 pary-āp-ti-vacané-ṣu=alam-arthé-ṣu

[The kr̥̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 tumuN 65 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal pada 1.4] álam 'sufficient' and its synonyms (alam-arthé-ṣu) to denote competence (pary-āpti-vacané-ṣu).

páry-āp-ta-ḥ/álam bhók-tum = bhók-tum pār-áy-a-ti 'is competent to eat' or 'is in a proper condition to eat'. But *álaṁ kr̥-tvā́* 'enough of eating' (18 above), and *páry-āp-ta-ṁ bhuṅk-té* 'eats sufficiently'.

3.4.67 kartár-i kr̥̄t

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kr̥̄t (1.93ff.) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent (kartár-i).

kr̥+ṆvuL = kā́r-aka- 'doer, agent' = *kr̥+tr̥̄C = kar-tr̥̄-* (1.133).

3.4.68 [1]bháv-ya-[2]gé-ya-[3]pra-vac-anī́ya=[4]upa-sthān-ī́ya-[5]ján-ya=[6]āplāv-ya=[7]ā-pāt-yā vā

[The irregular expressions] bháv-ya- to ā-pāt-yā are introduced to denote [the agent 67] optionally (vā).

All these derivatives are generated with kr̥̄tya affixes [yàT, ṆyàT or anī́yaR] and by 70 below denote either the abstract action itself (bhāv-é) or the direct object (kárman-i). The irregularity lies in the fact that these optionally denote the agent also.

bháv-a-ty asau/bhūyá-te an-éna = bhū+yaT = bháv-ya- (7.3.84) 'who exists (agent)/existence' (bhāv-é) (Accent by 6.1.113). Similarly: *gé-ya-* 'singer' or 'to be sung'; *pra-vac-anī́ya-* 'explicator' or 'to be explained'; *upa-sthā-p-anī́ya-* 'waiter' or 'to be waited upon'; *ján-ya-te asaú/ján-yam an-éna vā* 'producer' or 'produced'; *ā-plāv-yà- = ā́-plav-a-te asaú* 'immerser or dipper' and *ā́-plāv-ya-te an-éna* 'to be dipped or immersed'; *ā-pāt-yà = ā́-pat-a-ti asau* 'assailant' or *ā-pāt-yàm an-éna* 'to be assailed'.

3.4.69 l-aḥ kárman-i ca bhāv-é ca=á-karmake-bhyaḥ.

l-members [= lAṬ, lIṬ, lUṬ, lR̥Ṭ, lEṬ, lOṬ, lAṄ, lIṄ, lUṄ and lR̥Ṅ] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote [the agent 67] as well as (ca) the direct object (kárman-i) and [after 1.2] intransitive [verbal stems 1.91 (á-karmake-bhyaḥ)] to denote the abstract action (bhāv-é) in addition to (ca) [the agent 67].

[l] is the cover-term for all l-members denoting tenses and moods, differentiated from one another by specific markers: lAṬ 'Present Indicative', lIṬ 'Perfect', lUṬ 'Periphrastic (or non-Sigmatic) Future', lR̥Ṭ 'Sigmatic Future', lEṬ ('Subjunctive Mood'), lOṬ 'Imperative Mood', comprise one sub-class denoted by Ṭ-IT (with marker Ṭ); and lAṄ 'Imperfect', lIṄ 'Optative (or Potential) Mood', lUṄ 'Aorist' and lR̥Ṅ 'Conditional' forming a second sub-class denoted by Ṅ-IT (with marker Ṅ).

By introducing the t.t. [á-karma-ka] for 'intransitive verbal stems' the inference is to be drawn that active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems while active and impersonal constructions are associated with intransitive stems: (a) Transitive: *deva-dattá-aḥ grā́ma-ṁ gácch-a-ti* 'D. goes to the village' (active construction); (b) Intransitive: *deva-adattá-ḥ ā́s-te* 'D. is sitting' (active construction). But (a) *deva-datt-éna grā́ma-ḥ gam-yá-te* 'the village is reached by D.' (passive) and (b) *ās-yá-te deva-datt-éna* 'sitting by D. is taking place' (impersonal).

3.4.70 táy-or evá [1]kŕ̥tya-[2]Ktá-[3]KHáL-arthāḥ

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kŕ̥tya (I 95ff.), Ktá and those having the meaning of affix KHaL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote them alone (táy-or evá) [= kárman-i ca bhā-vé ca 69].

1. kŕ̥tya: *kr̥+távya- = kar-távya-ḥ káṭa-ḥ* 'the mat must be made' (kárman-i); *ās-i-távya-m* 'sitting must take place' (bhāv-é).
2. Ktá: *káṭa-ḥ kr̥-tá-ḥ* 'the mat is made' (passive); *ās-i-tá-m bhávat-ā* 'sitting by you has taken place' (bhāv-é).
3. KHaL+artha: *su+kr̥+KHaL = su-kár-a-ḥ káṭa-ḥ* the mat is easily made' (passive); *īṣad-āḍhya-m-bháv-am bhávat-ā* 'becoming rich by you is easily (taking place)' (bhāv-é).

3.4.71 adi-karmáṇ-i Ktá-ḥ kartár-i ca

[The affix 1.1] Ktá is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent in addition to (ca) [the direct object and abstract action (kárman-i bhāv-é ca) 69] when referring to the first moment of an action (= incipient action).

pra-kr̥tá-ḥ káṭa-ṁ deva-dattá-ḥ 'D. began to make a mat' (active construction); *prá-kr̥ta-ḥ káṭa-ḥ deva-datt-éna* 'the mat was being made by D.' (passive); *pra-kr̥tá-ṁ deva-datt-éna* 'making by D. began to take place' (impersonal).

3.4.72 [1]gáty=artha[2]á-karma-ka=[3]śliṣÁ-[4]śīṄ=[5]shthā=[6]ā́sA-[7]vasÁ-[8]jána-[9]ruhÁ-[10]jī́r-ya-ti-bhyaḥ

[The affix 1.1 Ktá 71 is introduced after 1.1 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting 'movement' (gáty-artha-) and those which are intransitive (á-karma-ka-) as well as śliṣ- 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), śīṄ- 'lie down' (II 22), sthā- 'remain' (I 975), ās- 'sit down' (II 11), vas- 'dwell, reside' (I 1054), ján- 'be born' (IV 41), ruh- 'climb, ascend; germinate' (I 912) and jr̥̄- 'grow old' (IV 22) [to denote the agent 71 in addition to the direct object and abstract action 69].

gatá-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ grā́mām (agent) 'D. went to the village'; *gatá-ḥ grā́ma-ḥ deva-datt-éna* 'the village was reached by D.' (direct object); *ga-tá-ṁ deva-datt-éna* 'going by D. took place' (abstract action).

Similarly: *ās-i-tá-ḥ bhávān (kártar-i)* 'you sat down'; *ās-i-tá-m bhávat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'sitting by you (took place)'.

upa-śliṣṭá-ḥ gurú-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you contacted the teacher'; *úpa-śliṣṭa-ḥ gurú-ḥ bhávat-ā* 'the teacher was contacted by you (kárman-i); *upa-śliṣṭá-m bhávat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'contact by you took place'.

upa-śay-i-tá-ḥ gurú-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you slept after the teacher'; *úpa-śay-i-ta-ḥ gurú-ḥ bhávat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was followed by you in sleeping'; *upa-śay-i-tá-m bhávat-ā* 'sleeping after by you took place' (abstract action).

upa-sthitá-ḥ gurú-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you approached the teacher'; *úpa-sthi-ta-ḥ gurú-ḥ bhávat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was approached by you'; *upa-sthi-tá-m bhávat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'approaching by you took place'.

upās-i-tá-ḥ gurú-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you served the teacher'; *úpās-i-ta-ḥ gurú-ḥ bhávat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was served by you'; *upās-i-tá-m bhávat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'serving by you took place'.

anūṣ-i-táḥ gurú-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you dwelt near the teacher'; *ánūṣ-i-ta-ḥ gurúḥ bhávat-ā (kárman-i), anūṣ-i-tá-m bhavat-ā (bhāv-é).*

anu-jātá-ḥ māṇavaká-ḥ māṇavikā́-m (kartár-i) 'the boy came to birth after the girl'; *ánu-jāt-ā māṇavikā́ māṇavak-éna (kárman-i); anu-jātá-m māṇavak-éna (bhāv-e).*

ā-rū-ḍhá-ḥ vr̥kṣá-m bhávān (kartár-i) 'you climbed the tree'; *ā́-rūḍha-ḥ vr̥kṣá-ḥ bhávat-ā (kárman-i); ā-rūḍhá-m bhávat-ā (bhāv-é).*

anu-jīrṇá-ḥ vr̥ṣalī́-ṁ deva-dattá-ḥ (kartár-i) 'D. destroyed the Vr̥.'; *ánu-jīrṇā vr̥ṣalī́ deva-datt-éna (kárman-i); anu-jīrṇá-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é).*

3.4.73 [1]dāśá-[2]goghn-aú sam-pra-dā́-e

(The irregular expressions) dāśá- and goghná- are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the indirect object (sam-pra-dā́n-e).

dā́s-anti tásmai = dāś+áC = dāś-á- recipient'; normally the kr̥t affix is agent-oriented, but in this case represents the sampradā́na kā́raka (1.4.21).

Similarly *ā-ga-tā́-ya tásmai gā́-ṁ hán-ti = go+∅¹+han+ṬaK = go-h∅n+á* (6.4.98) = *go-ghn-á* (7.3.54) 'a guest for whom the host slaughters a cow'.

3.4.74 bhīmá=āday-aḥ=apa=ā-dā́n-e

(The irregular class of expressions) beginning with bhīmá- 'fierce' are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the apādā́na kā́raka (1.4.24 = ablative).

Exception to 67 above. *bí-bhe-ti a-smát = bhī+maK (Uṇādi) = bhī-má* 'one from whom fear arises'.

3.4.75 tā́-bhyām anyá-tra=úṆ=āday-aḥ

[The class of affixes 1.1] beginning with úṆ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in kā́rakas 1.4.23] other than (anyá-tra) those two (tā́-bhyām) [= sam-pra-dā́na 73 and apā-dā́na 74].

The uṆ-ādi-sūtra-s which list these affixes do not constitute an integral part of the Aṣṭ, but are included in the kṛ̥t section (3.1 above); as such they should normally denote the agent, but by this general rule they are introduced to denote other kā́rakas as well: *kṛ̥ṣ-i-tá-h as-aú = kṛ̥ṣ-í-* (direct object) 'agriculture, cultivation'; *tan-yá-te an-éna = tán-tu(N)* 'thread' (instrument) and *car-i-tá-m a-smín = cár-man-* 'skin' (locus, substratum).

3.4.76 Ktá-ḥ=adhi-kár-aṇ-e ca [1]dhraúvya-[2]gáti-[3]prati=ava-sā́na=arthe-bhyaḥ

[The affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting a static action (dhraúvya) or movement (gáti) or eating (praty-ava-sā́na=arthe-bhyaḥ) [to derive nominal stems] denoting a locus (adhi-kár-aṇ-e) also.

The force of particle [ca] in the sū́tra is to indicate that in addition to adhi-kár-aṇa kā́raka, others applicable by previous rules are also optionally introduced.

1. static action (dhraúvye): *ās-i-tá-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ (kartár-i); ās-i-tá-ṁ deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é); idám e-ṣā́m ās-i-tám = ā́s-te a-smín* 'this is their place of sitting' (locus).
2. gáty-arthe: *yā-tá-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ grā́ma-m (kartár-i); yā-tá-ḥ grā́ma-ḥ deva-datt-éna (kárman-i); yā-tá-ṁ deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é); idám e-ṣā́m yā-tá-m = yā́-nti a-smín (adhikáraṇ-e).*
3. pratyavasā́na=arthe: *bhuk-tá-ḥ odaná-ḥ deva-datt-éna (kárma-ṇ-i); bhuk-tá-ṁ deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é); idám e-ṣā́m bhuk-tá-m = bhuj-yá-te a-smín.*

3.4.77 la̱-sya

In the place of l-members.

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of this chapter. The cover term for l-members is either l (69 above) or la̱. The expression [la̱-sya] will recur in each of the following sūtras in this section.

3.4.78 [1]tiP-[2]tás-[3]jhi=[4]siP-[5]thás-[6]thá=[7]miP-[8]vás-[9]más=[10]tá=[11]ā́tām=[12]jha=[13]thā́s-[14]ā́thām-[15]dhvám=[16]íṬ-[17]váhi-[18]máhiṄ

[The eighteen substitute affixes 1.1] beginning with tiP and ending with mahiṄ replace [the l-members 77 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

Literally speaking, these are replacements [= in the place of 77 above] of l-members.
All these eighteen substitute affixes are designated by the siglum (praty-ā-hārá) tiṄ (1.4.101). Parasmaipadá (active voice) is assigned to all l-members by 1.4.99, modified by the next following sūtra 100 whereby the siglum taṄ denotes members constituting the Ātmanepadá (middle voice). Thus the first nine are Parasmaipadá endings and the second nine are Ātmanepadá endings. They are further classified into three triplets each (1.4.101) constituting three persons: third, second and first. In that order, and within each triplet they constitute the three numbers: singular, dual and plural (1.4.102). The t.t. vibhákti applies to them (1.4.104).

3.4.79 Ṭ-IT-aḥ=ātmanepadā́-nām ṬE-r e

The phoneme [e] is the substitute for the syllable commencing with the last vowel of Ātmanepadá l-substitutes (taṄ) [of l-members 77] with marker Ṭ as IT (= lAṬ, lIṬ, lUṬ, lṚṬ, lEṬ and lOṬ).

tá, ā́tām, jha; thā́s, ā́thām dhvám and *íṬ- váhi* and *máhi* are respectively replaced by *t-é, ā́t-e, á(n)t-e; sé, ā́th-e, dhv-é; é, váh-e, máh-e* of l-members having Ṭ as an IT marker.

lAṬ: *pac+lAṬ = pác+ŚaP*(1.68)*+ta = pác-a-te* 'cooks'; *pac+yaK+ta* (1.67) = *pac-yá-te* 'is cooked', etc. The Present Indicative conjugation of this stem: *pác-a-te, pác-e-te, pác-ante; pác-a-se, pác-ethe, pác-a-dhve; pác-e, pác-ā-vahe, pác-ā-mahe.* The morpho-phonemic changes involved will be explained at the proper places.

3.4.80 thā́-aḥ=sé

[The substitute affix 1.1] sé replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] thā́s [of l-members 77 with marker Ṭ 79 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

pác+lAṬ = pác+ŚaP+thās = pác-a-se 'thou dost cook/art cooking'.

3.4.81 lIṬ-as [1]tá-[2]jhay-or [1]éŚ-[2]iréC

[The substitute affixes 1.1] éś and iréC replace (respectively 1.3.10) l-substitutes tá and jha of [l-member 77] lIṬ 'Perfect'.

pac+lIṬ = pac+ta = pac-pac+ta (6.1.8) = *paØ-pac+ta* (7.4.60) = *ØØ-pec+é = pec-é* (6.4.120); *pac+jha = pec-iré* 'he,she/they have cooked'.

3.4.82 parsmaipadā́-nām ¹ṆaL-²átus-³ús-⁴thaL-⁵áthus-⁶á-⁷ṆaL-⁸vá-⁹mā́ḥ

[The substitute affixes 1.1] ṆaL, átus, ús, thaL, áthus, á, ṆaL, vá and má [respectively 1.3.10] replace (the nine) Parasmaipada' [l-substitutes 78 tiP, tás, jhi, siP, thás, thá, miP, vás and más of l-member 71 lIṬ 81].

pac+lIṬ+tiP = *pa-pac+ṆaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *pa-pā́c-a* (7.2.116) 'he/she has cooked'; *pa-pac+tás* = *pec-átuḥ* (8.3.15) 'they two have cooked'; *pa-pac+jhi* = *pec-úḥ* 'all of them have cooked'; *pa-pac+siP* = *pa-pac+thaL* = *pa-pák-tha* (7.2.62)/*péc-i-tha* (7.2.63); *pa-pac+thá* = *pec-á pap-pac+miP* = *pa-pac+ṆaL* = *pa-pác-a/pa-pā́c-a* (7.1.91); *pa-pac+vás* = *pec-i-vá* (7.2.35); *pa-pac+más* = *pec-i-má*.

3.4.83 víd-aḥ=lAṬ-aḥ=vā

[The nine substitute affixes 1.1 beginning with ṆaL] optionally (vā) replace [the Parsmaipadá 82 l-substitutes of l-member 77] lAṬ introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] víd- 'know' (II 55).

vid+lAṬ = *vid+∅*[1]*+tiP/vid+ṆaL* = *vét-ti* (7.3.86; 8.4.55)/*véd-a; vit-táḥ/vid-átuḥ; vid-ánti/vid-úḥ vét-si/vít-tha; vit-tháḥ/vid-áthuḥ; vit-thá/vid-á; véd-mi/véd-a; vid-váḥ/vid-vá; vid-más/vid-má*.

3.4.84 bruv-aḥ pañcā-nā́m ādi-táḥ=āha-ḥ=bruv-aḥ

[The substitute affixes 1.1 ṆaL. átus, ús, thaL and áthus 82 optionally 83] replace the first (ādi-táḥ) five (pañcā-nā́m) [Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 82 of l-member 77 lAṬ 83 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] brū- 'speak' (II 35) with the substitute morpheme āh- replacing (the whole of 1.1.55) brū.

brū+∅[1]*+tiP* = *brav-ī-ti* (7.3.93)/*āh+ṆaL* = *ā́h-a; brū-táḥ/āh-átuḥ; bruv-anti/āh-úḥ; brav-īṣi/ā́h+thaL* = *ā́t=tha* (8.2.35); *brū-tháḥ/āh-áthuḥ* (°*-s* → °*-ḥ* 8.3.15).

3.4.85 lOṬ-aḥ=lAṄ-vát

[The l-substitutes of l-member 77] lOṬ 'Imperative Mood' are like those of [l-member 77] lAṄ 'Imperfect'.

By the recurrence of [vā] from 83 above, interpretation limits this equivalence to a few substitutes only, introduced by 99 and 101 below; 99 refers to the ∅ replacement of final [°-s] of vás and más, and 101 refers to the replacement of tás-thás-thá-miP respectively by tā́m-tám-tá-am. Thus *pac+lOṬ* =

pác+ŚaP+tás = *pác-a-tām*; similarly *pác+a+thas=pác-a-tam; pác-a+tha* = *pác-a-ta*.

3.4.86 e-r u-ḥ

The phoneme [u] replaces the phoneme [i] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85].

The affixes subject to this replacement are tiP, jhi, siP and miP; of these siP is replaced by hí (87) and miP by ni (89) and this rule is not applicable there as they are subsequent rules (1.4.2). *pac+ŚaP+tiP* = *pác-a-tu; pác-a+jhi* = *pác-a-anti* = *pác-a+antu* = *pác-antu* (6.1.97; 7.1.3).

3.4.87 se-r hí=a-P-IT=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1] hí, without IT-marker P, replaces siP [of the l-substitute 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85, introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

pác+ŚaP+si = *pác-a+hí* = *pác-a+∅*[1] (6.4.106). The recurrence of marker P of siP which would apply to its substitute (1.1.56) is specifically blocked out by this rule. Thus *iN+lOṬ* = *iN+∅*[1]*+siP* = *i-hí*, since without marker P the substitute [hi] is considered a Ṅ-IT (1.2.4) which automatically blocks guṇa replacement of the stem-final vowel (1.1.5).

3.4.88 vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute affix 1.1 hi 87 for l-substitute siP 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85] is optionally (vā) [not marked by P as IT 87].

yu- (II 23 'mix')*+lOṬ* = *yu+Ślu+hi* (2.4.76) = *yu-yu+hi=yu-yo-dhí* (6.4.103) where this affix is minus marker P 87 above, but in *prī-* (IX 2)*+lOṬ* = *prī-ṇī* (6.4.113)*+hi* = *prī-ṇī-hí* this affix is associated with marker P (by 1.1.56) and being a Ṅ-IT (1.2.4) does not operate guṇa replacement of the class-marker-final of °*-nī-*.

3.4.89 me-r ni-ḥ

[The substitute affix 1.1] ni replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [l-substitute 77 of lOṬ 85] mi(P) [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

pac+lOṬ+miP = *pac+ŚaP+miP* = *pác+a+ni* = *pác+a+āṬ-ni* = *pác-āni* (92).

3.4.90 ām eT-aḥ

The syllable *ām* replaces phoneme e(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85].

By 79 above [e] is the substitute for the syllable beginning with the last vowel of all Ātmanepadá l-substitutes of l-members with marker Ṭ, and by this rule this [e] is now replaced by the syllable [ām]: *pac+lOṬ = pac+ŚaP+te(79) = pác-a-tām*; similarly the remaining forms of this paradigm are: *pác-e-tām* (7.2.81), *pác-antām, pác-e-thām.*

3.4.91 [1]sa-[2]vā-bhyām [1]va=[2]am-au

The elements va and am (respectively 1.3.10) replace [the substitute vowel e of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85] co-occurring after phonemes [s, v].

Exception to [ām] 90 above. l-substitutes of lOṬ where [e] occurs after [s, v] are respectively [sé], [dhvé], the singular and plural of the second person: [sé] is replaced by [svá] and [dhvé] by [dhvám]: *pac+lOṬ = pac+ŚaP+sé/dhvé = pác-a-sva/pác-a-dhvam.*

3.4.92 āṬ=uttamá-sya P-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] ā(Ṭ) constitutes the beginning of l-substitutes of the first person (uttamá-sya) [of l-member 77 lOṬ 85] and it functions as though it were marked with P as IT.

By the marker P or āṬ it functions as though it were not marked with Ṅ as IT so that it operates guṇa replacements by 7.3.84,86: *kr̥+lOṬ = kr̥+ú* (1.79)*+ni/va/ma = kar-ó+āni/āva/āma kar-áv-āṇi/kar-áv-āva/kar-áv-āma* (7.3.84; 8.4.2).

3.4.93 eT-aḥ=ai

The phoneme ai replaces the phoneme e(T) [of the first person 92 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lOṬ 85].

This has reference to Ātmanepadá l-substitutes of the first person: *kr̥+lOṬ = kr̥+ú+āṬ+e* (1.9) = *kar-ó+ā-e = kar-áv+ā+ai = kar-áv-ai* (6.1.88); *kar-áv-āvahai, kar-áv-āmahai.* Exception to [ām] 90.

3.4.94 lEṬ-aḥ ¹aṬ-²āṬ-au

[The initial increments 1.1.46] aṬ and āṬ are [inserted at the beginning of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] lEṬ 'Subjunctive Mood'.

> *juṣ+lEṬ* = *júṣ+siP(1.34)+tiP* = *jóṣ+iṬ+siP+t∅* (97; 1.34; 7.2.35) = *jóṣ-i-ṣ-aṬ=t* = *jóṣ-i-ṣ-a-t* (8.3.59) 'may he/she be pleased'.
> *pat+lEṬ* = *pát+ŚaP+āṬ + tiP* = *pát-ā-ti* 'may (one) fall/fly'.

3.4.95 āT-aḥ=ai

The phoneme [ai] replaces phoneme ā(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lEṬ 94].

> The affixes in question are *ā́tām/ā́thām* the dual of the third and second person Ātmanepadá l-substitutes. *mantr+Ṇíc+lEṬ* = *mantr-í+ŚaP+āte* = *mantr-é+a+aite* = *mantr-áy-aite*; similarly *mantr-áy-aithe*.

3.4.96 vā=eT-aḥ=anyá-tra

[The phoneme /ai/ 95] optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme [e] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lEṬ 94] elsewhere (anyá-tra: i.e., other than that prescribed in 95 above).

> *īś+lEṬ* = *īś+e* = *īś-ai/īś-e; śī+e* = *śe+ai* (7.4.21) = *śay-ai*, but *mantr-áy-aite/°-aithe*.

3.4.97 iT-as=ca lópa-ḥ parasmaipadé-ṣu

The substitute lopa (= ∅) [optionally 96] replaces phoneme [i(T)] of Parasmaipadá [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lEṬ 94].

> The l-substitutes in question are tiP, jhi, siP and miP; *jóṣ-i-ṣ-a-t/pat-ā-ti* (cf. 94 above).

3.4.98 s-aḥ=uttamá-sya

[Substitute lopa (∅) 97 optionally 96 replaces] the phoneme [s] of the first person (uttamá-sya) [Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lEṬ 94].

> The l-substitutes concerned are vas/mas: *kṛ̥+lEṬ* = *kṛ̥+ú+āṬ+vas/mas* = *kar-o+ā+vas/mas* = *kar-áv-ā-va/kar-áv-ā-vaḥ* (8.3.15); *kar-áv-ā-ma/kar-áv-ā-maḥ*.

3.4.99 nítyaṁ Ṅ-IT-aḥ

[The substitute lopa (∅) 97] necessarily (nítyam) replaces [the phoneme /s/ of the first person 98 Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77] having marker Ṅ as IT.

pac+lAṄ = *pac+ŚaP+vas/mas* = *áṬ+pac+ŚaP+va/ma* (6.4.71; 7.3.101).
pac+lIṄ = *pac+ŚaP+yā́suṬ-vas/mas* (103) = *pac-a-yā∅-va/ma* (7.2.79) = *pac-a-iy-va/ma* (7.2.80) = *pac-a-i∅-va/ma (6.1.66)* = *pác-e-va/pác-e-ma*.
pac+lUṄ = *áṬ+pac+siC+vas/mas* (1.44) = *á-pāk-ṣ-va/á-pāk-ṣ-ma* (7.2.3; 8.2.30; 3.59).
pac+lṚṄ = *áṬ+pac+sya+vas/mas* = *á-pak-ṣyā-va/°-ma* (7.3.101; 8.3.59).

3.4.100 iT-as=ca

[The substitute lopa (∅) 97 necessarily 99] replaces the phoneme [i(T)] of the [Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77 having marker Ṅ as IT 99].

The l-substitutes involved are tiP, jhi, siP and miP: for miP a separate rule provides for its complete replacement by am (101 below).
pac+lAṄ = *á-pac-a-t∅*, *ápac-an∅∅* (8.2.23), *á-pac-a-s∅*.
pac+lIṄ = *pac-e-t∅; pac-e-s∅*.
pac+lUṄ = *á-pāk-ṣ-ī-t∅; á-pāk-ṣ-ī-s∅*.
pac+lṚṄ = *á-pak-ṣya-t∅, á-pak-ṣya-s∅*.

3.4.101 [1]tás-[2]thás-[3]thá-[4]miP-ām [1]tā́m-[2]tám-[3]tá=[4]am-aḥ

[The substitute affixes 1.1] tā́m, tám, tá and am (respectively 1.3.10) replace the l-substitutes tás, thás, thá and miP [of Parasmaipadá 97 of l-members 77 having marker Ṅ as IT 99].

pac+lAṄ = *á-pac-a-tām/°-tam/°ta/ á-pac-am* (6.1.97).
pac+lIṄ = *pác-e-tām/pác-e-tam/pác-e-ta, pác-ey-am*.
kṛ+lUṄ = *á-kār-ṣ-ṭām/á-kār-ṣ-ṭam/á-kār-ṣ-ṭa/á-kār-ṣ-am*.
pac+lṚṄ = *á-pak-ṣya-tām/°-tam/°ta/ á-pak-ṣy-am* (6.1.97).

3.4.102 lIṄ-aḥ sīyuṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] sīyuṬ constitutes the beginning of [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] lIṄ 'Optative/Potential Mood'.

pac+lIṄ = *pác+ŚaP+ta* = *pác-a+sīy+suṬ-ta* (107) = *pac+a+∅īy+∅+ta* (7.2.79) = *pac+a+ī∅+ta* (6.1.66) = *pác-eta; pác-ey-ātām; pác-eran* (105), *pác-ethāḥ, pác-ey-āthām, pác-edhvam; pác-eyam, pác-evahi, pác-emahi*.

3.4.103 yā́suṬ parasipadé-ṣu=udā́tta-ḥ=Ṅ-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yā́suṬ with high-pitched accent (udā́tta-ḥ) [constitutes the beginning of] Parasmaipadá [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lIṄ 102] and functions as though marked with Ṅ as IT.

Exception to [sīyuṬ] 102. Being considered as marked with Ṅ it does not operate guṇa replacements under 7.3.84,86 (1.1.5).

kr̥+lIṄ = kr̥+u+yā́s-t∅ = kur-u-yā́s-suṬ-t (107; 6.4.110) = *kur-∅-yā́∅-∅-t* (6.4.109; 7.2.79) = *kur-yā́t, kur-yā́-tām, kur-yúḥ* (108; 6.1.96); *kur-yā́ḥ, kur-yā́tam, kur-yā́ta; kur-yā́m, kur-yā́va, kur-yā́ma.*

3.4.104 K-IT=āśíṣ-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 yā́suṬ with udā́tta accent 103 constituting the beginning of Parasmaipadá 103 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lIṄ 102] is deemed to be marked with K as IT and denotes benediction (āśíṣ-i).

This is the Precative or Benedictive Mood. The difference in the IT-marker is with reference to samprasāraṇa replacement (6.1.15).

yaj+lIṄ āśíṣi = yaj+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t∅ = iaj+yā́s-s-t (6.1.15) = *ij-yā́s-s-t* (6.1.108) = *ij-yā́∅-∅-t* (8.2.29); *ij-yās-tām, ij-yā́s-uḥ.*

jāgr̥+lIṄ āśíṣ-i = jāgar+yā́s+s+t (107; 7.3.85) = *jāgar-yā́∅+∅-t* (8.2.29) = *jāgar-yā́t, jāgar-yā́s-tām, jāgar-yā́suḥ*, but in the Optative forms [yā́suṬ] being deemed a Ṅ-IT prevents guṇa replacement by 7.3.85: *jāgr̥-yā́t, jāgr̥-yúḥ.*

3.4.105 jha-sya raN

[The substitute affix 1.1] raN replaces [the Ātmanepadá 102 l-substitute 78] jha [of l-member 77 1iṄ 102].

Exception to 7.1.3. *pac+lIṄ = pac+ŚaP+jha = pac+a+sīyuṬ+jha = pac-a+∅īy+raN = pác-a+ī∅-raN (6.1.66) = pác-eran.*

3.4.106 íṬ-aḥ=áT

(The substitute element) á(T) replaces [the l-substitute 78] íṬ 'first person singular Ātmanepadá' [of l-member 77 lIṄ 102].

pác+lIṄ = pác+ŚaP+siyuṬ+íṬ = pác-a+∅īy+á = pác-eya.

3.4.107 suṬ [1]ti̲-[2]th-oḥ

[The initial increment *1.1.46*] su̲Ṭ constitutes the beginning of phonemes [t], [th] contained in [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 lIṄ 102].

This is not an exception to 102-3 above and there is no competition between these two increments, since [sīyu̲ṭ, yā́su̲ṭ] are the general increments of all l-substitutes of lIṄ while the present increment applies only to such of them as contain the two phonemes [t, th]. The affixes in question are ti, tás, thá of Paramaipada and tá, thā́s, ā́tām and ā́thām of Ātmanepada'. The actualization of the phoneme [s] of these increments is realized only in the Precative Mood (lIṄ āśíṣ-i) since they are replaced by Ø in the Optative by 7.2.79.

bhū+lIṄ āśíṣ-i = *bhū+yā́s+s+tØ* = *bhū-yā́Ø-Ø-t* (8.2.29) = *bhū-yā́t, bbū-yā́s-tām, bhū-yā́suḥ*.

3.4.108 jhe-r Jús

[The substitute affix **1.1**] Jús replaces [the l-substitute 78] jhi [of l-member 77 lIṄ 102].

Exception to 7.1.3. *pac+lIṄ* = *pác+ŚaP+yā́su̲Ṭ+jhi* = *pác-a-yā́Ø+us* (7.2.79) = *pác-a-īy+us* (7.2.80) = *pác-eyuḥ*.

3.4.109 [1]sīC=[2]abhyàsta-[3]vídi̲-bhyas=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-members 77 with IT marker Ṅ 99 introduced after 1.2] the Aorist marker si̲C, reduplicated [verbal stems 1.91 and the verbal stem] víd- 'know' (II 55).

áṬ+kṛ+si̲C+jhi = *á-kār-ṣ-Jus* = *á-kār-ṣ-uḥ* (6.4.75; 7.2.1).
á-da-dā+jhi = *a-da-duḥ* (6.1.96).
á-vid+jhi = *ávid-uḥ*.

3.4.110 āT-aḥ

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 introduced after 1.2 the Aorist marker si̲C 109 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

dhā+lUṄ = *á-dhā+si̲C+jhi* = *á-dhā+Ø[1]+Jus* (2.4.77) = *á-dhuḥ* (6.1.96).

3.4.111 lAṄ-aḥ śākaṭāyaná-sya=evá

According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná only, [the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77] lAṄ 'Imperfect' [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme °ā 110].

This is an optional rule. *yā+lAṄ = áT+yā+∅¹+jhi = á-yā+Jus = á-yuḥ* according to Ś. but *á-yā+ant = á-yān∅* (8.2.23) according to other grammarians.

3.4.112 dviṣ-as=ca

[According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná 111 the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77 lAṄ 111 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3).

dviṣ+lAṄ = áT+dviṣ+∅¹+jhi = á-dviṣ+Jus = á-dviṣ-uḥ according to S. only, but *á-dviṣ-an* according to others.

3.4.113 ¹tiṄ-²Ś-IT sā́rvadhātukam

The t.t. sā́rvadhātuka denotes the l-substitute [affixes 1,1] implied by the siglum tiṄ (78) and those marked with Ś as IT.

Besides the eighteen l-substitutes designated by the siglum tiṄ affixes with IT marker Ś are: KHáŚ, Śá, ŚátR̥, Śádhyai, ŚadhyaiN, ŚaP, ŚānáC, ŚānaN, ŚāyáC, ŚnáM, Śnā́, Śnú, ŚyaN, Ślu and CānáŚ.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.4; 3.1.67; 6.1.186; 4.87,110; 7.2.76; 3.8r,87,95; 4.21,25.

3.4.114 ā́rdhadhātuka-m śéṣa-ḥ

The t.t. ā́rdha-dhātuka denotes the residue (śéṣa-ḥ) [of affixes 1.1 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

These are (a) affixes which generate verbal stems (1.5-30) (b) verbal and (c) primary nominal affixes comprising the whole of the kr̥t section (1.93ff.).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.4; 2.4,35-56; 3.1.31; 6.4.46-68; 7.2.35; 3.64; 4.49.

3.4.115 lIṬ ca

[The t.t. ā́rdha-dhātuka 114] also denotes (ca) [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] lIṬ 'Perfect Tense'.

Exception to 113 above. This rule blocks out the introduction of class-markers (vi-kar-aṇa-s) to build up the theme of the Present System in the first place, and secondly makes applicable the operation of 7.2.35 whereby initial increment iṬ may constitute the beginning of some of these l-substitutes: *pac+lIṬ = pa-pac-iṬ=vá/má = ∅∅-pec-i-vá/má* (6.4.120).

3.4.116 lIṄ āśíṣ-i

[The t.t. ā́rdhadhātuka 114 also 115] denotes [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] lIṄ when denoting benediction (āśíṣ-i) 'Precative or Benedictive Mood'.

Exception to 113 above. Consequently class-markers are not introduced after verbal stems before these l-substitutes. Precative of *bhū́ sattā́-yām* (I 1): *bhū+yā́s+s+t = bhū-yā́t, bhū-yā́stām, bhū-yā́suḥ* contra Optative *bháv-et, bháv-etām, bháv-eyuḥ*.

3.4.117 chándas-i=ubhayá-thā

In the domain of Chándas both (ubhayá-thā) [= sā́rvadhātuka 113 and ā́rdhadhātuka 114 denote the l-substitutes 78 implied by the siglum tiṄ and affixes with marker Ś as IT 113 as well as residual affixes 114 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

vṛdh+ṆíC+ŚaP+antu / várdh+∅-antu = várd-antu/vardh-áy-antu. ∅ replacement of [ṆíC] occurs by virtue of [antu] being considered as ā́rdhadhātuka (6.4.51).

su+as+KtiN = sv-ás-ti where the verbal stem is not replaced by [bhū́-] by virtue of [KtiN] being considered as sā́rva-dhātuka.

4.1.1 [1]Nī-[2]āP-[3]prātipadik-āt

[After 3.1.2] expressions [ending in 1.1.72 (feminine 4) affixes 3.1.1] Ṅī and āP and nominal stems (prātipadik-ā́t 1.2.45-46).

This is a governing rule heading this section, extending up to the end of the fifth chapter, and will recur in the following sūtras as required in each individual case. [Ṅī] is the cover term for [ṄīN, ṄīP and Ṅī́Ṣ] which are introduced in the following rules; and similarly [āP] is the cover term for [CāP, ṬāP and ḌāP]. While items ending in these affixes are also prātipadikás, their inclusion in this governing rule is for the purpose of fixing the relative position of these affixes with reference to others introduced in this large section.

Three classes of affixes are included in this major section: (a) declensional affixes (2); (b) feminine affixes (3-91); (c) secondary nominal affixes denoted by the t.t. taddhitá (76ff. which is a very large group). Certain classes of affixes must follow feminine affixes, like the declensional affixes which necessitates their inclusion in the governing rule.

4.1.2 [1]sU=[2]au-[3]Jas=[4]am-[5]auṬ=[6]Śas=[7]Ṭā-[8]bhyām-[9]bhis=[10]Ṅe-[11]bhyām-[12]bhyas=[13]ṄasI-[14]bhyām-[15]bhyas-[16]Ṅas-[17]os-[18]ām=[19]Ṅi-[20]os-[21]suP

[The affixes 3.1.1] sU, au, Jas; am, auṬ, Śas; Ṭā, bhyām, bhis; Ṅe, bhyām, bhyas; ṄasI. bhyām, bhyas; Ṅas,os, ām and Ṅi, os, suP are introduced [after 3.1.2 expressions ending in 1.1.72 (feminine affixes) Ṅī and āP and (other) nominal stems 1].

These twenty-one affixes constitute the declensional endings, divided into seven triplets (1.4.103) denoted by the t.t. [vibhákti 1.4.104], and in the order in which they appear have the appropriate ordinals denoting them: [prathamā́] 'nominative' (with vocative as a sub-class) (sU-au-Jas); [dvitī́yā] 'accusative' (am-auṬ-Śas); [tr̥tī́yā] 'instrumental' (Ṭā-bhyām-bhis); [caturthī́] 'dative' (Ṅe-bhyām-bhyas); [pañcamī́] 'ablative' (ṄasI-bhyām-bhyas); [ṣaṣṭhī́] 'genitive' (Ṅas-os-ām); [saptamī́] 'locative' (Ṅi, os, suP). In the order in which they appear in each triplet they denote the singular, dual and plural endings (1.4.102). The application of these endings are given in 2.3.2ff. together with 1.4.22-23.

1. Items ending in Ṅī: *nadī́* f. 'river': *nadī́+sU = nadī́+∅* (6.1.68); *nadī+au/auṬ = nady-aú* (6.1.105); *nadī́+Jas = nady-áḥ* (6.1.105); *nadī́+am = nadī́-m* (6.1.107); *nadī́+Śas = nadī́-ḥ* (6.1.102); *nadī́+Ṭā = nady-ā́; nadī́-bhyām, nadī́-bhiḥ; nadī́+Ṅe = nadī́+āṬ-e* (7.3.112) = *nady-aí* (6.1.88); *nadī́-bhyām, nadī́-bhyaḥ; nadī+Ṅas(I) = nadī+ā+as = nady-ā́ḥ; nadī́-bhyām, nadī́-bhyaḥ; nady-óḥ; nadī́+ām = nadī́+nuṬ-ām* (7.1.54) = *nadī́-nām; nadī+Ṅi - nadī=āṬ-ām* (7.3.116) = *nady-ā́m; nady-óḥ; nadī́-ṣu* (8.3.59).
2. Items ending in *āP: kalā́* 'art': *kalā́+sU = kalā́+∅* (6.1.68); *kalā́+au/auṬ = kalā+Śī* (7.1.18) = *kal-é; kalā+Jas/Śas = kalā́ḥ* (6.1.102); *kalā́+am = kalā́-m*

(6.1.107); *kalā+Ṭā = kale+ā* (7.3.105) = *kaláy-ā* (6.1.78) *kalā́-bhyām, kalā́-bhiḥ; kalā́+Ṅe = kalā+yāṬ-e* (7.3.113) = *kalā́-yai* (6.1.88); *kalā́-bhyām, kalā́-bhyaḥ; kalā́+Ṅas(I) = kalā́+yā-as = kalā́-yāḥ* (6.1.101); *kalā́+os = kalé+os* (7.3.105) = *kaláy-oḥ* (6.1.78); *kalā́-nām; kalā́+yā+Ṅi = kalā́-yā-ām* (7.3.116) = *kalā́-yām; kalā́-su.*

3. Nominal stems: *vidyút-* 'lightning': *vidyút+sU = vidyút+∅* (6.1.68); *vidyút+au/auṬ = vidyút-au; vidyút+Jas/Śas = vidyút-aḥ; vidyút-am; vidyút-ā, vidyúd-bhyām* (8.4.53), *vidyúd-bhiḥ; vidyút-e, vidyúd-bhyām, vidyúd-bhyaḥ; vidyút-aḥ, vidyúd-bhyām, vidyúd-bhyaḥ; vidyút-aḥ, vidyút-oḥ, vidyút-am; vidyút-i, vidyút-oḥ, vidyút-su.*

4.1.3 striy-ā́m

In the domain of the **feminine** gender (= **with reference to the feminine** gender).

This is a governing rule, heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent statements of this section in which the appropriate affixes are introduced after nominal stems to derive feminine stems.

4.1.4 [1]ajá=ādi=[2]aTas=ṬāP

[The affix 3.1.1] ṬāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with ajá- 'goat' and those [which end in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [to derive feminine nominal stems 3].

1. *ajá+ṬāP = ajā́* 'she-goat'; similarly *eḍaka+ṬāP = eḍakā* 'ewe'.
2. The inclusion of nominal stems ending in short °-a in the ajá-class is [I] either to block out the introduction of ṄīṢ (63) with reference to words denoting species, or to the husband (48) or words which end in names of flowers etc., (49) [II] or to block out ṄīP in relation to words denoting age (20) or where the derivative word ends in an affix with the marker Ṭ (15).

4.1.5 [1]r̥T=[2]ne-bhyaḥ=ṄīP

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71] the phoneme short r̥ or °-n [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

1. °-r̥: *kr̥+tr̥N+ṄīP = kár-tr̥+ī = kár-tr-ī* 'doer, producer'.
2. °-n: *daṇḍ-ín+ṄīP = daṇḍ-ín-ī* 'carrying a stick'.

4.1.6 uK=IT-as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker denoted by the siglum uK (= u, r̥, l̥) as IT [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

pac+ŚatR̥ = *pac+ŚaP+átR̥+ī* = *pác-at+nuM+ī* (7.1.81; 6.1.97) = *pác-ant-ī* 'cooking'; similarly from the verbal stem *bhū+ŚatR̥+ṄīP* = *bháv-ant-ī* 'pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for the Present Tense;, but from the pronominal stem *bhávatU+ṄīP* = *bhávat-ī* 'you (respectfully), your honor'.

4.1.7 van-aḥ=ra ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-van and (ca) the phoneme [r] replaces the [stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1.]

While this affix is already introduced by 5 above, the specific mention here is for the stem-final replacement by phoneme [r]: *dhā́+KvaniP+ṄīP* (3.2.74) = *dhī́+van+ī* (6.4.66) = *dhī́-var-ī* 'fisherman's wife'; *go+dā́+van+ṄīP* = *go-dā́-var-ī* 'n.pr. of a river'.

4.1.8 pā́d-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pā́d (occurring as a final member of a compound) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dv-aú pād-aú a-syá = *dvi-pā́d-* (5.4.140) 'bi-ped, two-legged'/*dví-pād* (6.2.197 for accent options)*+ṄīP dvi-pád-ī/dví-padi-ī* (6.4.130) 'consisting of two feet', alternating with *dvi-pā́d-/dví-pād-* which is both m. and f.

4.1.9 ṬāP=r̥c-i

In the domain of R̥g-Veda [the affix 3.1.1] ṬāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71 °-pā́d 8].

Exception to ṄīP 8. *dví-pād/dvi-pā́d+ṬāP* = *dví-pad-ā/dvi-pád-ā* 'a verse consisting of two feet' (in the RV); similarly *trí-pad-ā/tri-pád-ā*.

4.1.10 ná [1]ṣaṭ-[2]svasṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 generating a feminine nominal stem 3] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoted by the t.t. ṣaṣ (1.1.20) and the [class of nominal stems 1] beginning with svásṛ- 'sister'.

The t.t. ṣaṣ denotes the following number-words: *páñcan-* '5', *ṣáṣ-* '6', *saptán-* '7', *aṣṭán-* '8', *návan-* '9', *dáśan-* '10' etc.; *páñcan+Jas* = *páñcan+∅*[1] (7.1.22) = *páñca∅* (8.2.7) *stríy-aḥ púmāṁs-aḥ=vā* 'five women or men' where the number-word serves both as f. and m.

The class of words represented by svásṛ-class consist of: *svásṛ-* 'sister', *duhitṛ́-* 'daughter', *nánāndṛ-* 'husband's sister', *yā́tṛ-* 'husband's brother's wife', *mātṛ́-* 'mother' and the number words *tisṛ́-* '3', *catasṛ́-* '4'.

4.1.11 man-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-man(iN 3.2.74ff.).

Exception to 5 above. *dā́-man-* m. f. 'giver, donor, bestower'; *pā́-man-* f. 'scabies'.

4.1.12 an-aḥ=bahuvrīhé-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoted by a Bahuvrīhí (compound) [ending in 1.1.72] the element °an [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

śóbhana-am párva a-syā́ḥ = *su-parván* 'possessing beautiful joints'; (both m. and f.) but *áti-krāntā rā́jān-am* = *átr-rājan+ṄīP áti-rāj∅n* (6.4.134)*+ī* = *áti-rājñ-ī* 'superior to a king'.

4.1.13 ḌāP=ubhā́-bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1] ḌāP is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2] both (ubhā́-bhyām) [nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-man 11 and Bahuvirīhí compounds ending in 1.1.72 °-an 12 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

1. °-man: *pā́man+ḌāP* = *pāma∅+ā* (6.4.143) = *pā́-mā. pā́-me/pā́-mā, pā́-mān-au, pā́-mān-aḥ* (12).
2. °-an: *bahav-aḥ yáj-vān-aḥ a-syāḥ* = *bahu-jay-ván+ḌāP* = *bahu-yajv∅∅+ā* (6.4.143) = *bahu-yajvā́, bahu-yajvé, bahu-yajvā́ḥ/bahu-yajvā́, bahu-yaj-vā́n-au, bahu-yaj-vā́n-aḥ* 'who has offered many sacrifices'.

4.1.14 án-upa-sarjan-āt

[After a nominal stem 1] which is not a subordinate member (upa-sárj-ana) of [a compound 1.2.43].

This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent rules of this section. [Upa-sárj-ana] is defined by 1.2.43 as that expression which is introduced with the first sUP triplet in the section dealing with compounds (2.1.3ff.). In a Bahuvrīhí compound all the constituent members are [upa-sárjana-s] or subordinate members. Thus in *kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti* = *kuru+$\emptyset^1$+car+Ṭa* (3.1.16)+*ṄīP* (15) = *kuru-car-ī́* 'wandering in the Kuru country', but in *bahávṿ-aḥ kuru-car-ā́ḥ a-syā́m* = *bahu-kucurá+ṬāP* = *bahu-curu-car-ā́* (nagarī) 'city in which there are many wanderers from the Kuru country' where 4 above applies.

4.1.15 [1]Ṭ-IT=[2]ḍha=[3]áṆ=[4]aÑ=[5]dvayasáC=[6]daghnáC-[7]mātráC=[8]tayaP-[9]-ṭhaÑ-[10]kaÑ-[11]KvaraP-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker Ṭ as IT, and [affixes] ḍha, áṆ, aÑ, dvayasáC, daghnáC, mātráC, tayaP, ṭháK, ṭhaÑ, KaÑ and KvaraP [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. ending in an affix with marker Ṭ: *kuru+car+Ṭa+ṄīP* = *kuru-car+$\emptyset$+ī́* (6.4.148), but *pac+lAṬ* = *pac+ŚaP+ŚānáC+ṬāP* (3.2.124) = *pác-a-m-ānā* since lAṬ has two markers.
2. °-ḍha: *su-parṇī́+ḍhaK* (120) = *sauparṇ$\emptyset$+eyá+ī* (6.4.148) *sauparṇ-ey$\emptyset$-ī́* (6.4.148).
3. °-áṆ: *kumbh-ám kar-ó-ti* = *kumbha+$\emptyset^1$+kṛ+áṆ* (3.2.1)+*ṄīP* = *kumbha-kār-ī́* 'lady pot-maker'.
4. °-aÑ: *utsa+aÑ+ī* (86) = *aúts-ī* 'lady descendant of U.'
5. °-dvayasáC: *ūru-dvayasá+ī* - *ūru-dvayas-ī́* 'reaching up to the thigh'.
6. °-daghnáC: *ūru-daghná+ī* = *ūru-daghn-ī́* 'ibid.'
7. °-mātráC: *ūru-mātrá+ī* = *ūru-mātr-ī́* 'ibid.'
8. °-tayaP: *pánca+tayaP+ī* = *pánca-tay-ī* 'five-fold'.
9. °-ṭháK: *akṣ-aír dī́v-ya-ti* = *akṣa+ṭháK* (4.2)+*ī* = *ākṣa+iká+ī* (7.3.50) = *ākṣ-ik-ī́* 'lady gambling with dice'.
10. °-ṭhaÑ: *lavaṇ-ám páṇ-yam a-syā́ḥ* = *lavaṇá+ṭhaÑ+ī* *lā́vaṇ-ika+ī* = *lā́vaṇ-ik-ī* 'lady dealing in salt'.
11. °-KaÑ: *tā-dṛ́ś+KaÑ+ī* (3.2.60) = *tā́-dṛ́ś-a+ī* = *tā-dṛ́ś-ī* 'like that'.
12. °-KvaraP: *naś+KvaraP+ī* = *náś=var-ī* (3.2.163) 'fragile, perishable'.

4.1.16 yaÑ=as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

gargá+yaÑ+ṄīP = *gā́rg-ya+ī* = *gā́rg-yØ+ī* (6.4.148) = *gā́rgØ+ī* (6.4.150) = *gā́rg-ī* 'female descendant of Garga'.

4.1.17 prā́c-ām Ṣpha taddhitá-ḥ

According to Eastern Grammarians (prā́c-ām) [the affix 3.1.1] Ṣpha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] and it is classed as a taddhitá (76ff.).

The purpose of classifying [Ṣpha] as a taddhitá affix is to qualify the stem ending in it as a prātipadiká (1.2.46). The marker Ṣ operates the affix ṄīṢ (41 below).

gargá+yaÑ = *gā́rg-ya+Ṣpha* = *gārgy-ā́yaṇa-* (7.1.2)+*ṄīṢ* (41) = *gārgy-āyaṇ-ī́* (8.4.2) = *gā́rg-ī* (by 16 above).

4.1.18 sarvátra [1]lóhita=ādi=[2]kata=ante-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 Ṣpha 17] is introduced, according to all Grammarians (sarvá-tra) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with lóhita- and ending with kata- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16].

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the major class beginning with gárga- (105); this is an obligatory rule replacing the option implied by the previous reference to Eastern Grammarians; [sarvá-tra] stands for 'according to all Grammarians' [sarve-ṣām ācāryā-ṇām mat-ena].

lóhita+yaÑ = *laúhit-ya+Ṣpha+ṄīṢ* = *lauhity-ā́yana+ī́* = *lauhity-āyan-ī́* 'female descendant of Lóhita'; similarly *kāty-āyan-ī́* 'female descendant of Kata'.

4.1.19 [1]kauravyá-[2]mā́ṇḍūkā-bhyāṁ ca

[The affix 3.1.1 Ṣpha 17] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaurav-yá and mā́ṇḍūka- [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

kuru+Ṇyá (152) = *kaurav-yá* (6.4.146; 6.1.79)+*Ṣpha+ī́* - *kaurav-y-āyaṇ-ī́* (8.4.2) 'female descendant of Kauravyá'.

Similarly *māṇḍūk-āyan-ī́* 'female descendant of Mā́ṇḍūka'.

4.1.20 váyas-i pratham-é

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting the first part of life (váyas-i pratham-é 'teens') [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kumārá+ṄīP = *kumār-ī́* 'maiden, girl, virgin'; similarly *kiśor-ī́* 'female colt'; *bárkar-ī* 'kid'. Exceptions to ṬāP 4.

4.1.21 dvigó-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of] a Dvigú (compound 2.1.52) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

aṣṭā-nām adhyāyā́-nāṁ sam-ā-hār-á-ḥ = *aṣṭán+∅¹+adhyāyá+ṄīP* = *aṣṭa∅+adhyāyá+ī* (8.2.7) = *aṣṭā-dhyāy-ī́* 'a collection of eight chapters (title of the present work)'; similarly *pañcā-nā́m pūlā́-nāṁ sam-ā-hār-áḥ* = *pañca-pūl-ī́* 'a collection of five bunches'.

4.1.22 a-¹pari-mā́ṇa-²bistá=³ā́-cita-⁴kambalyé-bhya-ḥ ná taddhita-lúK-i

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú (compound) 21] not [ending in 1.1.72] a word denoting a measure (parimā́ṇa) or [ending in 1.1.72] °-bistá-, °-ā́-cita-, and °-kambl-yá-, when there is a replacement by luk (∅) of a taddhitá (5.1.28) affix [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

pañcá-bhir áśv-aiḥ krī-tā́ = *pañcan+∅¹+aśva+ṭhaK* (5.1.37)+*ṬāP* = *pañca∅+aśva+∅¹+ā* (8.2.7; 5.1.28) = *pañc-āśv-ā́* 'bought with five horses'; *dv-aú bist-aú pác-a-ti* = *dvi+∅¹+bista+ṭhaK* (5.1.52) = *div-bista+∅¹* (5.1.28)+*ṬāP* = *dvi-bist-ā́* 'who cooks two bistás of grain'. Similarly *dv-aú ā́cit-au pác-a-ti* = *dvy-ācit-ā́*; *dvā́-bhyām kambalyā́-bhyā́m krī-tā́* = *dvi-kambaly-ā́* 'bought with two blankets'.

4.1.23 kāṇḍá=ant-āt kṣétr-e

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °-kāṇḍá- [when there is replacement by 1uK of a taddhitá affix 22 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] denoting a field (kṣétr-e).

dv-é kāṇḍ-é pramā́ṇam a-syā́ḥ = *dvi+∅*[1]*+kāṇḍa+dvayasáC* = *dvi-kāṇḍa+∅*[1] (by a vārttika on 5.2.37)*+ṬāP* = *dvi-kāṇḍ-ā́* 'having a measure of two kāṇḍa-s' (of a field: *kṣetra-bhakté-ḥ*); but *dvi-kāṇḍ-ī́ rájju-ḥ* 'a rope measuring two kāṇḍa-s'.

4.1.24 púruṣ-āt pra-mā́ṇ-e=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) [not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 comprising a Dvigu' compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °púruṣa- 'person' to denote a measure (pramā́ṇ-e) [for deriving a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dv-aú púruṣ-au pramā́ṇam a-syā́ḥ parikhā́-yāḥ = *dvi-∅*[1]*+puruṣa+dvayasáC* = *dvi-puruṣa=∅*[1]*+ṄīP/ṬāP* = *dvi-puruṣ-ī́/dvi-puruṣ-ā́* 'a moat having the width of two men'.

4.1.25 bahuvrīhé-r ū́dhas-aḥ=ṄīṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] constituting a Bahuvrīhí compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °-ū́dhas 'udder' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ghaṭá iva ū́dhaḥ a-syā́ḥ = *ghaṭa+∅*[1]*+ūdhan* (5.4.131)*+ṄīṢ* = *ghaṭodh∅n+ī́* (6.4.134) = *ghaṭodhn-ī́* '(a cow) whose udder is like a jar'; similarly *kuṇḍodhn-ī́* but *prāp-tā́ ū́dhaḥ* = *prāptodhás-* 'a female calf which has reached her mother's udder'.

4.1.26 [1]saṁkhyā́=[2]ávyaya=āde-r ṄīP

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 constituting a Bahuvrīhí compound ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1 ū́dhas- 25] co-occurring with numerals (saṁkhyā́) or indeclinables (ávyaya) as prior members (ādé-ḥ)[to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. saṁkhyā́: *dv-é ū́dhas-ī a-syā́ḥ* = *dvī-∅*[1]*+ūdhas+ṄīP* = *dvy-ū́dhan+ī* = *dvy-ū́dh∅n-ī* (6.4.134) = *dvy-ū́dhn-ī* '(a cow) having two udders'.
2. avyaya: *nír-ga-ta-m ū́dhaḥ a-syā́ḥ* = *nír-ūdhas+ṄīP* = *nír-ūdhn-ī* 'a cow having no udders'.

The difference between [ṄīP] and [ṄīṢ] is in accentuation only.

4.1.27 ¹dā́ma(n)=²hāyána=ant-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound 25 with numerals as prior members 26] and °-dā́man- 'rope' and hāyána- 'year' as posterior members (°-ant-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

dvé dā́man-ī a-syā́ḥ = *dvi-∅*¹*+dāman+ṄīP* = *dvídām∅n-ī* 'tied with two ropes'; *dv-aú hāyán-au a-syā́ḥ* = *dví-hāyan-ī* 'two years old'.

4.1.28 an-aḥ=upadhā-lopín-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound 24 ending in 1.1.72] °-an and subject to ∅-(lopa) replacement of its penultimate (phoneme) (upadhā́-lopín-aḥ) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

śóbhana-ḥ rā́jā a-syā́ḥ = *su+rāján+ṄīP* = *su-rāj∅ñ-ī́* (6.4.134; 6.2.172) = *su-rājñ-ī́* / *su-rāján+Ḍāp* (13) = *su-rāj-ā́/su-rāj-án-* (12).

4.1.29 nítyam ¹saṁjñā́-²chándas-oḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound 25 ending in 1.1.72 °-an and subject to ∅ replacement of its penultimate phoneme 28 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the names and Chándas.

1. saṁjñā́: *su-rājñ-ī́, áti-rājñ-ī* 'names of villages'.
2. chándas-i: *pañca-dāmn-ī gaú-ḥ* 'a cow, tied with five ropes'.

4.1.30 ¹kévala-²māmaká-³bhāga-dhéya-⁴pāpá=⁵ápara-⁶samāná=⁷ā́rya-kr̥ta-⁸su-maṅgalá-⁹bheṣaj-ā́t=ca

[In the domain of names and of Chándas 29 the affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kévala- 'sole', māmaká- 'mine', bhāga-dhéya- 'share', pāpá- 'wicked, evil', ápara- 'another', samāná- 'equal', ā́rya-kr̥-ta- 'made by an Aryan', su-maṅgalá- 'auspicious'; and bheṣajá- 'remedy' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kévala+ṄīP = *kéval-ī* 'n.pr. of a Jyotis', contra *kéval-ā* in the spoken language (s.l.).

Similarly: *māmak-ī́* (= *māmik-ā́* s.l.), n.pr.; *bhāga-dhéy-ī* (*bhāga-dhéy-ā*); *pāp-ī́* (*pāp-ā́*); *ápar-ī* (*ápar-ā*); *samān-ī́* 'n. of a metre' (s.l. *samān-ā́*); *ā́rya-kr̥t-ī* (*ā́rya-kr̥t-ā*); *su-maṅgal-ī́* (*su-maṅgal-ā́*); *bheṣaj-ī́* (*bheṣaj-ā́*) 'healing'.

4.1.31 rā́tre-s=ca á-Jas-au̲

[In the domain of names and Chándas 29 the affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] rā́tri- 'night' except before the nominative plural [sUP ending 2] Jasi̲.

rā́tri+ṄīP = *rā́trī+sU/au/am* = *rā́trī/rā́try-au/rā́trī-m*; but *rā́tri+Jas* = *rā́tre+Jas* (7.3.109) = *rā́tray-aḥ*.

4.1.32 [1]antár-vat-[2]pátivat-or nu̲K

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] antár-vat and páti-vat- and the increment nu̲K constitutes the final element (of these nominal stems) [to form feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

antár-vat+ṄīP = *antár-vat-n-ī* 'pregnant'; *páti-vat-n-ī* '(a wife) whose husband is still alive'.

4.1.33 pátyu-r na̲-ḥ=yajña-saṁ-yog-é

(The substitute phoneme) [n] replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1] páti- 'husband, master, lord' [before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] for expressing a participation in the performance of a sacrifice (yajña-saṁ-yog-é).

páti+ṄīP = *pát-n-ī* 'wife, entitled to participate in a sacrifice with her husband', but *grā́m-sya páti-r iy-ám brāhmaṇ-ī́* 'this brahmin lady is the village-head'.

4.1.34 vibhāṣā sá-pūrva-sya

[The substitute phoneme n 33] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem páti- 33 before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.2 ṄīP 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it is preceded by a prior member (sá-pūrva-sya) [which is not an upasárjana 14].

vr̥ddhā́ páti-ḥ = *vr̥ddhá+ṬāP+sU+páti+sU* = *vr̥ddha-∅+∅+pati+sU* =

vṛddha-patí-h/°-pat-n-í 'old wife' but *grā́ma-sya páti-r iy-ám brāhmaṇ-í; sthūlá-ḥ páti-ḥ=a-syā́ḥ = sthūlá-pati-/sthūlá-patn-ī* since the governing rule 14 applies not to the word [páti -] but to an expression ending in it.

4.1.35 nítya-ṁ sa-pátnī=ādi-ṣu

[The substitute phoneme n 33] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1-class 1] beginning with sa-patn-ī [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 ṄīP5].

samāná-ḥ páti-r a-syā́ḥ = sa-pát-n-ī 'co-wife'; *vīrá-pat-n-ī* 'hero's wife'; *éka-pat-n-ī* 'a woman who has only one husband'.

4.1.36 pūtá-krato-r ai ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pūtá-kratu- and the phoneme /ai/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

pūta-kratu+ṄīP = pūta-krat-ai+ī = pū́ta-kratāy-ī (6.1.78) 'wife of P.'

4.1.37 [1]vṛṣā́-kapi=[2]agní-[3]kusitá-[4]kúsīdā-nām udā́tta-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vṛṣā́-kapī, agní-, kusitá-, kúsīda-, (and) high-pitched (udā́tta-ḥ) [phoneme /ai/ replaces (their stem-final phonemes 1.1.52) 36 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

vṛṣā́-kapi+ṄīP = vṛṣā́-kapaí+ī = vṛṣā-kapā́y-ī 'wife of V.'
Similarly: *agnā́y-ī, kusitā́y-ī, kusīdā́y-ī.*

4.1.38 mánor au vā

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] mánu- 'n.pr.' and the element /au/ [as well as the high-pitched element aí 37 replace the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme to derive the feminine 3 nominal stem 1] optionally (vā).

The option indicated by [vā] makes both [au] and [ai] optional, generating three forms: *mánāv-ī/manā́y-ī/mánu-* 'wife of Manu'.

4.1.39 várṇ-āt=ánudātt-āt tá=upadh-āt t-aḥ na-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīP 5 is introduced optionally 38 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a color-name (várṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.52] a low-pitched vowel (ánudātt-āt) and containing phoneme [t] as penultimate (tópadhāt) and phoneme [n] replaces (this) [t] [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

éta- 'variegated color'*+ṬāP/ṄīP = ét-ā* 'hind' (4) / *éna+ī = én-ī* 'a river'. Similarly: *hárit-ā/háriṇ-ī, śyét-ā/śyén-ī.* If these words do not contain penultimate [t] the following rule 40 applies.

4.1.40 anyá-taḥ=ṄīṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting color names 19] other than those (anya-táḥ) [containing phoneme /t/ as penultimate, ending in 1.1.52 a low-pitched vowel 36 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sāráṅga+ṄīṢ = sāraṅg-í 'a kind of spotted deer'; similarly *kalmā́ṣa+í = kalmāṣ-í* 'speckled or spotted cow', but *kr̥ṣṇá+ṬāP = kr̥ṣṇ-ā́* 'black cow'.

4.1.41 [1]Ṣ-IT=[2]gaura=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] containing marker Ṣ as IT and [the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gaurá- 'fawn-colored' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

nr̥t+ṢvuN+ṄīṢ (3.1.145) = *nárt+aka+í = nart-ak-í* 'danseuse'; similarly *raj-ak-í* laundress'; *jalp+ṢākaN+ṄīṢ* (3.2.155) = *jálp-āka+í = jalp-āk-í* 'garrulous woman'.

gaurá+í = gaur-í 'fawn-colored; N.Pr. of Śivás consort'.

4.1.42 [1]jā́napada-[2]kuṇḍá-[3]góṇa-[4]sthála-[5]bhā́ja-[6]nāgá-[7]kālá-[8]nī́la-[9]kuśá-[10]kā́muka-[11]kábar-āt [1]vŕ̥tti=[2]ámatra=[3]ā-vápana=[4]á-kr̥trimā-[5]śrāṇā́-[6]sthaúlya-[7]várṇa=[8]án-ā-cchādana=[9]ayo-vikārá-[10]maithuna=icchā́-[11]keśa-veśé-ṣu

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) jā́na-pada- 'country' and (ending with) kábara- 'braid'

[to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1] to denote respectively (1.3.10) 'the mode of life (vṛtti)', etc. to 'tress of hair'.

(1) *jā́napada+ṄīṢ = jānapad-ī́ vṛ́tti-h* 'country life', but *jā́na-pad-ī (ṄīP)* 'lady inhabitant of a country'.
(2) *kuṇḍ-ī́ = ámatra-m* 'a vessel' contra *kúṇḍ-ā* (4) 'n.pr. of Durgā'.
(3) *goṇ-ī́ = āvápana-* 'sack, gunny bag' contra *góṇ-ā* 'kind of grass'.
(4) *sthál-ī́ = á=kṛtrimā* 'tableland, eminence; *sthál-ā* 'artificially raised earth, a mound'.
(5) *bhāj-ī́ = śrāṇā* 'rice gruel', *bhā́j-ā* 'bent stick',
(6) *nāg-ī́ = sthaúlya-m* 'obesity', *nā́g-ā* 'moon's path through the constellation Svāti'.
(7) *kāl-ī́ = várṇa* 'black color, n.pr. of a divinity', *kā́l-ā* 'n.pr. of several plants'.
(8) *nīl-ī́ = án=ācchādan-e* 'indigo'; *nī́l-ā ā-cchādan-e* 'coverlet'.
(9) *kuś-ī́ = ayo-vikār-é* 'plough-share', *kúś-ā* 'rope'.
(10) *kāmuk-ī́ = maithuna=icchā́-yām* 'lustful woman', *kā́muk-ā* 'loving, in love with'.
(11) *kabar-ī́ = keśa-veś-e* 'plaited hair', *kabar-ā* 'n.pr. of some plants or of a planet'.

4.1.43 śóṇ-āt prā́-ām

[The affix 3.1.1 Ṅīṣ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] śóṇa- 'red, crimson' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] according to Eastern Grammarians (prā́c-ām).

The reference to [prā́c-ām] here is for the purpose of showing that this rule is optional.
śóṇa+ṄīṢ/ṬāP = śoṇ-ī́/śóṇ-ā váḍavā 'reddish mare'.

4.1.44 vā=uT-aḥ=guṇa-vácan-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced] optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) constituting a qualifying word (guṇa-vácan-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

paṭú/paṭv-ī́ 'clever'; *mṛdú-/mṛdv-ī́* 'soft'.

4.1.45 bahú=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40] is also (ca) [optionally 44 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with bahú- 'many' [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

The inclusion of [bahú-] in this class, while it is covered by the preceding rule, is for the purpose of the following rule 46.

bahú/bahv-ī́ 'numerous'; *pad-dhatí-/paddhat-ī́* 'course, line'; *aṁhatí-/aṁhat-ī́* 'anxiety, distress'; *gá-ti/ga-t-ī́* 'movement' etc.

4.1.46 nítya-ṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40] is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with bahú- 45 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

bahv-ī́.

4.1.47 bhúv-as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 46 the affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is necessarily 46 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °-bhū [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

vi-bhū+Ḍu (3.2.180)+*ṄīṢ* = *vi-bhv-ī́* 'omni-present'; similarly *pra-bhv-ī́* 'ruler, mistress'.

4.1.48 puṁ-yog-ā́t=ākhyā́-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] (denoting a masculine name) to designate a female by virtue of her relationship with the male (represented by that masculine name) as a wife (puṁ-yog-ā́t)

gáṇaka+ṄīṢ = *gaṇak-ī́* = *gáṇaka-sya strī́* 'wife of an astrologer', but *gáṇ-ak-ā́* 'woman astrologer'; so also *prasthá-sya strī́* = *prasth-ī́* 'chief's wife', but *prasth-ā́* 'lady chief'.

4.1.49 [1]índra-[2]váruṇa-[3]bhavá-[4]śarvá-[5]rudrá-[6]mṛḍá-[7]himá=[8]áraṇya-[9]yáva-[10]yávana-[11]mātulá-[12]ācāryā́-ṇām ānuK

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) 1 índra- (and ending with) 12 ācāryà-, with the incremental element ān(uK) inserted after them [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

índra+ānuK+ṄīṢ = *indr-āṇ-ī́* (8.4.2) 'wife of Indra'; similarly *varuṇ-ān-ī́, bhav-ān-ī́, śarv-āṇ-ī́, rudr-āṇ-ī́, mṛḍ-ān-ī́.* These six denote the names of gods

and their consorts, but the rest are derived in specific meaning situations: *him-ān-ī́* 'glacier'; *araṇy-ān-ī́* 'large forest'; *yav-ān-ī́ 'duṣṭá-ḥ yáva-ḥ* 'inferior oats or barley'; *yavan-ān-ī́ = yávana-sya lípi-ḥ* 'script of Ionians'; by a vārttika option is enjoined on the use of this [ānuK] after [upādhyāya-] and [mātula-]: *mātul-ān-ī́/māatul-ī́* 'maternal uncle's wife' and (*upādhyāy-ān-ī́/upādhyāy-ī́* 'preceptor's wife'); similarly retroflexion is blocked by a vārttika in *ācāry-ān-ī́/ ācāry-ī́* (blocking operation of 8.4.2) 'wife of the preceptor'.

4.1.50 krī-t-ā́t káraṇa-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °krī-tá- 'bought, purchased', preceded (in composition) by a prior member denoting the means (káraṇa-pūrv-āt) (with which the purchase is made) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

vástr-eṇa krī-yá-te sā = vástra+∅¹+krīta+Ṅīṣ = vastra-krīt-ī́ 'purchased with cloth'. Here the original stem after which the feminine affix is introduced is the compound *vástra-krī-ta- (= vástr-eṇa krī-tá-)*, but alternately if the compound consisted of prior member *vastra-* + posterior member *krī-tá+ṬāP (vástr-eṇa krī-tā́)* the result would yield *vástra-krī-t-ā*.

4.1.51 Kt-ā́t alpa=ākhyā́-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-Ktá [preceded in composition by a prior member denoting the means 50 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] indicating a small quantity (alpa=ākhyā́-yām).

álp-air abhr-aír ví-lip-tā = abhrá+∅¹+vi=lip-ta+ṄīṢ = abhra-vi-lip-t-ī́ dyaú-ḥ 'the sky covered with a few clouds', but *cándanānu-lip-t-ā brāhmaṇī́* 'a brahmin lady covered copiously with sandal paste'.

4.1.52 bahuvrīhé-s=ca=ánta=udātt-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhí (compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá] and a high-pitched (udā́tt-āt) accent [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ūrū́ bhinn-aú = ásaṁyuk-tau yá-syāḥ = ūru+∅¹+bhinná+ṄīṢ = uru-bhinn-ī́ 'whose thighs are not joined' (i.e., having a rent in the thighs); the final udā́tta accent is by 6.2.170. Similarly *keśa-vi-lūn-ī́* 'whose hair has been shaved off'. Where the

compound is not accented on the final syllable affix ṬāP is introduced: *dántāḥ jātā́ḥ a-syā́ḥ* = *dánta-jā-ta+ā* = *dánta-jā-t-ā* 'whose teeth have grown (of a female child)' since by 6.2.171 final accent is optional and this rule applies only to such compounds which have necessarily the final udā́tta accent. In the case of a non-Bahuvrīhi compound: *pāda-pat-itá+ṬāP* (2.1.32; 6.2.144) = *pāda-patit-ā́* 'fallen at one's feet'.

4.1.53 á-svāṅga-pūrva-pad-āt=vā

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá and a high-pitched final accent 52] preceded by a prior member (°pūrva-pad-āt) not denoting a member of one's body (á-svāṅga-°) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

palāṇḍu-r bhakṣ-itá-ḥ anáyā = *palāṇḍu-bhakṣ-itá+ṄīṢ* = *palāṇḍu-bhakṣ-it-ī́* 'who has eaten onion'; similarly *surā́ pī-tā́ anáyā* = *surā-pī-t-ī́* 'who has imbibed liquor' with alternative forms *palāṇḍu-bhakṣit-ā́, surā-pīt-ā́* respectively.

4.1.54 svāṅg-ā́t=ca=upa-sárj-an-āt=á-saṁyoga=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] also denoting a member of one's body (ca svāṅg-ā́t) and serving as a subordinate member (upa-sárj-an-āt) [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of] a compound (1.2.43) and not containing a conjunct penultimate (á-saṁyoga=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

candrá-ḥ=iva múkha-m a-syā́ḥ = *candrá-mukha+ī́* = *candra-mukh-ī́* 'moon-faced lady', alternating with *cándra-mukh-ā; áti-krān-tā keśā́n* = *áti-keśa+ī́/ā* = *ati-keś-ī́/áti-keś-ā mālā* 'a garland extending beyond the hair'; but when not an upasárjana: *śíkh-ā* 'tuft of hair on the head'; when containing a conjunct penultimate: *su-gulphá+ṬāP* = *su-gulph-ā́* 'whose ankles are beautiful'.

4.1.55 [1]nā́sikā=[2]udára=[3]óṣṭha-[4]jáṅghā-[5]dánta-[6]kárṇa-[7]śŕ̥ṅg-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40] is also introduced [optionally 53 after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 denoting the following members of one's body] nā́sikā 'nose', udára- 'stomach or abdomen', óṣṭha- 'lip', jáṅghā 'shank', dánta- 'tooth', kárṇa- 'ear' and śŕ̥ṅga- 'horn', [serving as upasárjana-s occurring at the end of a compound 54 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

Exception to 54 above with reference to not containing a conjunct penultimate, and a prior exception to 56 below with reference to poly-syllabic stems [bahv-áC].

túṅga-nāsika+ṄīṢ = *tuṅga-nasik-ī́/túṅga-nasik-ā* 'long-nosed'; similarly *tanūdar-ī́/tanū́dar-ā* 'slim-waisted'; *bimboṣṭh-ī́/bímboṣṭh-ā* 'red-lipped'; *dīrgha-jaṅgh-ī́/dīrghá-jaṅgh-ā* 'long-shanked or long-legged'; *sama-dant-ī́/samá-dant-ā* 'possessing even teeth'; *cāru-karṇ-ī́/cā́ru-karṇ-ā* 'possessing nice ears'; *tīkṣṇa-śṛṅg-ī́/tīkṣṇá-śṛṅg-ā* 'sharp-horned'.

By a general metalinguistic principle that a prior exception blocks only the immediately following rule, the present rule does not block the operation of 57 below.

4.1.56 ná [1]kroḍa=ādi-[2]bahv-aC-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kroḍā- 'flank of a horse' or those containing more than two (bahv-áC-aḥ) syllables [denoting the limbs of one's body, occurring as subordinate members (upasárjana-s) in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Since ṄīṢ is blocked, ṬāP is introduced by 4 above: *kalyā́ṇa-kroḍ-ā* 'a mare with auspicious flanks'.

bahv-áC: *pṛthú-jaghan-ā* 'large-hipped'; *mahā́-lalāṭ-ā* 'possessing a large forehead'.

4.1.57 [1]sahá-[2]náÑ-[3]víd-ya-m-āna-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting a part of one's body occurring as a subordinate member in a compound 54] preceded by (°-pūrv-āt) the prior members sahá 'with, accompanied by', the privative particle náÑ and víd-ya-m-āna- 'existing, present' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

sahá kéś-air várt-a-te = *sá-keśa+ṬāP* = *sákeś-ā* 'hairy'; so also *a-keś-ā́* 'bald, hairless' and *víd-ya-m-ān-a-keś-ā* 'possessing hair, hairy, hirsute'.

4.1.58 [1]nakhá-[2]múkh-āt saṁjñā́-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] nakhá- 'nail' and múkha- 'face' [occurring as subordinate members in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it signifies a proper name (saṁjñā́-yām).

śū́rpa-ṇakh-ā (4) 'n.pr. of Rāvaṇa's sister'; *gaurá-mukh-ā* 'n.pr. of a woman', but *tāmra-nakh-ī́* 'red-nailed' and *candra-mukh-ī́* 'moon-faced'.

4.1.59 dīrgha-jihv-ī́ ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expression [dīrgha-jihv-ī́] 'long-tongued' is introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40, contra 54 above, to signify a name 58].

Exception to 54 since the expression [jihvā́] has a conjunct penultimate and the inclusion of particle [ca] is for the recurrence of [saṁjñā-yām] from 58: 'n.pr. of a demonness'.

4.1.60 dík-pūrva-pad-āt ṄīP

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting a member of one's body and not containing a conjunct penultimate 54] preceded by a direction word (dík-pūrva-pad-āt) as a prior member [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Affix ṄīP replaces ṄīṢ wherever it was introduced by previous rules, under these specified conditions. The difference is only in accentuation: *prā́ṅ-mukha+ṄīP/ṬāP = prā́ṅ-mukh-ī/°-mukh-ā* 'facing east', but *prā́g-gulph-ā* (conjunct penultimate) 'having the ankles turned towards the east' (54).

4.1.61 vā́h-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-vā́h- (= °vah+Ṇvi̱ 3.2.64) 'bearer' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ditya-ṁ váh-a-ti = ditya+∅[1]+vah+Ṇvi̱+ṄīṢ = ditya-vā́h+ī́ = ditya-ūṬHah+ī́ (6.4.132) = *dityauh-ī́* (6.1.89) 'a two-year old cow'.

4.1.62 [1]sakhī́=[2]a-śiśv-ī́=iti bhāṣā́-yām

In the domain of the (current) spoken language (bhāṣā́-yām) [the feminine 3 nominal stems 1] sakh-ī́ 'lady companion' and a-śiśv-ī́ 'without a child, childless' are introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40].

In the domain of Chándas, however, no affix is needed: *sákhā saptá-pad-ī bhav-a* 'be my companion in seven steps (around the nuptial fire)'. Similarly *a-śiśú-m iva mā́m ay-áṁ śíśu-r abhí-man-ya-te* 'this child considers me (f.) as childless'.

4.1.63 jā́te-r á-strī-viṣay-āt=á-ya̲=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a species (jā́te-ḥ) which is not feminine by origin (á-strī-viṣay-āt) and does not contain phoneme [y] as penultimate (á-ya̲=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1].

kukkuṭá+ṄīṢ = *kukkuṭ-ī́* 'hen'; *máyūra+ī́* = *mayūr-ī́* 'pea-hen'; *śvan+ī́* = *śun-ī́* 'bitch, she-dog' (6.4.133), but *makṣikā* 'fly' since it is in the domain of feminine stems, and *kṣatriya+ṬāP* 'a woman of the warrior caste' since the stem contains [y] as penultimate.

4.1.64 [1]pāká-[2]kárṇa-[3]parṇá-[4]púṣpa-[5]phála-[6]mū́la-[7]vā́la=uttara-pad-ā́t=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] pāká- 'cooking', kárṇa- 'ear', parṇá- 'leaf', púṣpa- 'flower', phála- 'fruit', mū́la- 'root', vā́la- 'tail' occurring as final members (uttara-pad-ā́t) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

odana-pāká+ṄīṢ = *odana-pāk-ī́* 'Barleria Caerulea'; similarly: *śaṅku-karṇ-ī́* 'having pointed ears'; *śāla-parṇ-ī́* 'n.pr. of a plant'; *śaṅkha-puṣp-ī́* 'n.pr. of a plant species'; *dāsī-phal-ī́, darbha-mūl-ī́, go-vāl-ī́* 'names of various plants'.

4.1.65 iT-aḥ=manuṣya-jāté-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ṄīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) denoting a human species (manuṣya-jāté-ḥ) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

ávanti+NyaṄ (171) = *āvantya-* 'citizen of Avanti' *+ṄīṢ* = *ávanti+∅[1]+ī́* (176) = *avant-ī́* 'lady resident of Avanti'. Similarly *dákṣa+iÑ*(95)*+ṄīṢ* = *dā́kṣ-i+ī́* = *dākṣ-ī́* 'female descendant of Dákṣa' *aúdameyi+ī́* = *audamey-ī́*.

4.1.66 ū́Ṅ uT-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1] ū́Ṅ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) [denoting a human species 65, not containing phoneme /y/ as penultimate 63, to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

kuru+ū́Ṅ = *kur-ū́* 'a lady resident of Kuru country'; *brahma-bandhu+ū́* =

brahma-bandh-ū́ 'nominal brahmin woman', but *adhvaryú-* both m. and f., since it contains /y/ as penultimate.

4.1.67 bāhú=ant-āt saṁjñā́-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ūṄ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] ending in the expression °-bāhú 'arm' (in composition) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem] forming a personal name (saṁjñā-yām).

bhadrá-bāhu+ū́ = *bhadra-bāh-ū́* 'n.pr. of a woman' but *vr̥ttaú bāhū́ a-syā́ḥ* = *vr̥ttábāhu-* 'possessing rounded arms'.

4.1.68 paṅgó-s=ca

[The affix 3.1.2 ūṄ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] paṅgú- 'lame, paralyzed' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

paṅgu+ū́ = *paṅg-ū́* 'lame or crippled lady'.

4.1.69 ūrú-uttara-pad-āt=aúpamy-e

[The affix 3.1.2 ūṄ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ūrú- 'thigh' as a final member (°-uttara-pad-ā́t) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] expressing comparison (aúpamy-e).

karabhá-sya ūrū́ iva ūrū́ a-syā́ḥ = *karabhóru+ū́* = *karabhor-ū́* 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant', but *vr̥ttaú ūrū́ a-syā́ḥ* = *vr̥ttóru-* 'possessing round thighs' since there is no comparison.

4.1.70 [1]sáṁ-hita-[2]śaphá-[3]lákṣaṇa-[4]vāmá=āde-s=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ūṄ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ūrú- occurring as a final member in composition 69] co-occurring with sáṁ-hita- 'joined', śaphá- 'hoof', lákṣaṇa- 'mark', and vāmá- 'handsome' as prior members (°-āde-ḥ) [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

This covers such cases where comparison is not involved.

saṁ-hitaú ūrū́ a-syā́ḥ = *saṁ-hitóru+ū́* = *saṁ-hitor-ū́* 'whose thighs are joined'; similarly: *śaphor-ū́* since the hoof is joined. Although in the underlying structure *śaphaú iva sáṁ-śliṣṭau ūrū́ a-syā́ḥ* the expression [iva] showing com-

parison has relevance not to [śaphá-] as an object of comparison, but to [sáṁ-śliṣṭa-].

lakṣaṇor-ū́ 'having a mark or sign on the thighs'; *vāmor-ū́* 'possessing handsome thighs'.

4.1.71 ¹kádru-²kamaṇḍalv-os=chándas-i

[The affix 3.1.1 ū́Ṅ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 31] kádru- and kamaṇḍalu- respectively signifying 'brown' and 'a gourd or vessel made of wood to carry water' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the domain of Chándas.

kádru+ū́Ṅ = *kadr-ū́* 'n.pr. of a divine personification'; so also *kamaṇḍal-ū́* 'water vessel'.

4.1.72 saṁjñā́-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ū́Ṅ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 kádru- and kamaṇḍalu- 71 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when denoting a name (saṁjñā́-yām).

This is in the domain outside Chándas: *kadr-ū́* 'n.pr. of a daughter of Dákṣa married to sage Kaśyapa'. *kamaṇḍal-ū́* 'n. of an animal'.

4.1.73 ¹śārṅgaravá=ādi=²aÑ-aḥ=ṄīN

[The affix 3.1.1] ṄīN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with śārṅgaravá- 'n.pr. of a person' and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] aÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. *śārṅgaravá+ṄīN* = *śā́rṅgarav-ī* 'n.pr. of a woman'.
2. *bida+aÑ* (104)*+ṄīN* = *baída+ī* = *baíd-ī* 'a female descendant of Bida', but *baída-sya strī* = *baída+ṄīṢ* (65) = *baid-ī́* 'wife of Baida'.

4.1.74 yaṄ-as=Cā́P

[The affix 3.1.1] Cā́P is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaṄ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

By interpretation the affix [yaṄ] here serves as a cover term for taddhita affixes [ÑyaṄ and ṢyaṄ] respectively introduced by rules 171 and 78 below.

1. ÑyaṄ: *āmbaṣṭhá+ÑyaṄ* (171)*+Cā́P* = *ā́mbaṣṭhya+ā́* = *āmbaṣṭhy-ā́* 'a woman of the Āmbaṣṭhá country'.

2. ṢyaṄ: *kroḍa+iÑ* (96) = *kraúḍ-i+ṢyaṄ* (80)+*Cā́P* = *kraudØ+ya+ā́* = *kraud-y-ā́* (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Kroḍa'.

4.1.75 ā́vaṭy-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 Cā́P 74] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] ā́vaṭya- 'descendant of Avaṭa' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

avaṭa+yaÑ = *ā́vaṭ-ya+Cā́P* (105) = *āvaṭ-y-ā́* 'female descendant of Avaṭa'.

4.1.76 taddhit-ā́ḥ

(Here begins the section on) taddhitá [affixes 3.1.1].

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of the fifth chapter. The t.t. [taddhitá] designating the affixes introduced in this section, will recur in each of the subsequent sū́tras.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.38; 2.46,49,76ff.; 3.8; 2.1.51; 4.1.17,22; 5.4.92; 6.1.61,164; 2.155; 3.39,62; 4.133,144,150,151; 7.2.117ff. 8.1.57; 3.101.

4.1.77 yū́n-as tí-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] tí is introduced [after the nominal stem 1] yúvan- 'youth, teen-ager' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

yúvan+tí = *yuvaØ+tí* (8.2.7) = *yuva-tí-* 'maiden, young woman'.

4.1.78 ¹áṆ-²iÑ-or án-ārṣay-or gurú=upottamay-os=ṢyáṄ gotr-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṢyáṄ replaces [the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] áṆ and iÑ introduced as patronymics (gotr-é) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing a heavy penultimate syllable (gurú=upottamay-oḥ) excluding the names of ṛ́ṣis 'seers' (án-ārṣay-oḥ) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

kárīṣa-sya gandhá-ḥ iva gandhá-ḥ a-syá = *karīṣa-gandh-í-* (5.4.137) 'n.pr. of a man'; *karīṣa-gandhér ápatya-m* = *karīṣa-gandhí+áṆ* (92)→*ṢyaṄ+ṬāP* = *kārīṣa-gandh-í+ṢyáṄ+Cā́P* (74) = *kārīṣa-gandh-y-ā́* (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Karīṣa-gandhi'. Similarly *kaumuda-gandh-y-ā́* 'female descendant of Kumuda-gandhí'.

varāhá-sya ápatya-m = *varāha+iÑ* (95) = *vā́rah-a+ṢyaṄ+Cā́P* = *vārāh-y-ā́* 'female descendant of Varāha'.

Counter examples: (a) not containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *upagu+aṆ+ṄīP* (15) = *aupa-gavá* (6.4.146)+ī = *aupagav-í* 'female descendant of Upagu'; (b) names of sages: *vásiṣṭha+áṆ+ṄīP* (15,114) = *vāsiṣṭh-í* 'female descendant of Vásiṣṭha'.

4.1.79 gotra=avayav-ā́t

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṢyaṄ replaces the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 áṆ and iÑ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] representing well-known families (gotra=avayav-ā́t) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

puṇika-sya ápatya-m = *puṇika+iÑ* (95)→*ṢyaṄ+Cā́P* (74) = *pauṇik-y-ā́* 'female descendant of Puṇika'.

This rule is for including expressions which do not have a heavy penultimate syllable. Here the word [gotrá-] is not taken in its technical sense (162) so that even the daughter of Puṇika will be denoted by *pauṇik-yā́*.

4.1.80 kraúḍi=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṢyaṄ 78] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kraúḍ-i- 'descendant of Kroḍá' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

The role of [ṢyaṄ] differs here from that in 78-79 where it is a replacing element [ādesá] while here it is a regular affix [pratyayá]. This [kraúḍi-class] includes expressions not necessarily ending in the affixes áṆ or iÑ or containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *kraúḍ-i+ṢyaṄ+Cā́P* = *krauḍ-y-ā́* 'female descendant of Króḍa'; similarly *caupayat-y-ā́* 'f. descendant of Copayata'.

4.1.81 [1]daíva-yajñi-[2]śaúci-vṛkṣi-[3]sā́tya-m-ugri-[4]kā́ṇṭhe-viddhi-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṢyaṄ 78] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] daíva-yajñ-i, śaúci-vṛkṣ-i, sā́tya-m-ugr-i and kā́ṇṭhe-viddh-i- [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

daíva-yajñ-i+ṢyaṄ+Cā́P/daīva-yajñi+ṄīṢ (65) = *daiva-yajn-y-ā́/daiva-yajn-í* 'female descendant or daughter of Deva-yajna'. Likewise: *śauci-vṛkṣ-y-ā́/°vṛkṣ-ī; sātya-mugry-ā́/sātya-m-ugr-í; kāṇṭhe-viddh-y-ā́/°viddh-í*, respectively 'female descendants or daughters of Śuci-vṛkṣa, Satya-m-ugra and Kaṇṭhe-viddha'.

4.1.82 sámarthā-nām pratham-ā́t=vā

[A taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2] the first (pratham-ā́t) padá syntactically (and semantically) connected with others (samarthā-nām) (provided by the rules themselves).

This is a governing rule and the three words [sámarthā-nām], [pratham-ā́t] and [vā] will recur in this section extending up to 5.2.150 as required by the context. Thus in 92 below [tásya=ápatyam] the first expression [tá-sya] represents any nominal stem denoting the name of a person syntactically and semantically connected with [ápatya-m] and the affix [áṆ 83] is generally introduced after such a name to denote a descendant optionally so that *úpago-r ápatya-m/upagu+áṆ = aupagav-á-* can be optionally used in any given context.

4.1.83 prā́g dīvyat-aḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 3.1.2] (under meaning conditions listed in the subsequent rules) prior to (prā́k) 4.4.2 [t-éna dī́v-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m].

This is also a governing rule or [adhikārá] extending up to the end of the third quarter of this chapter. The affix [áṆ] is the [utsargá] or general affix which may be replaced by others under specific conditions to be stated in the subsequent rules.

4.1.84 aśva-patí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with (°-ādi-bhyas) aśva-patí- 'n.pr.' (to denote the meanings listed in this section).

This listing of meanings begins with 92 below; the present pādá primarily deals with patronymic affixes, but with 2.1 a variety of meanings is listed.

This is a prior exception to 85 below where affix [Ṇyá] is introduced. *aśva-patí+áṆ = ā́śva-pat∅-á* (6.4.148; 7.2.117) = *ā́śva-pat-á-* 'descendant of Aśvapatí (92)'.

4.1.85 [1]díti=[2]áditi-[3]ādityá-[4]páti=uttara-pad-āt Ṇyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] díti-, áditi-, ādityá- 'names of persons' and those ending in (uttara-pad-āt) °-páti- (as posterior member in composition) [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

diti+Ṇyá = dait-yá- 'descendant of Diti' (92); similarly *ādit-yá-* 'descendant of Aditi'.

ādit-yá-ḥ devátā=a-syá hávis-aḥ = *ādityá+Ṇyá* = *ādit∅∅+yá-m* (6.4.148,150) = *ādit-yá-ṁ hávi-ḥ* 'sacrificial oblation sacred to Āditya'. Similarly *prajā-patí+Ṇyá* = *prājā-pat-yá-ṁ hávi-ḥ* 'sacrificial oblation sacred to Prajāpati' (2.24); if the sense of 92 is specified, 6.4.148,151 applies for ∅ replacement of syllable [ya] of [ādityá] before the affix [Ṇyá] to derive the patronymic. The nominal-class beginning with [aśva-pati-] is a prior exception to this.

4.1.86 útsa-ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with útsa- 'well' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

Exception to áṆ 83. *úts-e bhavá-ḥ* (3.53) = *útsa+aÑ* = *aúts-a-* occurring or located in a spring, water-hole or well'; similarly *uda-pāná+aÑ* = *aúda-pān-a-*.

4.1.87 [1]strī́-[2]púṁsā-bhyām [1]naÑ-[2]snaÑ-au bhávan-āt

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] naÑ and snaÑ are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems] strī́ 'woman' and púṁs- 'man' [to denote the meanings listed in 83ff.] prior to 5.2.1 [dhānyā́-nām bhávan-e kṣétr-e khaÑ].

strī-ṣú bhavá-ḥ (3.53)/*strī-ṇā́m samūhá-ḥ* (2.37)/*strī-bhyáḥ=ā-ga-ta-ḥ* (3.74)/*strī-bhyáḥ hi-tá-ḥ* (5.1.5) = *strī́+naÑ* = *straí-ṇa-ḥ*; similarly *paúṁ-sna-ḥ*.

4.1.88 dvigó-r luK=án-apaty-e

luk (∅[1]) replaces [a taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 belonging to this section 83ff.] excluding patronymic affixes (án-apaty-e 92ff.) [whose meaning serves as a condition for forming a Dvigú compound] introduced [after 3.1.2 that] Dvigú compound.

pañcá-su kapā́le-ṣu sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-ḥ = *pañca+∅[1]+kapāla+áṆ* (2.16) = *pañca-kapāla+∅[1]* = *pañca-kapālá-* 'prepared in five vessels'; *dv-aú ved-aú ádhī-te véd-a vā* = *dvi+∅[1]+veda+áṆ* (2.59) = *dvi-vedá+∅[1]* 'who has studied two Vedas', but *dváy-or deva-dattáy-or ápatya-m* = *dvi+∅+devadatta+iÑ* (95) = *dvaí-devadatt-i-*.

4.1.89 gótr-e=á-luK=aC-i

In the domain of patronymic [affixes 3.1.1] (gótr-e) replacement by luK (∅[1]) [of those taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced by 2.4.63ff.] does not take place before [affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i) [in the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

gargá-ṇām chātr-ā́ḥ = *gargá+yaÑ* (105)+*cha* (2.114) = *gā́rgya+cha* = *gārgy∅+ī́ya* (6.4.148) = *gārg∅-ī́ya* (6.4.150)+*Jas* = *gārg-ī́y-āḥ* 'pupils of Gargá'.

4.1.90 yū́n-i luK

luK (∅[1]) replaces the yúvan (163ff.) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

phāṇṭāhṛta-sya ápatya-m = *phāṇṭā-hṛta+iÑ* (95), *tá-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *phā́ṇṭāhṛti+Ṇá* (150) = *phāṇṭāhṛt-á-h, tásya chāttrā́ḥ* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-i+∅[1]+áṆ* (2.112)+*Jas* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-ā́ḥ* 'disciples or pupils of the yúvan descendant of Phā́ṇṭāhṛti'.

Descendant of Tika = *tika+phiÑ (154)* = *taík-āyani* (7.1.2); his yúvan descendant: *taík-āyani+cha* (2.114) = *taik-āyan-ī́ya-* (149); his pupils or disciples: *taík-āyani+∅[1]+cha* (2.114) +*Jas* = *taik-āyan-ī́y-āḥ*.

The luK replacement is supposed to take place when the yúvan affix is introduced and not afterwards: *glucuka+phiN* (160) = *glucuk-āyani-(+áṆ→∅[1])+áṆ* = *glaucuk-ayaná-* where, otherwise, affix cha would have operated (2.114) in the place of áṆ.

4.1.91 [1]phaK-[2]phiÑ-or anya-tará-syām

[luK (∅[1]) 90] optionally (anyatarásyām) replaces [the yúvan 90 affixes 3.1.1] phaK and phiÑ introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

gargá-sya ápatya-m = *gargá+yaÑ* (105) = *gā́rg-ya-ḥ; gā́rgya-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *gā́rg-ya+phaK* (101) = *gragy-āyaṇá-ḥ; ta-sya chāttrā́ḥ* = *gā́rgya+∅[1]+cha+Jas* = *gārg-ī́yāh/gārgy-āyaṇ-ī́yāḥ*

yaska-sya ápatya-m = *yaska+áṆ* (112) = *yāsk-á-ḥ; tá-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *yāsk-á+phiÑ* = *yā́sk-āyani-ḥ; tá-sya chāttrā́ḥ* = *yāsk-á+∅[1]+cha+Jas* = *yāsk-ī́yāḥ/yāskāyan-ī́yāḥ*.

4.1.92 tá-sya=ápatya-m

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83] is introduced [after 3.1.1 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote a descendant (ápatya-m).

[ápatya-m] here designates progeny beginning with the son (or daughter) in opposition to the t.t. [gotrá 162] which denotes one beginning with the grandchild.

úpagor apatyam = *úpagu+áṆ* = *aupa-gav-á-* 'descendant (from the son onwards) of Úpagu'; similarly *ā́śva-pat-á* (84).

4.1.93 éka-ḥ=gotr-é

Only one patronymic (gotr-é 162) [affix 3.1.1] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] to denote a gotrá descendant (at whatever level).

[Gotrá 162] is defined as a descendant commencing from the grandchild; a restriction is, therefore, necessary to indicate a descendant beyond the grandchild and the recursive use of these affixes. Thus the son of Gargá will be *garga+iÑ* (98) = *gā́rg-i-*, and his son will be *garga+yaÑ* = *gā́rg-ya-* (105) since he is a *gotrāpatyá* (162) of Gargá; now the son of this Gā́rgya will also be Gā́rgya-.

4.1.94 gotr-ā́t=yū́n-i=á-striy-ām

When denoting a yúvan (163ff.) descendant [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] a gotrá [affix 3.1.1] (gotr-ā́t) except in the case of a feminine derivative (á-striy-ām).

gā́rg-ya-sya ápatyam yúvā = *gā́rg-ya+pháK* (101) = *gārgy-āyaṇá-ḥ* 'son of Gā́rgya who is a yúvan', but *garga-sya ápatyam caturthám strī́* = *garga+iÑ+ṄīṢ* (65,95) = *gārg-ī́* 'great-great-granddaughter of Garga'.

4.1.95 aT-aḥ=iÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dákṣa-sya ápatyam = *dákṣa+iÑ* = *dā́kṣ∅+iÑ* = *dā́kṣ-i-* (6.4.148) 'descendant of Dákṣa'. Similarly *dā́śa-rath-i-* 'son or descendant of Dáśaratha'.

4.1.96 bāhú=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with bāhú- 'n.pr.' [ending in the 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

bāhór ápatyam = bāhú+iÑ = bāhó+iÑ = bā́hav-i- (6.4.146; 6.1.78) 'descendant of Bāhú'.

4.1.97 su-dhātú-r aka̱Ṅ ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] su-dhātr̥- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute aka̱Ṅ replaces (its stem-final 1.1.53).

sudhātú-r ápatyam = sudhātŕ̥+iÑ = sudhāt-ak-iÑ = saúdhāt-ak-i.

Exception to 1.1.51 in the matter of r̥ replacement, since the substitute is [ak] and not [a].

4.1.98 gotr-é kuñja=ādi-bhyas=CpháÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] CpháÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kuñja- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote a gotrá descendant (162).

The affix [CpháÑ] has two IT markers; C here governs the accent (6.1.163) and Ñ operates under 7.2.117.

kuñjá-sya gotrāpatyám = kuñjá+CpháÑ = kauñj-āyaná- 'descendant of K. beginning with the grandchild'.

4.1.99 naḍá=ādi-bhyaḥ pháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] pháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with naḍá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant beginning with the grandchild (gotr-é) 98].

naḍá-sya gotrāpatyám = naḍá+pháK = nāḍ-āyaná- (6.1.165; 7.1.2; 2.118) 'descendant of Naḍá beginning with the grandchild', but *naḍá+iÑ = nā́ḍ-i-* (95) 'son of N.'

4.1.100 hárita=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with hárita- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá 98 descendant 92] while [terminating in 1.1.72 the taddhita 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ (104).

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the "bidá-class" (104) by reason of which [aÑ] is introduced after it to denote a gotrá descendant. Thus the gotrá descendant of Hárita is *hárita+aÑ = hā́rit-a-* and by the present rule is also *hā́rit-a+pháK = hārit-āyaná-* when he is at the same time a yúvan descendant (163). This obviates the restriction of the governing rule 93 above.

4.1.101 [1]yaÑ=[2]iÑ-os=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá descendant 92,98].

1. yaÑ: *garga+yaÑ = gā́rg-ya-* (105); *gā́rgy-a+pháK = gārgy-āyaṇá-* 'Gārgya's son, i.e., great-grandson of Garga'.
2. iÑ: *dákṣa+iÑ = dā́kṣ-i+phaK = dākṣ-āyaṇá-* 'great-grandson of Dákṣa'.

The affix [pháK] is introduced only after the gotrá affixes [yaÑ and iÑ] but not others. This rule blocks the operation of 2.48 and 3.10.

4.1.102 [1]śarád-vat-[2]śunaká-[3]darbh-ā́t [1]bhṛ́gu-[2]vatsá=[3]āgrāyaṇé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] śarád-vat-, śunaká- and darbhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] when signifying respectively a Bhṛ́gu, Vatsá and Āgrāyaṇṇá (1.3.10).

śarádvat+pháK = śā́rad-vat-āyaná- 'gotrá descendant of Ś.' if he is a Bhārgavá, but when not so, *śarád-vat+aÑ* (104) = *śā́rad-vat-a-*.

śunaká+pháK = śaunak-āyaná- 'gotrá descendant of Śaunaká' if he is a member of the Vatsá clan, otherwise *śaúnak-a*(*Ñ* 104).

darbhá+pháK = dārbh-āyaṇá- 'gotrá descendant of D.', otherwise *darbhá+iÑ* (95) = *dā́rbh-i-*.

4.1.103 [1]dróṇa-[2]párvata-[3]jīvant-ā́t=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] dróṇa-, párvata- and jīvantá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote gotrá descendants 98].

Exception to iÑ (95). *dróṇa-sya gotrāpatyám* = *dróṇa+pháK/iÑ* = *drauṇ-āyaní-/draúṇ-i-* 'gótra descendant of Dr.'
Similarly: *pārvat-āyaní-/pā́rvat-i-; jaivant-āyaní-/jaívant-i-*.

4.1.104 án-ṛṣi=ānantary-e bidá=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with bidá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98, but after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] not designating Vedic seers (án-ṛṣi) to denote an immediate (ānantary-e) [descendant 92].

bidá+aÑ = *baíd-a-* 'gotrá descendant of Bidá' but *paútr-a(Ñ)-/daúhitr-a(Ñ)* respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'son's son/daughter's son'.

4.1.105 gargá=ādibhyaḥ=yaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gargá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

gargá+yaÑ = *gā́rg∅+ya* (6.4.148, 7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of G.' Similarly *vatsá- : vā́ts-ya-; agasti- : ā́gast-ya-*, etc.

4.1.106 [1]mádhu-[2]babhrv-ór [1]brāhmaṇá-[2]kaúśike-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] mádhu- and babhrú- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] representing respectively (1.3.10) a brahmin and a Kaúśika.

mádhu+yaÑ = *mā́dho+ya-* (6.4.146) = *mā́dhav-ya-* (6.1.79) 'a brahmin gotrá descendant of Mádhu', otherwise *madhu+áṆ* (92) = *mādhav-á*. Similarly *bā́bhrav-ya-* 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú, if a Kauśika', otherwise *bābhrav-á*.

4.1.107 [1]kapí-[2]bodh-ā́t=āṅgiras-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kapí- and bodhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] designating an Āṅgirasá.

> *kapí+yaÑ* = *kā́p-ya-*, *bodhá+yaÑ* = *baúdh-ya* 'gotrá descendants respectively of Kapí and Bodhá belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan' but elsewhere *kapi+ḍháK* (122) = *kāp-eyá-*, *bodha+iÑ* (95) = *baúdh-i-*.

4.1.108 vataṇḍ-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.2 yaÑ 105] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] vataṇḍa- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98 designating an Āṅgirasá 107].

> *vataṇḍa+yaÑ* = *vā́taṇḍ-ya-* 'gotrá descendant of V belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan', otherwise *vātaṇḍ-á* (*Ṇ* 83). According to commentaries beginning with Kāśikā this expression is included in the class of stems beginning with śiva- (112) after which taddhitá affix [áṆ] is introduced, but since it occurs as No. 22 in the list, it is an open question whether 83 or 112 is relevant here. Similarly this is also included in the gargá- class, but its specific mention here is for the purpose of restricting it to an Āṅgirasa only.

4.1.109 luK striy-ā́m

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 vataṇḍa- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote] a female (striy-ā́m) [gotrá descendant 98 representing the Āṅgirasá clan 107].

> *vataṇḍa+yaÑ+ṄīN (73)* = *vataṇḍa+$\emptyset^1$+ṄīN* = *vátaṇḍ-ī* 'grand-daughter of V.'; when not an Āṅgirasá: *vataṇḍa+yaÑ* (105)+*Ṣpha* (18)+*ṄīṢ* (41) = *vātaṇḍy-āyan-ī́/vataṇḍa+áṆ* (112) +*ṄīP* (15) = *vātaṇḍ-ī́*. Since this stem is included in the śiva-class of expressions (112) affix [áṆ] is also introduced, but is blocked by 108 when designating an Āṅgirasá.

4.1.110 aśva=ādibhyaḥ pháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] pháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with áśva- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

áśva+pháK = *āśv-āyaná-*; similarly *áśman+pháK* = *āśma∅-āyanā-* (6.4.144) 'gotrá descendant of Áśman'.

4.1.111 bharg-ā́t traígart-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhargá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotra' descendant 98] to designate a Traígarta.

bhargá+pháK = *bhārg-āyaṇá-* 'a gotra descendant of Bhargá belonging to the Traígarta clan'; elsewhere *bhargá+iÑ* (95) = *bhā́rg-i-*.

4.1.112 śivá=ādibhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with śivá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

śivá+áṆ = *śaiv-á-* 'descendant of Śivá'; with this sūtra the expression [gotr-é 98] does not recur, and consequently represents [ápatyam 92] instead. So affix [áṆ] introduced after the nominal stem [vataṇḍa-] can equally result from 83 or 112 when not referring to an Āṅgirasá (cf. 108).

vataṇḍa+áṆ = *vātaṇḍ-á-* 'a descendant of Vataṇḍa other than an Āṅgirasá'.

4.1.113 á-vr̥ddhā-bhyaḥ=[1]nadī́-[2]mā́nuṣī-bhyaḥ=tán-nāmikā-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83(112) is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoting the names of rivers or women employed as such (tán-nāmikā-bhyaḥ) whose first vowel is not [ā, ai or au] (á-vr̥ddhā-bhyaḥ 1.1.73) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

Exception to ḍháK (120 below),

1. river names: *yamúnā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *yamúnā+áṆ* = *yāmun-á-* 'son of Yamúnā; similarly *airāvat-á-* 'son of Írāvatī'.
2. feminine personal names: *cintitā́-yāḥ ápatyam* = *cintitā́+áṆ* = *caintit-á-*.

But if the stem belongs to the vr̥ddha type: *candrabhāga+yaÑ+Cā́P* = *cāndra-bhag-y-ā́; tá-syāḥ ápatyam* = *cāndra-bhāg-y-ā́+ḍháK* = *cāndra-bhāg∅∅-eyá-* (6.4.151) = *cāndra-bhāg-eyá-*; and when the stem does not designate either a river or a woman's name: *suparṇā́+ḍháK* = *sau-parṇ-eyá-* = *su-parṇā́-yāḥ ápatyam*. *vinatā́-yāḥ ápatyam* = *vainateyá-*.

4.1.114 [1]ṛ́ṣi=[2]andhaká-[3]vṛṣṇí-[4]kúru-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112)] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] consisting of the names of Vedic seers (ṛ́ṣi- °) and those belonging to the race of Andhaká, Vṛṣṇí and Kúru [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. Vedic seers: *vásiṣṭha+áṆ = vāsiṣṭh-á-*. *viśvā́-mitra+áṆ = vaiśvā-mitr-á-*.
2. Andhaká: *śvaphalka-sya ápatyam = śvāphalk-á-*.
3. Vṛṣṇí: *vasu-devá+áṆ = vāsudev-á-*.
4. Kuru: *nakulá-sya ápatyam = nākul-á-*.

4.1.115 mātú-r uT [1]saṁkhyā́-[2]sám=[3]bhadrá-pūrvā-yāḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] ° -mātṛ́- 'mother', preceded by numerals (saṁkhyā́- °), sám- ° and bhadrá- ° as prior members (° pūrvā-yāḥ) (in composition) [terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and phoneme short u(T) replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52).

ṣaṇ-ṇā́m mātṛ́-ṇām ápatyam = ṣaṭ+mātṛ+áṆ = ṣāṇ-māt-ur-á- (1.1.51). Similarly: *sám-mātur ápatyam = sām-mat-ut-á-; bhadra-mātúr ápatyam = bhādra-māt-ur-á-*.

4.1.116 kanyā̀-yāḥ kanī́na ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kanyā̀ 'maiden, young woman' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute kanī́na replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] the nominal stem.

kanyā̀-yāḥ ápatyam = kanyā̀+áṆ = kānī́na+á = kānīn-á- 'descendant of an unmarried woman or girl'.

4.1.117 [1]vikarṇá-[2]śuṅgá-[3]chagal-ā́t [1]vatsá-[2]bharádvāja=[3]átri-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vikarṇá-, śuṅgá and chagalá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging (respectively 1.3.10) to the clan of Vatsá, Bharádvāja and Átri.

vikarṇá-sya ápatyam = *vikarṇa+áṆ* = *vaikarṇ-á-* = *vā́tsya-*, but elsewhere *vaíkarṇ-i*(Ñ 95).

śuṅgá-sya ápatyam = *śauṅg-á-* = *bhārádvāja-* but elsewhere *śaúṅg-i(Ñ)*.

chagalá-sya ápatyam = *chāgal-á-* = *ātreyá-* but elsewhere *chā́gal-i*(Ñ 95).

4.1.118 pīlā́-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112)] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pīlā́ 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pīlā́-yāḥ ápatyam = *pīlā́+áṆ/ḍháK* = *pail-á-/pail-eyá-* (120).

4.1.119 ḍháK ca maṇḍū́k-āt

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 83 (112)] as well as (ca) ḍháK are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] maṇḍū́ka- 'n.pr. [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

maṇḍū́ka-sya ápatyam = *maṇḍū́ka+áṆ/ḍháK* = *māṇḍūk-á-/māṇḍūk-eyá*.

4.1.120 strī-bhyáḥ=ḍháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] feminine [affixes 3.1.1 (= 4ff.) ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

suparṇá+ṬāP+ḍháK = *suparṇā́+ḍháK* = *sauparṇ-eyá-* = *suparṇā́-yāḥ ápatyam* 'son or descendant of S.' Similarly *vinatā́-yāḥ āpatyam* = *vainat-eyá-*.

4.1.121 dvy-áC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 a feminine affix 120] and consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-aḥ) [terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dattā́-yāḥ ápatyam = *dattā́+ḍháK* = *dātt-eyá-*; exception to áṆ 113; cf. *yamúnā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *yāmun-á*(Ṇ 113).

4.1.122 iT=as=ca=án-iÑ=aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme short i(T) excluding [the affix 3.1.1] °-iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

átrer ápatyam = *átri+ḍháK* = *ātr-eyá-*; but *dákṣa+iÑ* (95)+*pháK* (101) = *dā́kṣ-i+pháK* = *dākṣ-āyaṇá* = *dā́kṣer ápatyam*.

4.1.123 śubhrá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with śubhrá- 'n.p.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

śubhrá-sya ápatyam = *śubhrá+ḍháK* = *śaubhr-eyá-*.

These classes of nominal stems listed in the Gaṇa-pāṭha are of two types: closed and open; in the former the rule applies to those listed under the particular class while in the latter the list is only by way of illustration (ākr̥̄ti-) and covers all such occurrences as may be found in actual usage. This particular class is an open class and provides for such forms as *gāṅg-eyá-*, *pāṇḍav-eyá- etc.*

4.1.124 [1]vikarṇá-[2]kuśī́tak-āt kā́śyap-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vikarṇá- and kuśī́taka- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging to the clan of Kā́śyapa.

vikarṇá-sya ápatyam = *vikarṇa+ḍháK* = *vaikraṇ-eyá-* = *kā́śyapa*, but elsewhere *vaíkarṇ-i* (95); similarly *kauśītak-eyá-* contra *kaúśītak-i*(*Ñ* 95).

4.1.125 bhruv-áḥ=vuK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhrū́ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) the final increment vuK is inserted after bhrū́.

bhruv-áḥ ápatyam = *bhrū́+vuK+ḍháK* = *bhrauv-eyá-*.

4.1.126 kalyāṇī́=ādī-nām inaṈ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kalyāṇī́ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the element inaṈ replaces the stem-final (1.1.53).

> *kalyāṇy-ā́ḥ ápatyam = kalyāṇ-in+ḍháK = kalyāṇin-eyá-; su-bhagā́ āḥ ápatyam = saubhāg-in-eyá-.*

4.1.127 kulaṭā́-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kulaṭā́ [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and the stem-final (1.1.53) substitute element inaṈ 126] replaces its stem-final optionally (vā).

> *kulaṭā́-yāḥ ápatyam = kulaṭā́+ḍháK/kulaṭ-in+ḍháK = kaulaṭ-eyá-/kaulaṭ-in-eyá-.*

4.1.128 caṭakāyāḥ=airáK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] airáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] caṭakā [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

> *caṭakā-yāḥ ápatyam = caṭakā+airáK = cāṭak-airá-.*

4.1.129 godhā́-yāḥ=ḍhráK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhráK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] godhā́ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

> *godhā́-yāḥ ápatyam = godhā́+ḍhráK = godhā́+eyráK = gaudh-e∅rá* (6.1.66) = *gaudh-erá-*. Since this stem is also included in the class beginning with śubhrá (123) we have the alternate form *godhā́+ḍhaK = gaudh-eyá-*.

4.1.130 āráK udī́c-ā́m

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ārá̱K is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 godhā́ ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] according to Northern Grammarians (udī́c-ā́m).

godhā́-yāḥ ápatyam = godhā+ārák = gaudh-ārá-.

4.1.131 kṣudrā́-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhraK 129 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 in the feminine gender 120] expressing physical or moral deformity (kṣudrā́-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] optionally (vā).

kāṇā́-yāḥ ápatyam = kāṇā́+ḍhraK/ḍhaK(120) = *kāṇ-erá-/kāṇ-eyá-; dāsy-ā́ḥ ápatyam = dās-erá-/dās-eyá-.*

4.1.132 pitṛ-ṣva-ús=chaṆ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] chaṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pitṛ-ṣvasṛ́- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pitṛ-ṣvas-úr ápatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ+chaṆ = paitṛ-ṣvasr-ī́ya- 'son or descendant of paternal aunt'.

4.1.133 ḍháK-i lopa-ḥ

[Before the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem pitṛ-ṣvasṛ́- 132 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] substitute lopa (∅) replaces its stem-final (1.1.52).

pitṛ-ṣvasúr ápatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ́+ḍháK = paitṛ-ṣvas∅-eyá = paitṛ-ṣvas-eyá-.

4.1.134 mātṛ-ṣvas-ús=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 chaṆ 132 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] mātṛ-ṣvasṛ́- 'maternal aunt, mother's sister' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92, and before taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK introduced after 3.1.2 it, lopa (∅) replaces its stem-final phoneme 133].

mātṛ-ṣvasúr ápatyam = mātṛ-ṣvasṛ́+chaṆ/ḍháK = mātṛ-ṣvasr-ī́ya-/°-ṣvas-eyá-.

4.1.135 cátuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] designating quadrupeds (cátuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kamaṇḍalo-r ápatyam = *kamaṇḍalu+ḍhaÑ* = *kā́maṇḍalØ-eya* (6.4.147) = *kā́maṇḍal-eya-* 'descendant of K.'

4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhaÑ 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gr̥ṣṭí- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

gr̥ṣṭé-r ápatyam = *gr̥ṣṭí+ḍhaÑ* = *gā́rṣṭ-eya* (6.4.148).

This rule applies where the stem represents a biped, since under 135 quadrupeds are already covered.

4.1.137 [1]rā́ja(n)-[2]śvásur-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] rā́jan- and śváśura- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

rā́jñ-aḥ ápatyam = *rā́jan+yàT* = *rājan-yà-* (6.4.168) 'son or descendant of a king'; similarly *śváśura-sya ápatyam* = *śvaśur-yà-* 'son or descendant of the father-in-law'.

4.1.138 kṣatr-ā́t gha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kṣatrá- [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kṣatrá-sya ápatyam = *kṣatrá+gha* = *kṣatr-íya-*.

4.1.139 kúl-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kúla- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kúla-sya ápatyam = kúla+kha = kul-ína-.

4.1.140 á-pūrva-pad-āt=anya-tará-syām [1]yÀt=[2]ḍhakaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and ḍhakaÑ are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 kúla- 139] when not preceded by a prior member (á-pūrva-pad-āt) in composition [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

When the option is exercised not to introduce these two affixes, affix [kha 139] will operate; thus three affixes may be introduced under the constraint mentioned in this rule: *kúla-sya ápatyam = kula+yàT/ḍhakaÑ/kha = kúl-ya-/kaúl-eyaka-/kul-ína-.*

4.1.141 mahā-kul-ā́t=[1]aÑ-[2]khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] mahā-kulá- [optionally 140, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

mahā-kulá-sya ápatyam = mahā-kula+aÑ/khaÑ = mā́hā-kula-/mā́hā-kul-īna- 'son or descendant of a great family' = *mahā-kul-ína-*(139).

4.1.142 dúṣ-kul-āt ḍháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [optionally 140 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] dúṣ-kula- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

dúṣ-kul-asya ápatyam = dúṣ-kula+ḍhaK/kha(139) = *daúṣ-kul-eya- / duṣ-kul-ína-* 'descendant of a low family'.

4.1.143 svás-us=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] svásṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

svás-ur ápatyam = svásṛ+cha = svasr-íya- 'sister's son or descendant'.

4.1.144 bhrā́t-ur vyàT=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 cha 143] as well as (ca) vyàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhrā́tr̥- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

> *bhrā́t-ur ápatyam = bhrā́tr̥+cha/vyàT = bhratr-íya-/bhrātr̥-vyà* 'son or descendant of the brother'.

4.1.145 vyaN sapátn-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] vyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 bhrā́tr̥- ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to] denote a rival (sapátn-e).

> *bhrā́tr̥+vyaN = bhrā́tr̥-vya-* 'rival, foe, adversary'.

4.1.146 revátī=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with revátī [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

> *revā́ty-āḥ ápatyam = revátī+ṭháK = raivat-iká-* 'son or descendant of Revátī'.

4.1.147 gotra-stríy-āḥ kútsan-e Ṇá ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaK 146] and (ca) Ṇá are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] designating a female gotrá descendant (gotra-stríy-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] when expressing reproach (kútsan-e).

> *gargá+yaÑ* (105)*+ṄīP* (16) = *gā́rg∅∅+ī* (6.4.151); *gā́rgy-āḥ ápatyam = gā́rg-ī+ṭháK/Ṇá = gārg-iká-/gārg-á-* 'illegitimate or bastard son or descendant of Gā́rgī'.

4.1.148 vr̥ddh-ā́t=ṭhaK sauvīré-ṣu bahulám

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced variously (bahu-lám) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing phonemes [ā, ai or au] in the first syllable (vr̥ddh-ā́t 1.1.73) denoting Sauvīrá gotrá [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 147].

When this affix is not introduced the alternate affix is phaK (101). *bhā́ga-vitte-r ápatyam = bhā́ga-vitti+ṭháK/pháK = bhāga-vitt-iká-/bhāga-vitt-āyaná-* 'illegitimate or wicked son or descendant of Bh.' When reproach is not expressed: *bhāga-vitt-āyaná-*.

4.1.149 phe-s=cha ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 148] and (ca) cha are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phi(Ñ 154ff.) [containing a vṛ̥ddhi vowel in its first syllable and representing the Sauvīrá gotrá 148, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 148].

yamunda-sya ápatyam = yamunda+phiÑ(154) = *yā́mund-āyani-ḥ, tá-sya ápatyam = yā́mund-āyani+ṭháK/cha = yāmund-āyani-ká-/yāmund-āyan-íya-* 'despicable son or descendant of Yā́m'.

4.1.150 [1]phā́ṇṭāhṛ̥ti-[2]mimatā-bhyām [1]Ṇá-[2]phiÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṇá and phiÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] phā́ṇṭāhṛ̥ti- and mimata- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 belonging to the Sauvīrá gotra 148].

Non-observance of rule 2.2.34 [álpa=aC-taram] in the order of the two nominal stems forming the compound is indicative of blocking metarule 1.3.10 so that both affixes are introduced after each stem: *phā́ṇṭāhṛ̥ti+Ṇá/phiÑ = phāṇṭāhṛ̥t-á-/phā́ṇṭāhṛ̥t-āyani-* 'son or descendant of Ph.' Similarly *maimat-á/ maímat-āyani-* son or descendant of Mimata'. When not representing the Sauvīrá gotrá: with affix [phaK 101]: *phāṇṭāhṛ̥t-āyaná-, maimat-āyaná-*.

4.1.151 kúru=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ṇyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kúru- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kúro-r ápatyam = kuru+Ṇyá = kaurav-yá-ḥ (sg.) and (pl.) *kaurav-yā́ḥ* 'son(s) or descendant(s) of Kúru'. Here [Kúru] represents a person other than a kṣatriya, since for a kṣatriya [Kúru] 172 below provides the same affix [Ṇyá] which belongs to the [tad-rāja] group replaced by $\emptyset^1$ in the plural forms (2.4.72): *kaurav-yá-ḥ, kaurav-yaú, kúrav-aḥ*.

4.1.152 ¹sénā=anta-²lákṣaṇa-³kārí-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá 152 is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-sénā 'army', [the nominal stem 1] lákṣaṇa- and those designating artisans (kārí-bhyaḥ) also (ca) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

hári-ṣeṇa-sya ápatyam = hárìṣeṇa+Ṇyá = hāriṣeṇ-yá- 'son or descendant of H.'; similarly *lākṣaṇ-yá, nāpit-yá-* 'son or descendant of Lakṣaṇa or a barber'.

4.1.153 udīc-ā́m iÑ

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-senā or the nominal stem lákṣaṇa- and those designating artisans 152, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

hā́ri-ṣeṇi-i; lākṣaṇ-i; nā́pit-i.

4.1.154 tiká=ādi-bhyaḥ phiÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phiÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with 1.1.72] tiká- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

tiká-sya ápatyam = tiká+phiÑ = taík-āyani- 'son or descendant of T.'

4.1.155 ¹kaúsalya-²kārmāryā́-bhyāṁ ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaúsalya- and kārmāryá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

By a vārttika these expressions are derived from [kosala-, karmā́ra] with an initial augment yuṬ at the head of the affix introduced.

kosala-sya ápatyam = kosala+yuṬ-phiÑ = kaúsal∅-y-āyani-; karmā́ra-sya ápatyam = karmāra+yuṬ+phiÑ = kā́rmār∅-y-āyaṇi-.

4.1.156 áṆ-aḥ=dvy-áC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1] (dvy-áC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.71 the affix 3.1.1] áṆ [and terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

kart-úr ápatayam = *kartŕ̥+áN̥* (83,92) = *kārtr-á-*, *kārtr-á-sya ápatyam* = *kārtr-á+phiÑ* = *kā́rtr-āyaṇi* 'son or descendant of Kārtrá'. But *dā́kṣ-i(Ñ)+pháK* (101) = *dākṣāyaṇá-*; poly-syllabic: *úpago-r ápatyam* = *aupagav-á(N̥)+iÑ= aúpagav-i* 'son of Aup.'

4.1.157 udīc-ā́m vr̥ddh-ā́t=á-gotr-āt

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhita 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] whose first syllable contains a vŕ̥ddhi vowel (1.1.73 vr̥ddhā́t) and which is not a patronymic (á-gotrāt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

āmrá-gupta-sya ápatyam = *ā́mra-gupt-āyani-*, alternating according to other grammarians with *ā́mra-gupt-i*.

4.1.158 vākina=ādī-nām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with vākina- [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) final increment kuK is inserted after the stem-final (before the affix).

vākina-sya ápatyam = *vākina-kuK+phiÑ* = *vā́kina-k-āyani-*.

4.1.159 putrá=ant-āt=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-putrá- [whose first syllable contains a vŕ̥ddhi vowel and which is not a patronymic 157, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and final increment kuK is inserted after the stem-final before the affix 158].

By 157 above affixes phiÑ (according to Northern Grammarians) and iÑ (according to others 95) are both introduced after these stems ending in °putrá-; the present rule provides for final increment kuK to be inserted after the stem before affix phiÑ, optionally, so that three sets of forms are realized: stem+*phiN/kuK+phiN/iÑ:* *gā́rgī-putr-āyaṇi-/gā́rgī-putra-k-āyaṇi-/gā́rgī-putr-i-*.

4.1.160 prā́c-ām á-vr̥ddh-āt phiN bahulám

According to Eastern Grammarians [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phiN is introduced variously (bahulám) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] not containing a vŕ̥ddhi vowel (á-vr̥ddh-āt 1.1.73) in its first syllable [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

glucuka-sya apatyam = *glucuka+phiN* = *glúcuk-āyani-* according to Eastern Grammarians, but according to others *glucuka+iÑ* (95) = *glaúcuk-i-*.

4.1.161 máno-r jā́t-au [1]aÑ-[2]yàT-au ṣu̱K ca

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] mánu, with final increment ṣu̱K inserted after the stem-final to denote species (jā́t-au).

manu+aÑ/yàT = *mā́nu-ṣ-a-/manu-ṣ-yà-* 'human being, homo sapiens'.

4.1.162 ápatyam paútra-prabhr̥ti gotrám

(The t.t.) gotrá denotes a descendant beginning with the grandson.

As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.63; 4.1.78,89,93,94,147; 2.29,111; 5.1.134; 6.2.69; 3.43,85; 8.3.91.

4.1.163 jī́vat-i tu váṁśy-e yúvā

(The t.t.) yúvan denotes, however (tu), [a descendant beginning with the grandson 162] if the elder representative of the line (váṁśy-e) is alive (jī́v-at-i).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.65; 2.4.58; 4.1.90,94,167.

gargá-sya ápatyam paútra-prabhr̥ti (= gotrāpatyám) = *garga+yaÑ* (105) = *gā́rg-ya-*; *gā́rgya-sya ápatyam* = *gārgy-āyaṇá-* (101); *gargá-sya ápatyam* = *garga+iÑ* = *gā́rg-i-* (95). In the line of descent father-son-grandson-greatgrandson (Gargá-Gā́rgi-Gā́rgya-Gāgyāyaṇá) if either Garga or Gā́rgi is alive, Gārgyāyaṇá will be a yúvan descendant and not a gotra descendant.

4.1.164 bhrā́tar-i ca jyā́yas-i

[The t.t. yúvan 163] also denotes (a younger brother) if the elder brother (jyā́yas-i bhrā́tar-i) [is alive 163 as a descendant starting with the grandson 162].

If the gotrá descendant of Garga (viz. Gấrg-ya) is alive, his younger brother will be Gārgȳayaṇá by this definition.

4.1.165 vā=anyá-smin sá-piṇḍ-e sthávira-tare jī́vat-i

[The t.t. yúvan 163] optionally (vā) denotes [a gotrá descendant 163] if an older (sthávira-tar-e) relation [of the elder brother 164] within seven generations (sá-piṇḍ-e) above is alive (jī́vat-i).

If an uncle or grand-uncle or cousin older than the descendant is alive, the descendant will be either a gotrá or yúvan descendant and will be called either Gấrgya or Gārgyāyaṇá (cf. illustrations to 163-4 above).

4.1.166 vr̥ddhá-sya ca pūjấ-yām

[The t.t. yúvan 163 optionally 165 denotes] a descendant starting with the grandson (vr̥ddhásya) when expressing respect (pūjấ-yām).

[vr̥ddhá] is, according to commentators, a pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for [gotrá]. Gấrgya may also be referred to as Gārgyāyaṇá as a mark of respect.

4.1.167 yū́n-as=ca kutsấ-yām

[The t.t. yúvan 163] also (ca) [optionally 165 denotes] a yúvan descendant to express reproach (kutsấ-yām).

gấrg-ya-ḥ/gārgy-āyaṇá-ḥ jālma-ḥ 'G. is a wretch'.

4.1.168 jana-pada-śabd-ất kṣatríy-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a country (jana-pada-śabd-ấ) which at the same time denotes a royal family (kṣatríy-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

pañcālá-sya ápatyam = pañcālá+aÑ = pấñcāl-a- 'descendant of P.' Similarly *aíkṣvāk-a-* (6.4.174) 'descendant of Ikṣvākú'.

But when country names are not signified by kṣatríya names: *druhyó-r ápatyam = druhyú+áṆ* (83,92) = *drauhyav-á-*; similarly *brāhmaṇá-sya pañcālá-sya ápatyam = pañcālá+iÑ* (95) = *pấñcāl-i-*.

4.1.169 [1]sālveyá-[2]gā́ndhāri-bhyāṁ ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 168] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] sālveyá- and gā́ndhāri- [denoting a country which is at the same time a designation of a royal family 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

As both these words have a vr̥ddhi vowel in their first syllable they would normally be governed by 171 below, but this is a prior exception to that: *sālveyá-sya ápatyam = sālveyá+aÑ = sā́lvey-a-; gā́ndhāri+aÑ = gā́ndhar-a-*; these also designate the ruler of these regions.

4.1.170 [1]dvi=áC-[2]magádha-[3]kaliṅga-[4]sūramas-āt=áṆ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating countries which at the same time denote a royal family 168] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-°) and [the nominal stems 1] magádha-, kaliṅga- and sūramasa- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

áṅga-sya ápatyam = áṅga+áṆ = āṅg-á- 'ruler of Aṅga (174). Similarly: *māgadh-á-, kāliṅg-á-, sauramas-á-* 'ruler of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Sūramasa respectively'.

4.1.171 [1]vr̥ddhá=[2]iT-[3]kosala=[4]ajād-ā́t=ÑyaṄ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaṄ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting simultaneously country and royal family names 168] containing a vŕ̥ddhi vowel in their first syllable (vr̥ddhá-°) or those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) and [the nominal stems 3.1.1] kosala- and ajādá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. *āmbaṣṭhá-sya ápatyam = āmbaṣṭhá+ÑyaṄ = ā́mbaṣṭh-ya-*. (6.4.148).
2. °-i: *avanti+ÑyaṄ = ā́vant-ya-; kunti+ÑyaṄ = kaúnt-ya-*.
3. *kosala-sya ápatyam rā́jā* (174) = *kosala+ÑyaṄ = kaúsal-ya-*.
4. *ajādá-sya ápatyam = ā́jād-ya-*.

4.1.172 [1]kúru-[2]n-ādi-bhyaḥ=Ṇyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kúru- and those with initial phoneme [n-] (n-ādi-bhyaḥ) [simultaneously designating names of regions and their ruling class 168,

ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or king 174].

By 152 affix [Ṇyá] has been introduced after the stem [kúru-] to denote a descendant; its inclusion here is for the purpose of designating the king (rājan 174). *kúrū-ṇām ápatyam rā́jā vā = kúru+Ṇyá = kaurav-yá-.*

niṣadha-sya ápatyam rā́jā vā = naiṣadh-yá.

4.1.173 [1]sālva=avayavá-[2]pratyágratha-[3]kalakūṭá=[4]aśmak-ā́t=iÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] designating divisions of Sālvá 'name of a locality' (sālva=avayava-°) and [the nominal stems] pratyágratha-, kalakūṭá- and aśmaká- [denoting simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 68, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

By interpretation the divisions of Sālva are enumerated as under: [Udumbára], [Tilakhala-], [Madrakārá- Yugandhará-], [Bhuliṅga-] and [Śaradaṇḍa]. The word *sālvá-* is derived as follows: *sālv-ā nā́ma kṣatríy-ā; tá-syāḥ ápatyam = sālvā+ḍhaK/áṆ* (113) = *sālv-eyá/sālv-á-; sālvá-sya nivāsa-ḥ = sālvá-ḥ janapadá-ḥ* (2.81): *udumbára+iÑ = udumbára-sya ápatyam rā́jā vā = aúdumbar-i-*; similarly: *taílakhal-i-; mā́drakār-i-; yaúgandhar-i-; bhaúliṅg-i-; śā́radaṇḍ-i-. pratyágratha-sya ápatyam rā́jā vā = prā́tyagrath-i-*; likewise *kā́lakūṭ-i-; ā́śmak-i-.*

4.1.174 té tad-rāj-ā́ḥ

Those (té) [taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] (introduced by 168ff.) are denoted by the t.t. tadrājá.

The affixes involved are: [aÑ 168, áṆ 170, ÑyaṄ 171, Ṇyá 172 and iÑ 173] denoting the ruler (tád-rāja-).

As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.62; 5.3.119.

4.1.175 kamboj-ā́t=luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kamboja- [designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

kamboja-sya ápatyam rā́jā vā = kamboja+aÑ (168) = *kamboja+$\emptyset^1$ = kamboja-.*

4.1.176 striy-ā́m [1]avanti-[2]kunti-[3]kúru-bhyas=ca

[luK (∅[1]) 175 replaces the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] avanti-, kunti- and kúru- [designating simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174] before feminine (affixes: striy-ā́m).

avante-ḥ ápatyam/rā́jā vā = *avanti+ÑyaṄ* (171) = *avanti+∅[1]+ṄīṢ* (65) = *avant-ī́*; similarly *kunt-ī́* 'female descendant of or queen of Kunti'. *kúrū-ṇām ápatyam strī/rājñī vā* = *kúru+Ṇyá* (172) = *kuru+∅[1]+ūṄ* (66) = *kur+ū́*.

4.1.177 aT-as=ca

[luK (∅[1]) 175] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] short a(T) (= aÑ, áṆ) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174 before a feminine 176 affix 3.1.1].

śū́rasena-sya ápatyam strī/rā́jñī vā = *śū́rasena+aÑ* (168) = *śū́rasena+∅[1]+NīṢ* = *śūrasen-ī́* 'queen or princess of Ś.'
madrá-sya ápatyam strī/rājñi vā = *madrá+áṆ* = *madra+∅[1]+ṄīṢ* = *madr-ī́* 'queen or princess of M.'

4.1.178 ná [1]prā́cya-[2]bhárga=ādi-[3]yaudheyá-ādi-bhyas=ca

[luK (∅[1]) 175] does not replace [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 a(= aÑ, áṆ) 178 (5.3.117) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating names of princes] of the East (prā́cya- °) [and classes of nominal stems 1] beginning with bhárga- and yaudheyá- conglomerates [before feminine 176 affixes 3.1.1].

1. Eastern Region: *pañcālā́-nām rā́jñī* = *pañcālá+aÑ* (168)+*ṄīN* (73) = *pā́ñcāl-a+ṄīN* = *pā́ñcāl-ī* 'queen or princess of Pañcālá'.
2. bhárga-class: *bhárga+áṆ* (170)+*ṄīP* (15) = *bhārg-á+ī* = *bhārg-ī́*.
3. yaudheyá-class: *yaudheyá+aÑ* (5.3.117)+*ṄīN* (73) = *yaúdhey-ī* 'queen or princess of Y.'

4.2.1 t-éna ra-kt-áṁ rāg-ā́t

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) denoting a color (rāg-ā́t) to express the sense of dying (rak-tám).

The word [rāgá-] is derived from the verbal stem *rañj-* (I 1048) : *raj-yá-te an-éna* = *rañj+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *ra∅j+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-á-* 'color', specifically that which transforms what is white or uncolored.

kaṣāy-eṇa rak-tá-ṁ vástra-m = *kaṣāya+áṆ+am* = *kāṣāy-áṁ vástra-m* 'cloth dyed with red coloring'; but *devadatt-éna rak-tá-ṁ vástra-m* 'cloth dyed by D.' where D. is the agent and not the instrument (kāraṇa).

4.2.2 [1]lākṣā́-[2]rocanā́-([3]śákala-[4]kardám-)āt ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] lākṣā́ 'lac', rocanā́ 'a bright yellow pigment', (śákala- 'black pigment' and kardáma- 'mud') [ending in the third sUP triplet to denote the sense of 'dyeing with' 1].

The original sūtra had only the first two nominal stems; the two additions made by a vārttika have been incorporated in the Kāśika version of Aṣṭ. while the Siddhānta-Kaumudī retains the original reading.

lākṣá-yā rak-tá-m = *lākṣā́+ṭháK* = *lākṣ∅-iká* (6.4.64; 7.3.50) 'dyed with lac'; similarly *raucan-iká-* 'dyed with a bright yellow pigment'; *śākal-iká-* 'dyed with black pigment' and *kārdam-igá-* 'dyed with mud'.

4.2.3 nákṣatr-eṇa yuk-tá-ḥ kālá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a constellation (nákṣatr-eṇa) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the time (kālá-ḥ) of conjunction (yuk-tá-ḥ with the moon).

The conjunction (yóga) here, represented by the participle (yuk-tá-) is that of the moon with the particular constellation. *puṣy-èṇa yuk-tá-ḥ kāla-ḥ* = *puṣyà+áṆ* = *pauṣ∅∅+á-* (6.4.149 *vārt*) 'the day when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation P'.

4.2.4 luP=á-viśeṣ-e

luP (∅[3]) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting the name of a constellation 3 ending in 1.1.72

the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the period of conjunction 3] when there is no specific mention (of day or night: á-veśeṣ-e).

adyá puṣyà-ḥ 'today the moon is in conjunction with the asterism Puṣyà' but *puṣya+áṆ+ṄīP* (1.15) = *pauṣ-í rắtri-ḥ/pauṣ.ám áha-ḥ*.

4.2.5 saṁjñắ-yām [1]śrávaṇa-[2]aśvatthắ-bhyām

[luP ($\emptyset^3$) 4 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śrávaṇa and aśvatthá- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote a name (saṁjñắ-yām).

śrávaṇa+áṆ = *śrávaṇa+$\emptyset^3$+ṬāP* = *śrávaṇ-ā rắtri-ḥ* 'the night in which the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Śrávaṇa'. Similarly *aśvatthá+luP* = *aśvatthá-ḥ muhūrtá-ḥ* 'the particular time when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Aśv.' When a proper name is not implied: *śrávaṇa+áṆ+ṄīP* (15) *śrāvaṇ-í rắtri-ḥ* (1.83,15); *āśvatth-í rắtri-ḥ*.

4.2.6 dvaṁdv-ắt=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 denoting names of asterisms 3] comprising a Dvaṁdvá compound (2.2.3) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the time of conjunction (with the moon) 3, whether specified or not 4].

rādhā=anurādhắ=bhyām yuk-tắ rắtri-ḥ = *rādhānurādhắ+cha* = *rādhānurādhíya+ṬāP* (1.4) = *rādhānurādh-íy-ā rắtri-ḥ* 'the night when the moon is in conjunction with the constellations R. and A.'

4.2.7 dr̥ṣ-ṭá-ṁ sắma

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of 'seen' (dr̥ṣ-ṭá-m), the object seen being a sắman.

vásiṣṭh-ena dr̥ṣ-ṭá-m = *vásiṣṭa+áṆ* = *vāsiṣṭhá-m sắma* 'S. perceived or seen by V.'; the Vedic ŕ̥ṣis are called 'seers' (draṣṭắr-aḥ) and the eternal Vedas are revealed to them; they are not the authors but the perceivers of the sacred hymns.

4.2.8 kále-r ḍháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] káli- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'sā́man has been perceived by' 7].

> *káli-nā dr̥ṣ-ṭá-m = káli+ḍháK = kāl∅+eyá-ṁ sā́ma* 'sā́man perceived by Káli'.

4.2.9 vāmádev-āt=[1]ḌyàT=[2]Ḍy-aú

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ḌyàT and Ḍyá are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vāmádeva- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'sā́man perceived by' 7].

> *vāmá-dev-ena dr̥ṣ-ṭá-m = vāmá-deva+ḌyaT/Ḍyá = vāma-dev-yà-/ °-dev-yá* 'sā́man perceived by V.'

4.2.10 pári-vr̥-ta-ḥ=rátha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of 'enveloped' (pári-vr̥-ta-ḥ), the object being a chariot (rátha-ḥ).

> *vástr-eṇa pári-vr̥-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ = vástra+áṆ = vāstr-á-ḥ* 'a chariot covered or enveloped by a cloth'.

4.2.11 pāṇḍu-kambalā́t=íni̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pāṇḍu-kambalá' 'white rug or blanket' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of 'chariot enveloped with' 10].

> *pāṇḍu-kambl-éna pári-vr̥-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ = pāṇḍu-kambalá+ín = pāṇḍu-kambal-ín-* 'chariot covered with a white rug'.

4.2.12 [1]dvaípa-[2]vaíyāghr-ā́t=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dvaíp-a- 'panther's skin' and vaíyāghr-a- 'tiger's skin' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote 'chariot covered or enveloped with' 10].

> *dvaíp-eṇa pári-vr̥-ta-ḥ = dvaipa+aÑ = dvaíp∅-a-* 'chariot covered with panther skin'; similarly *vaíyāghra+aÑ = vaíyāghr∅-a-*.

4.2.13 kaumār-á=á-pūrva-vacan-e

The expression kaumār-á is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 kumārī́] to denote the sense of 'not betrothed to anyone before' (á-pūrva-vacan-e).

This form is derived from *kumārī́* 'virgin', ending in the second sUP triplet with affix áṆ to denote the husband: *á-pūrva-pati-ṁ kumārī́-m páti-r upá-pan-na-ḥ* = *kumārá+ṄĪP+áṆ* = *kaumar-áḥ páti-ḥ* 'who has married a maiden who was not married previously'; similarly *á-pūrva-pati-ḥ kumārī́ páti-m upá-pan-nā* = *kaumārá+ṄĪP* (1.15) = *kaumār-ī́* 'a maiden not previously married but now married'.

4.2.14 tá-tra=úd-dhr̥-ta-m ámatre-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) and designating a vessel (ámatre-bhyaḥ) to denote the sense of 'lifted and placed therein'.

śárāve-ṣu úd-dhr̥-ta-m = *śárāva+áṆ* = *śārāv-a-ḥ odaná-ḥ* 'rice lifted and placed in dishes'. The term [úd-dhr̥-ta-] normally denotes 'lifting up' and should govern the fifth sUP triplet (ablative case) but the notion of lifting and placing denotes the locus and justifies the use of the locative. Kāśikā gives a technical meaning to this term as *bhuktá* = *úc=chiṣ=ṭa-* 'leavings, remnants of food (after eating)'.

4.2.15 sthaṇḍil-āt śayitár-i vrat-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sthaṇḍila- 'bare ground' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote the sense of 'sleeping thereon' (śayitar-i) as part of a vow (vrat-é).

sthaṇḍil-e śáy-i-tuṁ vratá-m a-syá = *sthaṇḍila+áṆ* = *sthaṇḍil∅+áṆ* = *sthāṇḍil-á-ḥ bhikṣú-ḥ* 'an ascetic who sleeps on the bare ground in fulfilment of a vow'.

4.2.16 sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m bhakṣ-ā́ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote items of food (bhakṣ-ā́ḥ) cooked therein (sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m).

bhrā́ṣṭr-e sáṁskr̥t-am = *bhrā́ṣṭra+áṆ* = *bhrāṣṭr-á-ḥ apūpá-ḥ* 'cake fried in the frying pan'.

4.2.17 [1]śū́la=[2]ukh-ā́t=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śū́la- 'spit' and ukhā́ 'cooking pot' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

śū́l-e sáṁskṛtam = śū́la+yaT = śū́l-ya- 'roasted on a spit'; *úkh-ya-* 'cooked in a pot' (6.4.64).

4.2.18 dádhn-aḥ=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dádhi- 'curds' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

dádhan-i sáṁskṛtam = dádhi+ṭháK = dādh-iká- (7.3.50) 'cooked in curds'.

4.2.19 udaśvít-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 18] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] udaśvít- 'whey' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

Alternates with the general affix áṆ (1.83): *udaśvít-i sámskṛtam = udaśvít+ṭháK/áṆ = audaśvit-ká-* (7.3.51)/*audaśvit-á-* 'cooked in whey'.

4.2.20 kṣīr-ā́t=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kṣīrá- 'milk' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

kṣīr-é sáṁskṛtam = kṣīrá+ḍhaÑ = kṣaír=eya- (7.1.2) 'cooked in milk'.

4.2.21 sā́=a-smín paurṇamāsī́=iti (saṁjñā́-yām)

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sā́) and denoting the name of the full-moon night (paurṇamāsī́) to designate a name (saṁjñā́-yām) of the period in which that full-moon night falls.

The form so derived denotes either the month, fortnight or year. In the original

sūtra the word [saṁjñā-yam] did not occur, but was introduced by later Pāṇinīyas on the authority of a vārttika. The derived word does not signify a period of less than fifteen days or the intercalary month.

pauṣī́ paurṇamāsī́ a-smín = *pauṣī́+áṆ* = *pauṣ∅+á-* (6.4.148) = *pauṣ-á-ḥ mā́sa-ḥ/ardha-māsá-ḥ/saṁvatsará-ḥ* 'month/half-month/year in which the Pauṣī full-moon night occurs'.

4.2.22 [1]āgrahāyaṇī́=[2]aśvatth-ā́t=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] āgrahāyaṇī́ and aśvatthá- 'names of full-moon nights' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to designate the name of the period in which these full-moon nights occur 21].

ágr-e hā́yana-m a-syā́ḥ = *agrá+∅*[1]*+hāyana+áṆ* (5.4.3)*+ṄīP* (1.15) = *āgra-hāyaṇ-ī́ paurṇamāsī a-smín* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-ī́+ṭháK* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-iká-* month/half-month/year in which Āg. full-moon occurs'; similarly: *aśvatth-éna yuk-tā́ paurṇamāsī a-smín* = *āśvatth-iká-* 'month/half-month/year in which the full-moon is in conjunction with the asterism Aśv.'

4.2.23 vibhāṣā [1]phālgunī́-[2]srávaṇā-[3]kārttikī́-[4]caitrī́-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 22] is optionally introduced (vibhāṣā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] phālgunī, śrávaṇā. kārttikī́ and caitrī́ 'names of full-moon nights' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote the period in which they occur 21].

The option is in respect of the obligatory affix áṆ (1.83): *phālgunī́ paurṇamāsī́ a-smín* = *phālgunī́+ṭháK/áṆ* = *phālgun-iká/phālgun-á-* 'month/fort-night/year in which the Ph. full-moon night occurs'; similarly: *kārttik-iká/kārttik-á-; śrāvaṇ-iká-/śrāvaṇ-á-; caitr-iká-/caitr-á-.*

4.2.24 sā́=a-syá devá-tā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a divinity (devá-tā) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sā́) to denote 'that is its (a-syá) divinity'.

índra-ḥ devá-tā a-syá hávis-aḥ = *índra+áṆ* = *aindr-á-ṁ háviḥ* 'a sacrificial oblation of which Indra is the divinity'.

4.2.25 ká-sya iT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ká- 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'that is its divinity' 24] and the substitute element short i(T) replaces (its stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 before the affix).

> *ká-ḥ prajā-patí-r devá-tā a-syá* = *ká+áṆ* = *ki+áṆ* = *kai+á* (7.2.115) = *kāy-á-ṁ* (6.1.78) *hávi-ḥ* 'sacrificial oblation offered to Ka'.

4.2.26 śukr-ā́t=ghaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śukrá- 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity; 24].

> *śukrá+ghaN* - *śúkr∅-iya-ṁ hávih* 'sacrificial oblation offered to Śukrá'.

4.2.27 [1]apó-náptr̥=[2]apā́ṁ-náptr̥-bhyāṁ gha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] apó-náptr̥- and apā́ṁ-náptr̥- 'n.pr. of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity 24].

> *apó-náptr̥+gha* = *apo-naptr-íya-ṁ hávih; apāṁ-naptr-íya-ṁ hávih.*

4.2.28 cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha (= ī́ya 7.2.2) is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 apó-náptr̥- and apā́ṁ-náptr̥- 27 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity 24].

> *apo-naptr-ī́ya-/apāṁ-naptr-ī́ya-.*

4.2.29 mahendr-ā́t=[1]gha=[2]áṆ-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and áṆ are introduced in addition to (ca) [cha 28 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mahendrá- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

> *mahendrá+gha/áṆ/cha* = *mahendr-íya-/māhendr-á-/mahendr-ī́ya-.*

4.2.30 sóm-āt=ṬyáṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬyáṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sóma- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

> *sóma-ḥ devátā a-syá hávis-aḥ = sóma+ṬyáṆ = saum-yá-m̀ háviḥ, saum-yá+ṄīP* (1.15) = *saum∅∅+í r̥K* (6.4.148, 150).

4.2.31 [1]vāyú=[2]r̥tú-[3]pitŕ̥=[4]úṣas-aḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vāyú-, r̥tú, pitŕ̥- and úṣas- 'names of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

> *vāyú+yàT* = *vāyo+yàT* (6.4.146) = *vāyav-yà-* (6.1.79); *r̥tav-yà-; pítr-ya-* (7.4.27; 6.4.148) *uṣas-yà-*.

4.2.32 [1]dyā́vā-pr̥thivī́-[2]śúnāsī́ra-[3]marútvat=[4]agnī́-ṣóma-[5]vā́stoṣ-páti-[6]gr̥ha-medh-ā́t=cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT 31 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dyā́vā-pr̥thivī́, śúnā-sī́ra-, marút-vat-, agnī́-ṣóma-, vā́stoṣ-páti- and gr̥ha-medhá- 'names of divinities' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity 24].

> *dyaúś ca pr̥thivī́ ca = dyā́vā-pr̥thivy-aú devá-te asyá = dyā́vā-pr̥thivī́+cha/yàT = dyāvā-pr̥thiv-ī́ya-/°-pr̥thiv-yà-*, 'of which Heaven and Earth are divinities'. Similarly: *śunā-sīr-ī́ya-/°-sīr-yà-; marut-vat-ī́ya-/°-marut-vat-yà-; agnī-ṣom-ī́ya-/°-ṣom-yà-; vāstoṣ-pat-ī́ya-/°-pat-ya-; gr̥ha-medh-ī́ya-/°-medh-yà-*.

4.2.33 agné-r ḍháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] agní- 'n. of a divinity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

> *agní-r devá-tā a-syá = agní+ḍháK = āgn-eyá-* 'consecrated to Agní as divinity'.

4.2.34 kālé-bhyaḥ=bhava-vát

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 3.1.2] designating time (kālé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24] are the same as those introduced [after 3.1.2] in the section dealing with bháva affixes (3.11-52 below).

mā́sa-ḥ devá-tā a-syá = *mā́sa+ṭhaÑ* (3.11) = *mā́s-ika-* 'consecrated to Mā́sa ('month') as divinity'; similarly *sā́ṁvatsar-ika-* consecrated to Saṁvatsará ('year') as divinity'.

4.2.35 [1]mahā-rājá-[2]proṣṭha-pad-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] mahārājá- and proṣṭha-padá- [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

mahārājá-ḥ devá-tā a-syá = *mahārājá+ṭhaÑ* = *mā́hā-rāj-ika-; proṣṭha-padá+ṭhaÑ* = *praúṣṭha-pad-ika-*.

4.2.36 [1]pitr̥vyà-[2]mātulá-[3]mātāmahá-[4]pitāmah-ā́ḥ

The finished expressions pitr̥vyà- 'father's brother', mātulá- mother's brother', mātāmahá- 'mother's father' and pitāmahá- 'father's father' are introduced as derivatives [with taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1].

The actual derivation is given by vārttikas: *pitŕ̥+vyàT* = *pitr̥-vyà-; mātr̥+ḌuláC* = *māt-ulá-; mātr̥/pitr̥+ḌāmaháC* = *mātā-mahá-/pitā-mahá-*. This last affix is deemed to be marked with Ṣ as IT so that the maternal/paternal grandmothers are derived from these expressions with affix [ṄīṢ]: *mātā-mah-ī́/pitā-mah-ī́*.

4.2.37 tá-sya sam-ūhá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote a 'collection thereof' (tásya samūháḥ).

The scope of application of this rule is restricted to stems denoting conscious objects (cittavát- 47), having ánudātta accent on their first syllable (ánudāttādi- 44), and not being a patronymic (á-gotra- 46) and not covered by any of the subsequent rules up to 51 below: cf. 44, 46 and 47 in this connection where respectively [aÑ], [vuÑ] and [ṭháK] are introduced in the place of [áṆ].

śúkā-nām samūhá-ḥ = *śúka+áṆ* = *śauk-á-m* 'a flight of parrots'. Similarly: *kā́kā-nām samūhá-ḥ* = *kāk-á-m* 'flight of crows'.

4.2.38 bhikṣā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 3.1.1] beginning with bhikṣā́ 'alms' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

The repetition of [áṆ] in this rule when it was already recurring by the governing rule 1.83 is to block out the operation of 44 below in the case of [bhikṣā́] et al.

bhikṣā́-ṇām samūhá-ḥ = bhikṣā́+áṆ = bhaikṣ-á-m 'collection of alms'. *garbh-íṇī-nām samūhá-ḥ = gārbhiṇ-á-m* (6.4.164) 'group of pregnant women'.

4.2.39 [1]gotrá=[2]ukṣá(n)=[3]úṣṭra=[4]urabhra-[5]rā́jan-[6]rājanyà-[7]rāja-putrá-[8]vatsá-[9]manuṣyà=[10]aj-ā́t=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] gotrá [affixes 3.1.1] and [the nominal stems 1.1] ukṣán- 'ox', úṣṭra- 'camel', urabhra- 'ram', rā́jan- 'king', rājanyà- 'royal personage', rāja-putrá- 'prince', vatsá- 'calf', manuṣyà- 'man' and ajá- 'goat' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

By interpretation the word [gotrá] denotes a descendant in general and not its technical meaning (1.162) of one starting with the grandson, this being confined to the section on patronymics only.

aupagavā́-nām = upagór-ápatyā-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ = aupagav-á+vuÑ = aúpagav-aka-m 'a group of Upagú's descendants'.

Similarly: *aúkṣ-aka-m* 'herd of oxen'; *aúṣṭr-aka-m, aúrabhr-aka-m; rā́j-aka-m; rā́jany-aka-m; rā́ja-putr-aka-m; vā́ts-aka-m; mā́nuṣy-aka-m; ā́j-aka-m.*

4.2.40 kedār-āt=yaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced in addition to (ca) [vuÑ 39 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kedāra- 'irrigated field' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

kedārā-ṇām samūhá-ḥ = kedāra+yaÑ/vuÑ = kaídār-ya-m/kaídār-aka- 'a group of irrigated fields'.

4.2.41 ṭhaÑ kavacín-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kavacín- 'covered with armor', in addition to (ca) [kedāra- 40, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

kavacín-ām samūhá-ḥ = *kavacín+ṭhaÑ* = *kavaci∅+ikaÑ* (6.4.144) = *kā́vac∅-ika-* (6.4.148) 'a group of armor-bearers'; similarly *kedārā-ṇām samūhá-ḥ* = *kaídār-ika-m*.

4.2.42 ¹brāhmaṇá-²māṇavá-³vā́ḍav-āt=yaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin', māṇavá- 'pupil, lad' and vā́ḍava- 'brahmin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection of group thereof' 37].

brāhmaṇā́-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ = *brāhmaṇá+yaN* = *brā́hmaṇ-ya-m* 'a group of brahmins'; similarly *mā́ṇav-ya-m; vā́ḍav-ya-m*.

4.2.43 ¹grā́ma-²jána-³bándhu-⁴sahāyé-bhyas=taL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grā́ma- 'village', jána- 'individual, person', bándhu- 'kin' and sahāyá- 'ally' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

grā́mā-ṇāṁ samūhá-ḥ = *grā́ma+taL+ṬāP* (1.4) = *grāmá-t-ā* 'a group of villages' and likewise: *janá-tā* 'population, people in general'; *bandhú-t-ā* 'group of kinspeople'; *sahāyá-t-ā* 'group of allies or aides'.

4.2.44 án-udātt-āde-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a low-pitched vowel (án-udātta- °) on its first syllable (°-ādé-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

kapótā-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ = *kapóta+aÑ* = *kā́pot-a-m* 'a flight of pigeons'; *mayū́rā-ṇāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *mā́yūr-a-m* 'a flight of peacocks'.

4.2.45 khā́ṇḍika=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 44] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with khā́ṇḍika- 'pupil' (i.e., one who learns section by section) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a group thereof' 37].

The stems have a high-pitched accent (udātta) on their first syllable and are thus excluded from the previous rule;
kháṇḍikā-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ = *kháṇḍika+aÑ* = *kháṇḍik-a-m* 'a group of pupils'.

4.2.46 cáraṇe-bhyaḥ=dharma-vát

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of Vedic schools (cáraṇe-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] are the same as those introduced in section (3.126-33 below) for dhárma.

In 3.116 below [gotra-caraṇ-āt=vuÑ] that affix is restricted by a vārttika to denote either [dhárma] or [āmnāyá] and it is the first significance which is involved here. *kaṭhá-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *kaṭhá+vuÑ* = *kā́ṭhak-a-m* 'a group of Ks.' *kalāpá-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *kā́lāpak-a-m*.

4.2.47 [1]á-citta-[2]hastí(n)-[3]dhenó-s=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting inanimate objects (á-citta-°) and [the nominal stems 1.1] hastín- 'elephant', and dhenú- 'milch cow' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

Exception to [aÑ] and [áṆ].

1. inanimate: *apūpá-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *apūpá+ṭháK* = *āpūp-iká-m* 'a collection of cakes'.
2. *hastí-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *hastín+ṭháK* = *hāsti-ká-m* 'herd of elephants'.
3. *dhenú-nām samūhá-ḥ* = *dhainu-ká-m*.

4.2.48 [1]kéśa=[2]áśvā-bhyāṁ [1]yaÑ=[2]ch-au=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yaÑ and cha are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kéśa- 'hair' and áśva- 'horse' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

The option here is with respect to the affix [ṭháK 47 above]. *kéśā-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ* = *kéśa+yaÑ/ṭháK* = *kaíś-ya-m/kais-iká-ṁ; áśvā-nām samūhá-ḥ* = *aśva+cha/áṆ* (37) = *aśv-íya-m/ā́śv-á-m*.

4.2.49 pā́śa=ādi-bhyaḥ=yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with pā́śa- 'noose' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection there of' 37].

pā́śā-nāṁ samūhá-ḥ = *pā́śa+ya+ṬāP* (1.4) = *pāś-y-ā́* 'a collection of nooses'. These derivatives are naturally feminine and the affix [ṬāP 1.4] is introduced after affix [yá]. Similarly: *tṛṇ-y-ā́* 'a cluster or stack of grass'.

4.2.50 [1]khála-[2]gó-[3]ráth-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 49 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] khála- 'threshing floor', gó- 'cow or bull' and rátha- 'chariot' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

khálā-nām: samūhá-ḥ = *khala+yá+ṬāP* = *khal-y-ā́* 'a collection of threshing floors'; *gav-y-ā́* 'herd of cattle'; *rath-y-ā́* 'group of chariots'. Excluded from 49 above, since 51 applies only to these.

4.2.51 [1]íni̱-[2]trá-[3]kaṭyáC-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] íni̱, trá and kaṭyáC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 khála-, gó- and rátha- 50, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

khala+ín+ṄīP (1.5) = *khal-ín-ī; gó+trá+ṬāP* (1.4) = *gō-tr-ā́; rátha+kaṭyá+ṬāP* = *ratha-kaṭy-ā́*.

4.2.52 viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37] to denote a region dominated or inhabited (by the agent) (viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é).

śibī-nāṁ viṣayá-ḥ deśá-ḥ = *śibi+áṆ* = *śaib-á-ḥ* 'country dominated by the Śibis'. Similarly *āṅg-á-ḥ/vāṅg-á-ḥ* country dominated or inhabited by Aṅgas/Vaṅgas'.

4.2.53 rājanyà=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with rājanyà- 'royal personage' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote 'a region dominated or inhabited by' 52].

rājanyá-nāṁ viṣayó deśá-ḥ = rājanyà+vuÑ = rā́jany-aka-ḥ 'country inhabited or dominated by royal personages'.

4.2.54 [1]bhaúriki=ādi-[2]aíṣukāri=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]vidhaL=[2]bhaktaL-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] vidhaL and bhaktaL are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bhaúriki- and with aíṣu-kāri- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote a region inhabited or dominated by them 52].

bhaúrikī-nāṁ viṣayá-ḥ deśá-ḥ = bhaúriki+vidhaL = bhaurikí-vidha-ḥ; aiṣukāri+bhaktaL = aiṣukārí-bhakta-ḥ 'country dominated or inhabited by Aiṣ.'

4.2.55 sá-ḥ=a-syá=ādí-r iti=chándas-aḥ pragāthé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a meter (chándas-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote 'it is the beginning (ādí-ḥ) in stanzas (pra-gāthé-ṣu).

paṅktí-r ādí-r a-syá = panktí+áṆ = pāṅkt-á-ḥ pragāthá-ḥ 'stanza beginning with a paṅktí metre'.

4.2.56 saṁ-grām-é [1]pra-yój-ana-[2]yod-dhṝ-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the object (pra-yoój-ana-°) or the combatant (°-yod-dhṝ-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 55] to denote a battle (saṁ-grām-é).

súbhadrā pra-jój-ana-m a-syá saṁ-grāmá-sya = súbhradrā+áṆ = saubhadr-á-ḥ 'battle fought for winning Súbhadrā'; *bharatā́ḥ yoddhā́r-aḥ a-syá = bharatá+áṆ = bhārat-áḥ sám-grāmá-ḥ* 'battle in which the Bharatás are the warriors'.

4.2.57 tád a-syā́m pra-hár-aṇa-m iti krīḍā́-yām Ṇá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a weapon (pra-hár-aṇa-m) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote a game or sport in which it is a weapon (a-syā́m krīḍā́-yām).

> *daṇḍá-ḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syā́m = daṇḍá+Ṇa+ṬāP = dāṇḍ-ā́ krīḍā́* 'a game in which sticks are used as a weapon'; similarly *mauṣṭ-ā́* 'a game of fisticuffs or fist fight'.

4.2.58 GHaÑ-aḥ sā́=a-syā́m kriyā́=iti Ña-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ, expressing action (kriyā́), [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sā́) to denote 'this action (kriyā́) is taking place in this (a-syā́m).

> *pat+GHaÑ = pā́ta-ḥ* 'alighting, chase'; *śyená-sya pātá-ḥ a-syā́m kriyā́-yām = śyena+∅[1]+pātá+Ña+ṬāP = śyaína+nuM+pāt-ā* (6.3.71) = *śyaína-m-pāt-ā* 'falconry'.

4.2.59 tád ádhīte tád véda

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'studies or knows it' (ádhīte/véda).

> *chándaḥ ádhīte/véda vā = chándas+áṆ = chāndas-á-ḥ* 'who studies or knows Chándas (= metrics/Vedas)'; *vy-ā-kár-aṇa-am ádhīte véda vā = vai-yā-kar-aṇá-ḥ* 'who studies or knows grammar'.

4.2.60 [1]krátu=[2]ukthá=ādi-[3]sū́tra=ant-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating names of a sacrifice (krátu-°) and the class of expressions beginning with ukthá- 'n.pr. of a recitation' and words ending in °sū́tra- [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

> *agni-ṣṭomá-m ádhīte véda vā = agni-ṣṭomá+ṭháK = āgni-ṣṭom-iká-ḥ* 'who studies or knows A.'; similarly *aukth-iká-* 'who knows or studies U.'; *vārttika-sūtrá-m ádhīte véda vā = vārttika-sūtr-iká-ḥ*.

4.2.61 kráma=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kráma- 'a mode of Vedic recitation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

kráma-m ádhīte véda vā = kráma+vuN = krám-ika-ḥ; padám ádhīte véda vā = pád-ika-ḥ 'who studies or knows the Pada-pāṭha'.

4.2.62 anu-brāhmaṇ-ā́t=ínī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] anu-brāhmaṇá- 'secondary Brāhmaṇa' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

anu-brāhmaṇá-m ádhīte véda vā = anu-brāhmaṇa+ín = anu-brāhmaṇ-ín-.

4.2.63 vasantá=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with vasantá- 'a text pertaining to Spring' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

vasantá-m ádhīte véda vā = vasantá+ṭháK = vāsant-iká-ḥ.

4.2.64 proktā́t=luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a proktá (3.101-11) [affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

pā́ṇini-nā proktá-m = pā́ṇini+cha (114) = *pāṇin-ī́ya-m, tád ádhīte véda vā = pāṇin-ī́ya+áṆ = pāṇin-ī́ya$\emptyset^1$-ḥ* 'who studies or knows P.'

In the feminine gender, affix [Ṭāp 1.4] functions: *pāṇin-ī́y-ā*; if $\emptyset^1$ did not replace *áṆ* by this rule, the masculine and feminine forms would have been **pāṇin-īy-á-/*pāṇin-īy-ī́* (1.15).

4.2.65 sū́tr-āt=ca ká=upadh-āt

[luK (∅[1]) 64 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a sū́tra 'aphorism' containing phoneme [k] as penultimate and [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet to denote 'studies or knows that' 59].

pānin-ī́ya-m áṣṭaka-m ádhīte véda vā = áṣṭaka+áṆ = aṣṭak-á-ḥ 'who studies or knows P's Aṣṭ.'

4.2.66 [1]chándas=[2]brāhmaṇā́-n-i ca tád-viṣayā-ṇi

The names of Vedic and Brāhmaṇa texts [ending in 1.1.72 proktá 3.101-11 affixes 3.1.1, with ∅[1] replacing them 64] denote the same (tád-viṣayā-ṇ-i = 'learner or knower' 59 of the texts).

kaṭh-éna proktám ádhīte véda vā = kaṭha+Ṇíni (3.104) = *kaṭha+∅*[1] (3.107) = *kaṭhá+áṆ* (1.83) = *kaṭhá+∅*[1] (64) = *kaṭhá-ḥ* 'who studies or knows the K. recension promulgated by K.' Similarly *aitarey-éṇa proktá-m brāhmaṇá-m ádhīte véda vā = aitareyá+Ṇín = aitarey-ín+áṆ* (1.83) = *aitarey-ín+∅*[1] (64) = *aitarey-ín-* 'who studies or knows Ait. Br.'

4.2.67 tád a-smín ás-ti=iti deś-é tán-nāmn-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1, ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'it is in this place' (a-smín deś-é ás-ti) bearing its name (tan-nāmn-i).

udumbárāḥ a-smín déś-e s-ánti = udumbára+áṆ = audumbar-á-ḥ 'n.pr. of a place abounding in Ud. trees (Ficus Glomerata)'; similarly *pārvat-á-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a hilly region'.

4.2.68 t-éna nír-vr̥t-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'completed by him' (nír-vr̥t-ta-m) [to indicate a placename 67].

kuśāmb-ena nír-vr̥t-tā nágar-ī = kuśāmba+áṆ+ṄīP (1.15) = *kauśāmb-ī́* 'n.pr. of a city built or completed by K.'

4.2.69 tá-sya ni-vās-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'a residence' (ni-vās-áḥ) [indicating a placename 67].

śibīnāṁ viṣayo deśá-ḥ = śibi+áṆ = śaib-á-ḥ(52).

4.2.70 á-dūra-bhava-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 69] to denote 'situated not far from it' (á-dūra-bhava-ḥ) [indicating a placename 67].

vidiśā-yāḥ á-dūra-bhava-ṁ nágara-m = vidiśā+áṆ = vaidiś-á-m 'n.pr. of a city near V.'

4.2.71 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets denoting the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

1. *karkaṭav-aḥ a-smín deś-é s-ánti = karkaṭu+aÑ = kā́rkaṭav-a-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a place abounding in K. (Numidian) cranes'; similarly: *kā́kṣatav-a-ḥ* 'region teeming with kakṣatu plants'.
2. According to Nyāsa on Kāśikā the following three examples illustrate 67-69:
   (a) *araḍav-aḥ a-smín deś-é s-ánti = araḍu+aÑ = ā́raḍava-m* (67).
   (b) *kakṣatu-nā nír-vr̥t-ta-m = kā́kṣatav-a-m* (68).
   (c) *karkaṭelū-nāṁ nivāsá-ḥ = kā́rkaṭelav-a-m* (69).

4.2.72 matO-s=ca bahu=áC=aṅg-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] which is polysyllabic (bahu=ác=aṅg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP [and terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

sidhrakā-vān a-smín ás-ti = sidhrakā-vat+aÑ = saídhrakā-vat-a-m 'n.pr. of a region (abounding in sidhraka trees)'.

The qualifying word [bahu=áC=aṅga] applies to the pre-affixal base before affix [matUP], so that in non-polysyllabic pre-affixal stems this affix has no domain: *mālā-vat+áṆ = mālāvat-á-m*.

4.2.73 bahu=áC-aḥ kū́pe-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahu=áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70] to designate a well (kū́pe-ṣu).

dīrghá-varatr-eṇa nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ = *dīrghá-varatra+aÑ* = *daírgha-varatr-a-ḥ kū́pa-ḥ* (68) 'a well completed or built by D.'
vr̥kṣa-mūlá-sya ádūra-bhava-ḥ = *vā́rkṣa-mūl-a-ḥ kū́pa-ḥ* (70) 'a well situated near the roots of a tree'.

4.2.74 udák ca vípāś-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate a well 73] situated on the northern bank of the river Vípāś.

This provides for the introduction of [aÑ] after non-polysyllabic stems also, provided the situation of the well is as specified: *datt-éna nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ kū́pa-ḥ* = *dā́tt-a-ḥ* 'well situated on the northern bank of river V. and built or completed by D.'

4.2.75 sáṁ-kala=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with sáṁ-kala- 'multitude' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

sáṁ-kal-ena nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ = *sā́ṁ-kal-a-ḥ* 'built or completed by S.' (a region) 68.

4.2.76 strīṣú [1]sauvīrá-[2]sālvá-[3]prā́k-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate placenames 67] in the feminine gender (strī-ṣú) situated in the Sauvīrá and Sālvá and the Eastern regions.

1. Sauvīra: *dattā-mitr-eṇa nír-vr̥t-tā nágarī* (68) = *dā́ttā-mitr-ī* (1.15) 'n.pr. of a city built by D.'

2. Sālva: *vídhūmāgni-nā nír-vr̥t-tā = vaídhūmāgn-ī nágarī.*
3. Prāc-i: *kakand-ena nír-vr̥t-tā = kâkand-ī nágarī.*

4.2.77 suvā́stu=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with su-vā́stu- 'n.pr. of a river' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

su-vā́sto-r á-dūra-bhava-ṁ nágara-m (70) = *suvā́stu+áṆ* = *sauvāstav-á-m* 'n.pr. of a city near the river S.' This is an exception to 71 above (aÑ) and also a prior exception to 85 below: *sauvāstav-á+ṄīP* (1.15) = *sauvāstav-ī́ nadī́.*

4.2.78 roṇī

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] roṇī [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

The expression [roṇī] in the sū́tra is indicative of the fact that the affix is introduced after it when it occurs either by itself or as a final member in composition: *roṇī+áṆ* = *rauṇ-áḥ kū́pa-ḥ* 'a well built or completed by R.' Similarly *ājaka-roṇ-á-ḥ* 'well built or completed by Ajakaroṇī'.

4.2.79 kA=upadh-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate also (ca) [and ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

trí-saṅku-nā nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ = trai-saṅkav-á-ḥ kū́pa-ḥ (73) 'well built or completed by T.' Exception to aÑ (71,73).

4.2.80 [1]vuÑ-[2]chaṆ-[3]ká-[4]ṭháC=[5]ilá-[6]sá-[7]ini-[8]rá-[9]ḍhaÑ-[10]Ṇyá-[11]yá-[12]pháK-[13]phiÑ-[14]iÑ-[15]Ñya-[16]káK-[17]ṭháK-aḥ [1]arīhaṇa-[2]kr̥śā́śva=[3]r̥̄́śya-[4]kúmuda-[5]kāśá-[6]tr̥̄́ṇa-[7]prekṣā́-[8]áśma(n)-[9]sákhi-[10]sáṁ-kāśa-[11]bála-[12]pakṣá-[13]kárṇa-[14]sutaṁ-gamá-[15]pragadín-[16]varāhá-[17]kúmuda=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The seventeen taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with vuÑ and end-

ing with ṭháK are respectively introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem classes 1.1] beginning with arīhaṇa- and ending with kúmuda-[2] [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above (i.e., to denote a placename deś-e tan-nāmn-i)].

(1) *arīhaṇa+vuÑ = ā́rī-haṇ-aka-* 'n.pr. of a locality'.
(2) *kṛśā́śva+chaṆ = kārśāśv-ī́ya-*.
(3) *ṛ́śya+ká = ṛśya-ká-*.
(4) *kúmuda¹+ṭháC = kumud-iká-*.
(5) *kāśá+ila = kāś-ila-*.
(6) *tṛ́ṇa+sá = tṛṣa-sá-*.
(7) *prekṣā́+ín = prekṣ-ín-*.
(8) *áśman+rá = aśma∅-rá* (6.4.144).
(9) *sákhi+ḍhaÑ = sā́kh-eya-*.
(10) *sáṁ-kāśa+Ṇyá = sāṁ-kāś-yá-* 'n.pr. of a town'
(11) *bála+yá = bal-yá-* (6.4.148).
(12) *pakṣá+pháK = pākṣ-āyaṇá-*.
(13) *kárṇa+phiÑ = kā́rṇ-āyani-*.
(14) *sutaṁ-gamá+iÑ = saútaṁ-gam-i-*.
(15) *pragadín+Ñya = prā́gad∅∅-ya* (6.4.144,148).
(16) *varāhá+káK = vārāha-ká-*.
(17) *kúmuda²+ṭháK = kaumud-iká-*.

4.2.81 janapad-é luP

luP ($\emptyset^3$) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating an inhabited country (janapad-é).

pañcālā́-nāṁ ni-vās-á-ḥ janapadá-ḥ = pañcālá+áṆ (69)*+Jas = pañcālá+*$\emptyset^3$*+Jas = pañcālā́ḥ*. Replacement by luP ($\emptyset^3$) does not affect either gender or number (1.2.51).

4.2.82 varaṇā́=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP ($\emptyset^3$) replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with varaṇā́ also (ca) [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule covers cases of stems which do not designate an inhabited country; *varaṇā́-nām ádūra-bhava-ṁ nágara-m* (70) *= varaṇā́+(áṆ-*$\emptyset^3$*)+Jas = varaṇā́ḥ* 'a city near V.'

4.2.83 śárkarā-yāḥ=vā

[luP (∅[3]) 81] optionally (vā) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śárkarā 'rocks' [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above to denote a placename 67].

This word is included in the nominal stem-classes beginning with [kúmuda[1] (4)] and [varāhá-(16)] of 80 above, so that four affixes are alternately introduced after it: [áṆ 1.83], [ṭháC (80d)], [káK (80p)], [∅[3]]; *śā̆rkar-á-* (1.83), *śarkar-iká-* (80d), *śā̆rkara-ká-* (80p) and *śarkarā́*.

4.2.84 [1]ṭháK-[2]ch-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭháK and cha are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 śárkarā 83 ending in the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

śárkarā+ṭháK/cha = śā̆rkar-iká- / śarkar-ī́ya-.

4.2.85 nady-ā́m matUP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating a river (nady-ā́m).

udumbárāḥ yá-syām s-ánti = udumbára+matuP+ṄīP (1.6) = *udumbarā-* (6.3.119)*+vat-ī = udumbarā́-vat-ī* (6.1.219; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river on the banks of which abound Udumbára trees (Ficus Glomerata)'.

4.2.86 mádhu=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 85] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with mádhu- 'honey, mead' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule is to designate objects other than rivers: *mádhu a-smín á-sti = mádhu+matUP = mádhu-mat-* 'region abounding in honey, land of honey'.

4.2.87 [1]kúmuda-[2]naḍá-[3]vetasé-bhyaḥ=ḌmatUP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌmatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúmuda- 'lotus', naḍá- 'reed' and vetasá- 'cane' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

kú-muda+ḌmatUP = *kúmud∅*[1]*+matUP* (6.4.143) = ***kúmud-vat-*** (8.2.9); on the same pattern: ***naḍ-vát-***, ***vetas-vát-*** (6.1.176; 8.2.10) 'regions abounding respectively in lotuses, reeds and canes'.

4.2.88 [1]naḍá-[2]śā́d-āt=ḌvaláC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌvaláC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naḍá- 'reed' and śā́da- 'young grass' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70].

naḍá+ḌvaláC = *naḍ∅*[1]*+valá* (6.4.143) = ***naḍ-valá-*** 'region abounding in reeds'; similarly ***śā́d-valá-*** 'region where young grass is in abundance'.

4.2.89 śíkhā-yāḥ=valáC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] valáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śíkhā 'peak, summit' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

śíkhā-valá-m nā́ma nágara-m 'n.pr. of a city abounding in peaks or summits'.

4.2.90 utkará=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with utkará- 'rubbish, heap' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

utkará+cha = ***utkar-ī́ya-m nágaram*** 'a city abounding in rubbish/heap'.

4.2.91 naḍá=ādī-nāṁ kuK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with naḍá- 'reed' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] and (ca) the final increment (k) is introduced after it (before the affix cha).

naḍá+cha = naḍa-k-íya-m nágara-m 'city abounding in reeds'.

4.2.92 śéṣ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] provided by rules in the section beginning here are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 when the meaning conditions are] the remainder (śéṣ-e) [with reference to those specified before in 1.92-2.70].

This is a governing rule [adhikārá] heading this section extending up to 3.24 below. The precise meaning conditions are stated from 3.25 onwards. [śéṣ-e] thus signifies 'previously unspecified' and will be rendered as such below.

4.2.93 ¹rāṣṭrá=²avāra-pār-ā́t=¹gha=²kh-au

[The taddhita 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and kha are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] rāṣṭrá- 'kingdom' and avāra-pārá- 'the nearer and farther banks' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

rāṣṭrá+gha = rāṣṭr-íya- 'born in the kingdom' (3.25).

avāra-pārá+kha = avāra-pār-íṇa- 'belonging to both shores or banks'. By interpretation affix [kha] is introduced after the individual constituents of the compound expression and after a change in their order also: *pārāvar-íṇa-; avār-íṇa-* 'belonging to this bank' and *pār-íṇa-* 'belonging to that bank'.

4.2.94 grā́m-āt=¹yá-²khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yá and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] grā́ma- 'village' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

grā́ma=yá/khaÑ = gram-yá-/grā́m-īṇa- 'occurring in or proper to the village' (3.25,53, etc.).

4.2.95 káttri=ādi-bhyas=ḍhakaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhakaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kát-tri 'three blameworthy objects' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kát-tri+ḍhakaÑ = kā́t-tr-eyaka- (3.53) 'what belongs to kát-tri'; similarly *paúṣkar-eyaka-* 'pertaining to the blue lotus' *púṣkara+ḍhakaÑ*.

4.2.96 ¹kúla-²kukṣí-³grīvā́-bhyas=¹śvá(n)=²así=³alaṁ-kāré-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhakaÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúla- 'family', kukṣí- 'sheath' and grīvā́ 'neck' to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a dog (śván-), a sword (así-) and an ornament (alaṁ-kāré-su).

kúla+ḍhakaÑ = *kaúl-eyaka-ḥ* = *śvā́* (3.53) 'a dog' but in other senses: *kula+áN* (1.83) 'born' (3.25) or 'occurring in (3.53) a family'. Similarly *kaúkṣ-eyaka-ḥ* = *así-ḥ* 'sword' but *kaukṣ-á* (N 1.83) 'born in a sheath or cocoon'; *graív-eyaka-ḥ* = *alaṁ-kārá-ḥ* 'necklace'; but *graiv-á(N)* 'pertaining to the neck'.

4.2.97 nadī́=ādi-bhyas=ḍháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with nadī́ 'river' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

nadi+ḍhaK = *nād-eya-* (3.53) 'belonging to the river'; *mahī́+ḍhaK* = *māh-eya-* 'belonging to the earth'.

4.2.98 ¹dakṣiṇā́-²paścā́t-purás-as=tyáK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dakṣiṇā́ 'in the south', paścā́t 'behind' and purás 'before, in front' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

dakṣiṇā́+tyáK = *dākṣiṇā-tyá-* 'born or originating in the south'; *pāścāt-tyá-* 'born or originating in the west'; *pauras-tyá-* 'born or originating in the east' (3.25,53).

4.2.99 kāpiśy-ā́s=ṢphaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢpháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kāpiśī́ 'n.pr. of a city' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kāpiśī́+ṢpháK = *kāpiś-āyaná-m mádhu* 'honey originating in K.'; and *kāpiś-āyaná+ṄīṢ* (1.41) = *kāpiś-āyan-ī́ drā́kṣā* 'grape originating in K.'

4.2.100 ranko-r á-manuṣye=áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] raṅku- 'n.pr. of a region' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate (an object) other than a human being (á=manuṣy-e) in addition to (ca) [ṢpháK 99].

raṅku+áṆ/ṢpháK = rāṅkav-á-ḥ / rāṅkav-āyaṇá-ḥ 'a species of antelope originating in R. region', but *raṅku+vuÑ = rā́ṅkav-aka-ḥ* (124) *manuṣyà-ḥ* 'a man born or originating in R.'

4.2.101 [1]dyú-[2]prā́c=á[3]pāc=[4]údac-[5]pratī́c-áḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dyú- (div-) 'sky'. prā́c- 'turned towards the east', ápāc- 'turned towards the west', údac- 'turned towards the north' and pratī́c- 'turned towards the west' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

dív+yàT = dív-ya- 'celestial, heavenly, originating in the sky' (3.53); *prā́c-ya-* 'eastern', *apāc-yà-* 'western', *udīc-yà-* 'northern', *pratīc-yà-* 'western'.

4.2.102 kanthā-yās=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kanthā 'n.pr. of a village' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kanthā+ṭháK = kānth-iká- 'born or originating in K.'

4.2.103 várṇ-au vuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 kanthā 102] situated in the Várṇu region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The word [várṇu] designates a region near the river Várṇu. *kanthā+vuK = kānth-aká-* 'born or originating in K. in the region of V.' 'n.pr. of a village or city'.

4.2.104 ávyay-āt tyaP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an indeclinable (ávyay-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

amā́+tyaP = *amā́-tya-* 'ministerial officer'; *ihá-tya-* 'being here'; *kvá-tya-* 'being where?'; *ní-tya-* 'permanent'.

4.2.105 ¹aiṣámas=²hyás=³śvás-aḥ=anya-tarā́-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tyaP 104] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] aiṣámas- 'in the current year', hyás 'yesterday' and śvás 'tomorrow' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

aiṣámas+tyaP = *aiṣámas-tya-* 'of this or current year'; *hyás-tya-* 'pertaining to yesterday'; *śvás-tya-* 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

The alternate forms are generated with affixes [Ṭyu/ṬyuL] by 3.23 below. *aiṣámas+tuṬ+Ṭyu/ṬyuL=aiṣamas-t-ána-/aiṣámas-tana-; hyas-t-ána-/hyás-t-ana-; śvas-t-ána-/śvás-t-ana-.*

4.2.106 ¹tī́ra-²rūpya=uttarapad-āt ¹aÑ-²Ñ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and Ña are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] tī́ra- 'bank, shore' and rūpya- 'silver', occurring as posterior members (in composition: uttara-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kaka-tīr-é bháva-ḥ = *kaka-tīrá+aÑ* = *kā́ka-tīr-a-* 'originating in K.' (3.53); in like manner: *vr̥ka-rūpy-é bháva-ḥ* = *vr̥ka- rūpya+Ña* = *vā́rka-rūpy-a-*. The first expression generates the feminine with affix [ṄīP 1.15] and the second with [ṬāP 1.4] respectively.

4.2.107 dík-pūrva-pad-āt=á-saṁjñā-yam Ña-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a direction word as a prior member (dík-pūrva-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to derive an expression not signifying a proper name (á-saṁjñā-yām).

pū́rva-syāṁ śā́lā-yam bháva-ḥ (3.53) = *pūrva+∅¹+śālā+Ña* = *paúrva- śāl-a-* 'belonging to the eastern chamber', but when denoting a proper name: *pūrvéṣukāmsamī́* (2.1.50)+*áṆ* = *pūrv=aiṣukāma- sam-á-* (7.3.14).

4.2.108 madré-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] madrá- 'n.pr. of a people' [co-occurring with a direction word as prior member in composition 107 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

pū́rve-ṣu madré-ṣu bháva-ḥ = pūrva-madrá+aÑ = paúrva-madr-a- 'belonging to Eastern Madra'; similarly *ā́para-madr-a-*.

4.2.109 udīcya-grām-ā́t=ca bahu=áC-aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 108 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahu=áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1] designating a village name (grā́m-āt) in the north (udīcyà-°) ending in a high pitched vowel (ánta=udātt-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

śiva-pur-é bháva-ḥ = śiva-pura+aÑ = śaíva-pur-a- 'belonging to S.' Similarly *mahā-nagará+aÑ = mā́hā-nagar-a-*.

4.2.110 [1]prasthá=uttara-pada=[2]paladī́=ādi-[3]ká=upadh-āt= áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] with prasthá- as final member (prasthá=uttara-pada-°) (in composition) and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with paladī́ and those with phoneme [k] as penultimate (ká-upadh-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *māhakī-prasthá+áṆ = māhakī-prasth-á-* 'belonging to M.' Exception to 109 above as these are all northern villages.
2. *paladī́+áṆ = pālad-á-* 'belonging to P.' Those placenames in this group which denote Vāhīka villages block out affixes [ṭhaÑ, Ñiṭha 117 below].
3. k-penultimate: *nilī́naka+áṆ = nailīnak-á-* 'belonging to N.'

4.2.111 káṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with káṇva- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72] a patronymic affix (gotr-é) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

káṇva-sya gotrāpatyam = káṇva+yaÑ (1.105) = *kā́ṇv-ya-ḥ; tá-sya chāttrā́ḥ = kāṇv-ya+áṆ = kāṇvy∅+á* (6.4.148) = *kāṇv∅+á-* (6.4.151)+*Jas = kāṇv-ā́ḥ*. Prior exception to [cha] (114 below).

4.2.112 iÑ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áṆ 1.93] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111] iÑ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Prior exception to [cha 114] below. *dákṣa-sya gotrāpatyá-m : dákṣa+iÑ = dā́kṣ-i-ḥ; tá-sya chāttr-ā́ḥ = dā́kṣ-i+áṆ = dākṣ-á+Jas = dākṣ-ā́h* 'pupils of Dākṣi'.

4.2.113 ná dví=aC-aḥ prācya-bharaté-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83] is not introduced (ná) [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111 iÑ 112] pertaining to the Eastern Bharatá lineage [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92]

Exception to the preceding rule, whence the subsequent rule (114) becomes applicable: *prauṣṭhá-sya gotrāpatyá-m = prauṣṭhá + iÑ = praúṣṭh-i-ḥ; tá-sya chāttr-ā́ḥ : praúṣṭhi+cha* (114) = *prauṣṭh-ī́ya+Jas = prauṣṭh-ī́y-āḥ* 'pupils of Praúṣṭhi', but *pā́nnāgares=chāttr-ā́ḥ = pānnāgar-á(Ṇ)+Jas* (112); and when not a prācya-bharata: *dākṣ-ā́ḥ* (112).

4.2.114 vr̥ddh-ā́t=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a vr̥ddhi vowel in its first syllable (1.1.73) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

śā́lā-yām bháva-ḥ = śā́lā+cha = śāl-ī́ya- 'originating or belonging to a hall or chamber' (3.53). By 1.1.74 pronominal stems beginning with [tyád-] also come under the definition of this technical term: *tyád+cha = tyad-ī́ya-* 'his', *mad-ī́ya-* 'mine', *tvad-ī́ya-* 'thine', *asmad-ī́ya-* 'ours', *yuṣmad-ī́ya-* 'yours'.

4.2.115 bhávat-as=[1]ṭháK=[2]chaS-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaK and chaS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 1.1] bhávat(U) (= honorific second person pronoun) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The marker [S] of [chaS] is to indicate that the pre-affixal stem is defined as a pada (1.4.16): *bhávat+ṭháK/chaS = bhāvat-ká-* (7.3.51)/*bhavad-ī́ya-* 'your honor's'.

4.2.116 kāśí=ādi-bhyas=[1]ṭhaÑ-[2]Ñiṭh-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kāśí- 'n.pr.' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The difference between these two affixes is seen only in the feminine derivatives: [ṄīP] with [ṭhaÑ] and [ṬāP] with [Ñiṭha] (cf. 1.15,4 respectively): *kāśí+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha* (+ fem. affixes) = *kāśí+ṭhaÑ+ṄīP* = *kā́ś-ik-ī; kāśi+Ñiṭha+ṬāP* = *kā́ś-ikā* 'originating in K.'

4.2.117 vāhīka-grāmé-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha 116 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of villages in the Vāhīka region (vāhīka-grāmé-bhyaḥ) [containing vṛ̥ddhi vowels in their first syllables 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 93].

śākalá+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha = *śākal-ika+ṄīP/ṬāP* = *śā́kal-ik-ī/ -ik-ā* 'pertaining to Ś.' Exception to 114 [cha].

4.2.118 vibhāṣā=uśīnáre-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ and Ñiṭha 116] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting names of villages in the Vāhīka region 117 containing vṛ̥ddhi vowels in their first syllable 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when they designate names of villages in Uśīnára.

saudarśaná+ṭháÑ/Ñiṭha = *saú-darśan-ik-ī/ °-ikā* alternating with affix [cha 114] *sau-darśan-íy-ā* 'belonging to the rgion of S.'

4.2.119 o-r deś-é ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] denoting a placename (deś-é) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

niṣādá-karṣu+ṭhaÑ = *naíṣāda-karṣu-ka-* (7.3.51) 'of the locality N.'

4.2.120 vr̥ddh-ā́t prā́c-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 119 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class [u], denoting a region 119] situated in the east [prā́c-ām] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] provided the stem is a member of the vr̥ddhá class (1.1.73).

While this rule could have been covered by the previous rule, its separate mention is to restrict that operation only to names of regions constituting the vr̥ddhá (1.1.73) type.

nāpita-vāstú+ṭhaÑ = *nā́pita-vāstu-ka-* 'originating in N.', but when not containing a vr̥ddhi vowel in the first syllable: *malla-vāstú+áṆ* (1.83) = *mālla-vāstav-á* 'belonging to M.'

4.2.121 [1]dhánva(n)=[2]yá̱=upadh-a̱t=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 containing a vŕ̥ddhi vowel in its first syllable 120] designating a desert (dhánvan-) or one containing the phoneme [y] as penultimate [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

pāre-dhanván-i jātá-ḥ (3.25) = *pāre-dhanván+vuÑ* = *pāre-dhanvØØ+aka-* (6.4.144) = *pā́re-dhanv-aka-* 'born in P.' Similarly *aírāvat-aka-* 'born in Airāvata'. *kāmpilyØ-aka-*, *sā́ṁkaśyØ-aka-*.

4.2.122 [1]prasthá-[2]purá-[3]váha=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a vr̥ddhá type 120 nominal stem 1.1] ending in (°-ant-āt) °-prasthá-, °-purá- or °-váha- [denoting a region 119 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

°-prastha-: *mālā-prasth-é bháva-ḥ* = *mālā-prasthá+vuÑ* = *mā́lā-prath-aka-* 'born in M.'

°-purá-: *nāndī-purá+vuÑ* = *nā́ndī-pur-aka-* 'born in N.'

°-váha-: *pailuvah-é bháva=ḥ* = *paílu-vah-aka-* 'born in P.'

4.2.123 [1]rá̱=upadha=[2]īT-oḥ prā́c-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 a vr̥ddhá-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] in the eastern region (prā́c-ām) containing the phoneme [r] as penultimate or

[ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ī(T)] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *pāṭaliputra+vuÑ* (3.25) = *pā́ṭali-putr-aka-* 'born in P.'
2. *kākandī+vuÑ* = *kā́kand∅-aka-* 'born in K.'

4.2.124 [1]janapadá[2]-tad-avadhy-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a vṛddhá-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] representing a populated region or country (janapadá-°) or one denoting its limit (°-tad-avadhy-óḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *janapadá-: ābhi-sāre bháva-ḥ* = *ābhi-sāra+vuÑ* = *ā́bhi-sār-aka-* (3.53) 'occurring in or pertaining to Ābhi.'
2. *tad-avadhí-: aupuṣṭ-e bháva-ḥ* = *aúpuṣṭ-aka-* 'occurring in or pertaining to the country bordering Aup.'

4.2.125 á-vṛddh-āt=ápi bahu-vacana-viṣay-ā́t

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced even (api) after 3.1.2] a non-vṛddhá-type [as well as vṛddhá-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a populated region or country or its limit 124] occurring in the plural (bahuvacana-viṣay-ā́t) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

aṅge-ṣu bháva-ḥ = *aṅga+vuÑ* = *ā́ṅg-aka-ḥ* 'being in the Aṅga country, an inhabitant of A.'
ajamīḍhe-ṣu jātá-ḥ = *ā́jamīḍha+vuÑ* = *ā́jamīḍh-aka-ḥ* 'native of country bordering on Ajām'.
dārve-ṣu bháva-ḥ = *dārva+vuÑ* = *dā́rv-aka-ḥ* 'belonging to Dār'. *kālanjare-ṣu jātá-ḥ* = *kā́lanjar-aka-ḥ* 'born in K.'

4.2.126 [1]kaccha=[2]agní-[3]váktra-[4]varttá=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] °-kaccha- 'marsh', °-agni- 'fire', °-váktra- 'face' and -varttá- 'livelihood, sustenance', occurring as final members (uttara-pad-ā́t in composition) [designating localities 119, whether vṛddhá 120 or non-vṛddhá 125, to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Kāśikā has a variant reading [gartta] for [varttá-].

dāru-kacché-ṣu jā-tá-ḥ = dā́ru-kacch-aka-ḥ; pippalī-kacchá+vuÑ = paíppalī-kacch-aka-ḥ 'born in Pip.'
kāṇḍagní+vuÑ = kā́ṇḍāgni-ka-ḥ; vibhujāgní+vuÑ = vaíbhuj-āgn-ika-ḥ.
bāhu-vartá+vuÑ = bā́hu-vart-aka-ḥ; cakra-vartá+vuÑ = cā́kra-vart-aka-ḥ.

4.2.127 dhūmá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with dhūmá- [designating localities 119 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

This class of stems contains both vṛddhá and non-vṛddhá types: *dhūm-é bháva-ḥ = dhaúm-aka-ḥ* 'belonging to Dh.'

4.2.128 nágar-āt [1]kútsana-[2]prā́vīṇyay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] nágara- 'city' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to express either a sense of reproach (kútsana-°) or competency (prā́vīṇyay-oḥ).

nágar-e bháva-ḥ/jā-tá-ḥ = nágara+vuÑ = nā́gar-aka-ḥ (a) 'knave, cunning person'; (b) 'an accomplished person'.

4.2.129 áraṇy-āt=manuṣy-è

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] áraṇya- 'forest, wood' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to specify a human being (manuṣy-è).

araṇya+vuÑ = ā́raṇy-aka-ḥ manuṣyà-ḥ 'forester, woodsman', but with reference to non-human beings: *araṇya+áṆ* (1.83) = *āraṇy-á-* 'born or originating in a forest'.

4.2.130 vibhāṣā [1]kúru-[2]yugandharā́-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúru- and yugandhará- 'n.pr. of inhabited regions' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Option is in respect of the obligatory rule 125 above.
kúru-ṣu bháva-ḥ = kúru+vuÑ = kaúrav-aka-ḥ or *kúru+áṆ = kaurav-á-ḥ* 'belonging to the Kúrus'.

yugandhará+vuÑ/áṆ = yaúgandhar-aka-/yaugandhar-á-.

4.2.131 ¹madrá=²vṛ́jy-oḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] madrá- and vṛ́ji- [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

madré-ṣu bháv-ḥ/jātá-ḥ = madrá+kaN = mádra-ka-ḥ. vṛ́ji-ṣu jā-tá-ḥ = vṛ́ji-ka-ḥ.

4.2.132 ká=upadh-āt=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate (ká=upadh-āt) [designating an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

ṛṣiké-ṣu jā-tá-ḥ : ṛṣiká+áṆ = ārṣik-á-ḥ 'born in Ṛ.'

4.2.133 kaccha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aṆ 132] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kaccha- [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

kaccha+áṆ = kācch-á- 'born or originating in K.' (3.25,53).

4.2.134 ¹manuṣyà-²tát-sthay-or vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1 beginning with kaccha- 133 designating inhabited localities 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to indicate a human being (manuṣyà-°) or his characteristics (°tát-sthay-oḥ).

kaccha+vuÑ = kā́cch-aka- 'a person born or belonging to K. or his smile/speech/crest of hair etc.', but *kaccha+áṆ* (133) = *kācch-á-ḥ gaú-ḥ* 'a bull originating in K.'

4.2.135 á-padāt-au sālv-ā́t

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 134 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sālvá- [signifying a habited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92 designating a human being or his characteristics 134] other than a foot-soldier or infantry-man (á-padāt-au).

sālvá+vuÑ = *sā́lv-aka-* 'a person born or belonging to S., or his characteristic, such as smile/speech etc.'; but *sālvá+áṆ* = *sālv-á-ḥ padātí-ḥ* 'infantryman of S.' (133).

4.2.136 [1]go-[2]yavāgv-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 134] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 sālvá- 135 signifying an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate a bull or cow (gó-°) and barley gruel (yavāgv-óḥ).

sā́lv-aka-ḥ gau-ḥ 'a bull originating in S.'; *sā́lv-ik-ā yavāgū-ḥ* (1.4; 7.3.44) 'barley gruel originating in S.'

4.2.137 gárta=uttara-pad-āt=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °-gárta- as a final member (in composition: uttara-pad-ā́t) [denoting an inhabited locality 124 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

With reference to villages located in Vāhīka country (117 above) this affix blocks out [thaÑ], [Ñiṭha] by virtue of metarule 1.4.2. *vr̥ka-gart-é bháva-ḥ* = *vr̥ka-garta+cha* = *vr̥ka-gart-íya-ḥ* 'belonging to V.'

4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with gahá- 'cave, cavern' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Not all items included in this class of nominal stems denote an inhabited locality (janapadá) or a region (deśá) despite the governing rule [déś-e 119] above. *gah-e jā-tá-ḥ* = *gaha+cha* = *gah-íya-ḥ* 'cave-born'.

4.2.139 prā́c-āṁ káṭa=āde-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 138 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] with káṭa-° as a prior member (°ādé-ḥ in composition) [designating an inhabited locality 119] in the eastern region (prā́c-ām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The expression [káṭa=ādi] normally indicates a class [gaṇa] of nominal stems headed by that expression, but there is no corresponding list in the GP. Therefore, it represents [káṭa-] as a prior member of a compound nominal stem, as the following illustrative examples show, though the sūtra does not use the term [pūrva-pada] here [cf. 4.1.53,60,140; 2.107; 3.60; 4.64; 5.1.112; 6.2.1; 7.3.19 and 8.3.106]; it is substituted by [°-ādí]. This unusual fact has not been noted by Kāśikā or SK. In general [°-ādi], when not connected with a gaṇa listing, is confined to phoneme groups: [a-ka-kha=ādi] (8.4.18), [iC=ādi] (3.1.36), [eka-ha̱L-ādi] (6.3.59) or with technical terms: [an-ādeśá=ádi] (6.4.120), [anudātta=ādi] (4.2.44) etc.

kaṭa-nagar-é bháva-ḥ = kaṭa-nagar-ī́ya-ḥ 'originating in K.'

kaṭa-palval-ī́ya- 'born in Kata-palvala'.

4.2.140 rā́jñ-aḥ ka̱ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] rājan- 'king' and (ca) phoneme [k] replaces its (stem-final 1.1.52) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

rā́jan+cha = rā́jak-cha = rājak-ī́ya- 'pertaining to the king, regal, royal'.

4.2.141 vr̥ddh-ā́t=[1]aka=[2]iká=ant-āt khá̱=upadh-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing vowels [ā, ai or au] in its first syllable (vr̥ddh-ā́t) and ending in (°-ant-āt) in the elements °aka- or °-ika or containing phoneme [kh] as penultimate [designating a locality 139 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. °-aka-: *brā́maṇaka+cha= brāhmaṇak-ī́ya-* 'born or originating in the locality of Br.' Exception to [áṆ 79].
2. °-ika-: *śā́lmalika+chá = śālmalik-ī́ya-* 'born or belonging to S.'
3. kh-penultimate: *áyo-mukha+cha = ayo-mukh-ī́ya-*.

4.2.142 ¹kanthā-²palada-³nágara-⁴grā́ma-⁵hradá=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 containing phonemes [ā], [ai] or [au] in their first syllable 141] co-occurring with °kanthā 'sort of garment', °-palada- 'kind of building material', °-nágara- 'city', °-grā́ma- 'village' and hradá- 'pond, pool, lake' as final members (uttara-pad-āt: in composition) [designating localities to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

(1) *dākṣi-kantha+cha* = *dākṣi-kanth-íya-*. 'belonging to D.' Similarly (2-5): *dākṣi-palal-íya-/°-nagar-íya-/°-grām-íya-/°-hrad-íya-*.

4.2.143 párvat-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] párvata- 'hill, mountain' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

párvat-e bháva-m = *parvat-íya-m* 'born or originating in the region of P.'

4.2.144 vibhāṣā=á-manuṣy-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 párvata- 143 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when signifying a non-human entity (á-manuṣy-e).

párvat-e bháva-m = *parvat-íya-m/párvata+áṆ* = *pārvat-á-m phála-m* 'fruit originating in P. region', but *parvat-íya-ḥ manuṣyà-ḥ*.

4.2.145 ¹kr̥kaṇa-²-parṇ-ā́t bharádvāj-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kr̥kaṇa- and parṇá- [designating localities 119] of Bharádvāja region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

kr̥kaṇa+cha = *kr̥kaṇ-íya-* 'of K. in Bharádvāja country', but *kārkaṇ-á* (Ṇ 1.83) elsewhere.

parṇ-íya- 'of Parṇa in Bh. country', but *pārṇ-á-* elsewhere.

4.3.1 [1]yuṣmád-[2]asmád-or anya-tará-syām khaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ, in addition to (ca) [cha 2.137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] consisting of (the second and first personal pronouns respectively 1.3.10) yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The use of this option also permits the introduction of the general affix [áṆ 1.83]. *yuṣmád+khaÑ/cha/áṆ* = *yuṣmā́ka+khaÑ/cha/áṆ* (2) = *yaúṣmāk-īṇa-/ yuṣmad-íya-/yauṣmāk-á-* 'yours'; similarly *ā́smāk-īna-/asmad-íya-/āsmāk-á-* 'ours'.

4.3.2 tá-smin=áṆ-i ca [1]yuṣmā́ka=[2]asmā́k=au

Before that (tá-smin) [= taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 1] and áṆ substitute morphemes yuṣmā́ka- and asmā́ka- replace [the whole of 1.1.55 yuṣmád- and asmád- 1 respectively 1.3.10].

The operation of metarule 1.3.10 with respect to the two affixes [khaN] and [áṆ] in connection with the two personal pronominal stems is blocked by the device of yoga-vibhāga by splitting the rule into two parts [tásmin] and [áṆi ca . . .]. The illustrations are already cited under 1 above.

4.3.3 [1]távaka-[2]mámak-au=eka-vacan-é

[Before the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 khaÑ 1 and áṆ 2] the substitute morphemes távaka- and mámaka [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 yuṣmád- and asmád- 1] when signifying a single person (eka-vacan-é).

yuṣmád-(sg.)+khaÑ/áṆ = *távaka+khaÑ/áṆ* = *tā́vak-īna-/tāvak-á-* 'thine' and *mā́mak-īna-/māmak-á-* 'mine'.

4.3.4 árdh-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] árdha- 'half' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

árdha+yàT = *árdhØ+ya-* (6.1.148) = *árdh-ya* 'pertaining to half'.

4.3.5 [1]para=[2]ávara=[3]adhamá=[4]uttamá-pūrv-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 4] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 árdha- 4] co-occurring with pára-° 'more distant', ávara-° 'less distant', adhamá-° 'lower', uttamá-° 'upper' as prior members (°pū́rv-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 1.92].

parārdhá+yàT = *parārdh-yà-* 'being at the more distant side of half' and similarly: *avarārdh-yà-* 'being on the near side of half'; *adhamārdh-yà-* 'being on the lower half' and *uttamārdh-yà-* 'being on the upper half'.

4.3.6 dík-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 4] as well as thaÑ (ca) are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.52 °ardha- 4] co-occurring with direction words as prior members (dík-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

pūrvārdhá+ṭhaÑ/yaT = *paúrvārdhika-/pūrvārdh-yà-* 'being on the eastern half-side'; similarly *dā́kṣiṇārdh-ika-/dakṣiṇārdh-yá-* 'being on the southern half-side'.

4.3.7 [1]grā́ma-[2]janapadá=eka-deś-āt=[1]aÑ-[2]ṭhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and ṭhaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in °-árdha 4, co-occurring with direction words as prior members in composition 6] signifying a part of a village (grāma=ekadeśá) or of an inhabited locality (janapada=eka-deś́āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

imé khálu asm-ā́kam grā́ma-sya/janapadásya vā paúrvārdh-āḥ (+aÑ) / paúrvārdh-ikāḥ (+ṭhaÑ) 'these are, indeed, the eastern sections of our village or inhabited locality'.

4.3.8 mádhy-āt má-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] má is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mádhya- 'center, middle' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

mā́dhya+má- = *madhya-má-* 'central, situated in the middle'.

4.3.9 á sām-prati-k-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 mádhya- 8 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to express suitability or fitness (sām-prati-k-é).

mádhya+á = *madhy∅+á* (6.4.148) = *madhy-á-* 'median, average'.

4.3.10 dvīp-ā́t=anu-samudr-ám yaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dvīpá- 'island' situated near the sea (anu-samudr-ám) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

dvīpá+yaÑ = *dvaíp-ya-* 'pertaining to a peninsula, having water on both sides'; the word [dvīpá-] literally signifies a peninsula, having water on both sides, and if that water happens to be part of a sea or ocean, the affix in question is [yaÑ]; in other situations it is either [áṆ 1.83] or [vuÑ 2.133-34]: *dvaip-á-* (1.83)/*dvaíp-aka-* (2.133-34).

4.3.11 kāl-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating divisions of time (kāl-ā́t) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

mā́sa+ṭhaÑ = *mā́s-ika-* 'monthly'; *ā́rdha-mās-ika-* 'half-monthly, fortnightly'; *sā́ṁ-vatsar-ika-* 'annual, yearly'.

The expression [kālá-] recurs in the subsequent sūtras up to and including 24 below.

4.3.12 śrāddh-é śarád-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarád- 'autumn' [signifying time 11 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to designate funerary rites (śrāddh-é).

śarád+ṭhaÑ = *śā́rad-ika-* 'autumnal funeral rite'; in other senses: *śarad+áṆ* (16) = *śārad-á-* 'autumnal'.

4.3.13 vibhāṣā [1]róga-[2]ātapáy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 śarád- 12 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] for indicating either a disease (róga-) or 'sunshine, heat' (°ātapáy-oḥ).

> *śarad+ṭhaÑ/áṆ* = *śā́rad-ika-ḥ/śārad-á-ḥ róga-ḥ/ātapá-ḥ* 'autumnal disease/autumnal heat or sunshine'.

4.3.14 [1]níśā-[2]prádoṣā-bhyāṁ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11 is introduced optionally 13] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] níśā 'night' and prá-doṣa- 'twilight' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

> *níśā+ṭhaÑ/áṆ* = *naiś-ika-/naiś-á-* 'nocturnal'; similarly *prā́-doṣ-ika-/prā-doṣ-á-* 'pertaining to the twilight'.

4.3.15 śvás-as tuṬ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11 is optionally 13 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] śvás- 'tomorrow', and the initial increment tuṬ is inserted at the beginning of the affix (1.1.46) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

> *śvas+ṭhaÑ* = *śvas+tuṬ-ṭhaÑ* = *śaúvas-t-ika-* (7.3.3)/*śvás-tya-* (2.105)/*śvás-t-ana-/śvas-t-ána-* (*+Ṭyu/ṬyuL* 23 below) 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

4.3.16 [1]saṁ-dhí+vélā=ādi=[2]ṛtú-[3]nákṣatre-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with saṁ-dhi-velā́ 'connecting or linking period of time (such as twilight etc.)' and those designating seasons (ṛtú-) or asterisms (°-nákṣatre-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

1. *saṁ-dhi-velā́+áṆ* = *sāṁ-dhi-vel-á-* 'pertaining to twilight, etc.'
2. *ṛtu-: grīṣmá+áṆ* = *graiṣm-á-* 'relating to summer'; so also *śiśíra+áṆ* = *śaiśir-á-* 'autumnal'.
3. *nákṣatra: tiṣyà+áṆ* = *taiṣ-á* (6.4.149) 'relating to the Tiṣyà asterism or lunar mansion'.

4.3.17 prāvṛ̥ṣ-aḥ=éṇya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] éṇya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prāvṛ̥ṣ- 'rainy season, monsoon' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

prāvṛ̥́ṣ+éṇya- = prāvṛ̥ṣ-éṇya-ḥ (balāhaká-ḥ) 'rain-(cloud)'.

4.3.18 varṣā́-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] varṣā́ 'rain' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

varṣā́+ṭháK = vārṣ-iká-ṁ (vā́sah) '(cloth fit for the) rainy (season), rain-(coat)'.

4.3.19 chándas-i ṭhaÑ

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 varṣā́ 18 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

varṣā́+ṭhaÑ = vā́rṣ-ika-: nábhaś ca nabhasyá-ś ca vā́rṣ-ik-au= ṛ̥tū́ 'Nábhas and Nabhasyá (= August-September) are rainy seasons'.

4.3.20 vasant-ā́t=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 19 is also introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vasantá- 'spring' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

mádhu-ś ca mā́dhava-ś ca vā́sant-ik-au=ṛ̥tū́ 'Mádhu and Mā́dhava (March-April and April-May) constitute the spring season'.

4.3.21 hemant-ā́t=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 19] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] hemantá- 'winter' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

sáhaś ca sahasyà-ś ca haímant-ik-au=ṛ̥tū́ 'Sáhas and Sahasyà (November-December and December-January) constitute winter season'.

4.3.22 sarvá-tra=áṆ ca ta-lopá-s=ca

In all domains (sarvá-tra) [= domain of Chándas and elsewhere, the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 hemantá- 21] with the substitute element lopa (∅) replacing the syllable [ta] of the stem (or alternately phoneme/t/) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The two interpretations are due to the uncertainty of the status of vowel [a] of syllable [ta] of [hemantá-]; the second alternative is based on the assumption that it is used for ease of pronunciation and is not a part of the element to be replaced, which is then subject to 6.4.148. *hemanta+áṆ* = *heman∅∅+á-* = *haiman-á-/heman∅a+á* = *heman∅+á* (6.4.148) = *haiman-á-* (6.4.22) 'pertaining to winter'.

4.3.23 [1]sāyám=[2]cirám=[3]prā́hṇ-e=[4]pragé=[5]ávyaye-bhyaḥ Ṭyu-ṬyuL-au tu̱-Ṭ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṭyu and ṬyuL are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sāyám 'at even-tide', cirám 'for a long time', prā́hṇe 'in the morning' pragé 'at dawn' and indeclinables (°ávyaye-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92], and the initial increment tu̱Ṭ is inserted at the head of these affixes.

sāyám+Ṭyu/ṬyuL = *sāyam+t-ána-/sāyám-t-ana-* (6.1.193) 'vesperine'; similarly: *ciraṁ-t-ána-/ciráṁ-t-ana-* 'long- or ever-lasting'; *prāhṇe-t-ána-/prāhṇé-t-ana-* 'matutinal'; *prage-t-ána-/pragé-t-ana-* 'early at day-break'; *doṣā-t-ána-/doṣā́-t-ana-* 'nocturnal'.

4.3.24 vibhāṣā [1]pūrvāhṇá=[2]aparāhṇā́-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 Ṭyu and ṬyuL 23] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pūrvāhṇá- 'forenoon' and aparāhṇá- 'afternoon' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92 and the initial increment tu̱Ṭ is inserted at the head of these affixes 23].

pūrvahṇe-t-ána-/pūrvahṇé-t-ana-/paúrvāhṇ-ika- (*+ṭhaÑ* 11) 'matutinal'; *aparāhṇe-t-ána-/aparāhṇé-t-ana/ā́parāhṇ-ika-* 'occurring in the afternoon'.

4.3.25 tá-tra jā-tá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'born there' (jā-tá-ḥ).

With this sūtra the section headed by 2.92 comes to the end. Here onwards specific meaning conditions as well as the sUP triplets associated with the nominal stems are stated. *srughn-e jā-tá-ḥ = srughna+áṆ = sraughn-á-ḥ* 'born in S'. Similarly *mathurā-y-ām jā-tá-ḥ = māthur-á-ḥ* 'born in M.'

4.3.26 prāvṛ́ṣ-as=ṭhaP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prāvṛ́ṣ- 'rainy season, monsoon' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

prāvṛ́ṣ-i jā-tá-ḥ = prāvṛ́ṣ+ṭhaP = prāvṛ́ṣ-ika-ḥ 'born during the rainy season'.

4.3.27 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ śarád-aḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarád- 'autumn' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'born at that time' 25] for deriving a proper name (saṁjñā́-y-āṁ).

śarád-i jā-tá-ḥ = śarád+vuÑ = śā́rad-aka-ḥ 'n.pr. of a plant, a variety of Darbha grass' or 'a variety of beans'.

4.3.28 [1]pūrvāhṇá=[2]aparāhṇá=[3]ārdrā́=[4]mū́la-[5]prádoṣa=[6]avaskar-ā́t=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] purvāhṇá- 'forenoon', aparāhṇá- 'afternoon', ārdrā́ 'n.pr. of a constellation', mū́la- 'n.pr. of a constellation', prádoṣa- 'twilight' and avaskará- 'dung' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born in that (place or time) 25 to derive a proper name 27].

purvāhṇ-é jā-tá-ḥ = pūrvāhṇa+vuN = pū́rvāhṇ-aka- 'born in the forenoon'; similarly: *áparāhṇ-aka-* 'born in the afternoon'; *ā́rdr-aka-, mū́l-aka-* 'born under the constellations Ārdrā́/Mū́la'; *prádoṣ-aka-* 'born in the twilight' and *ávaskar-aka-* 'n.pr. of an insect born in ordure'.

4.3.29 path-áḥ pántha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] páthin- 'path' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born in that (place)' 25] and the substitute pántha- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the nominal stem.

> *path-í jā-tá-h* = *pántha+vuN* = *pánth-aka-ḥ* 'born on the roadside'.

4.3.30 amāvāsyà-y-āḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] amāvāsyà 'new-moon night' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

> *amāvāsyà-y-ām jā-tá-ḥ* = *amāvāsyā+vuN/áṆ* (16) = *ámāvāsy-aka-ḥ/āmāvāsy-á-ḥ* 'born on a new-moon night'.

4.3.31 á ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 amāvāsyà 30, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

> *amāvāsyā+á* = *amāvāsy∅+á* (6.4.148) = *amāvāsy-á-* 'born in new-moon night'.

4.3.32 [1]síndhu=[2]apakarā́-bhyām kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] síndhu- 'n. of a river, Indus' and apakará- 'n. of a locality' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born there' 25].

> *síndh-au jā-tá-ḥ* = *síndhu+kaN* = *síndhu-ka-* 'born in the river Indus'; similarly *ápa-kara-ka-* 'born in the Ap. region'.

4.3.33 [1]áṆ=[2]aÑ-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áṆ and aÑ are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 síndhu- and apakará- 32 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born there' 25].

> *síndhu+áṆ/aÑ* = *saindhav-á-/sáindhav-a-* = *síndhu-ka* (32 above); similarly: *āpakar-á-/ā́pakar-a/ápakara-ka-*.

4.3.34 [1]śráviṣṭhā-[2]phálgunī=[3]anurādhā́=[4]svātí-[5]tiṣyà-[6]púnarvasu-[7]hásta-[8]víśākhā=[9]áṣāḍhā-[10]bahul-ā́t=luK

luK (∅[1]) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] beginning with (1) śráviṣṭhā and terminating with (10) bahulá- 'names of asterisms or lunar mansions' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

(1) *śráviṣṭhā-su jā-tá-ḥ* = *śráviṣṭha+Tāp+áṆ* (16) = *śráviṣṭha+TāP+∅*[1] = *śráviṣṭha+∅*[1] (1.2.49) = *śráviṣṭha-ḥ* 'born under the constellation Śr.' Similarly: (2) *phálguna-ḥ*; (3) *anurādhá-ḥ*; (4) *svātí-ḥ*; (5) *tiṣyà-ḥ*; (6) *púnarvasu-ḥ*; (7) *hásta-ḥ*; (8) *víśākha-ḥ*; (9) *áṣāḍha-ḥ*; (10) *bahulá-ḥ*.

4.3.35 [1]sthā́na=anta-[2]go-śālá-[3]khara-śāl-ā́t=ca

[luK (∅[1]) 34] also replaces (ca) [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] ending in °sthā́na- 'place' and [nominal stems 1.1] go-śālá- 'cow-pen' and khara-śālá- 'stable for donkeys' [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born there' 25].

go-sthān-é jā-tá-ḥ = *go-sthāná+áṆ* (1.83) = *go-sthāná+∅*[1] = *go-sthān-á-ḥ* 'born in G.' Similarly: *go-śālá-ḥ /khara-śālá-ḥ* 'born in a cow-pen/ass-stable'.

4.3.36 [1]vatsa-śālā́=[2]abhijít=[3]aśva-yúj=[4]śatá-bhiṣaj-aḥ=vā

[luK (∅[1]) 34] optionally (vā) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vatsa-śālā́ 'stall for calves', abhi-jít-, aśva-yúj- and śatá-bhiṣaj- 'names of lunar mansions or asterisms' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born therein or thereunder' 25].

vatsa-śālā-y-ām jā-tá-ḥ = *vatsa-śālā́+aṆ* = *vatsa-śālá+TāP+∅*[1] = *vatsa-śālá+∅*[1] = *vatsa-śālá-ḥ* 'born in a stall for calves'; likewise: *abhi-jít-, aśva-yúj-, śatá-bhiṣaj-* 'born under the respective lunar mansions'; all alternating with *vātsa-śāl-á, ābhi-jit-á-, āśva-yuj-á-, śāta-bhiṣaj-á (+áṆ).*

4.3.37 nákṣatre-bhyaḥ=bahulám

[luK (∅[1]) 34] variously (bahulám) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of an asterism (nákṣatre-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

róhiṇy-ām jā-tá-ḥ róhiṇī+áṆ (16) = *rauhiṇ-á-ḥ/róhiṇa+ṄīP+∅*[1] = *róhiṇa-∅*[1] (1.2.49; 4.1.39) = *róhiṇa-ḥ.*

4.3.38 [1]kṛ-tá-[2]lab-dhá-[3]krī-tá-[4]kúśal-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the senses of kṛtá- 'made', labdhá- 'gained', krītá- 'bought' and kúśala- 'adept, expert, proficient' [in that 25]

srughna+áṆ = *sraughn-á-* 'made, gained, bought or proficient in Śr.'

4.3.39 prāya-bhavá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the sense of 'usually or abundantly found' (prāya-bhavá-ḥ) [therein 25].

mathurā-y-ām prāya-bhavá-ḥ = *mathurā+áṆ* (1.83) = *māthur-á-ḥ* 'abundantly existing in M.'

4.3.40 [1]upa-jānú=[2]upa-karṇá=[3]upa-nīvé-s=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] upa-jānú- 'near the knee', upa-karṇá- 'near the ear' and upa-nīví- 'near the girdle' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'usually or abundantly found' 39 therein 25].

upa-jānú+ṭháK = *aupa-jānu-ká-* 'usually situated near the knee' (7.3.51); similarly: *aupa-karṇ-iká-* 'usually found near the ear' and *aupa-nīvi-ká-* 'usually situated near the girdle'.

4.3.41 saṁ-bhū-t-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote] the sense of 'adequacy, suitability' (saṁ-bhū-té).

rā́ṣṭr=e sam-bhū-tá-ḥ rāṣṭra+gha (2.83) = *rāṣṭr-íya-ḥ* 'suitable or adequate for a kingdom'.

4.3.42 kóś-āt=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kóśa- 'cocoon' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'fit, suitable, adequate' 41].

kóś-e sam-bhū-tá-m = kóśa+ḍhaÑ = kaúś-eya-ṁ (vástra-m) '(cloth) suited to the cocoon (i.e., silk)'.

4.3.43 kāl-ā́t [1]sādhú-[2]púṣpyat-[3]pacyá-m-āne-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] designating a division of time (kāl-ā́t) to denote the meanings 'good or proper' (sādhú-), 'flowering' (°-púṣpyat-) or 'is ripening' (°-pac-yá-m-āne-ṣu) ['at that time' 25].

1. *hemanté-ṣu sādhú-ḥ = hemantá+áN* (16) = *haiman-á-ḥ* (22) *(prākārá-ḥ)* 'a surrounding wall proper or good for the winter'.
2. *vasant-é púṣp-ya-nti = vasantá+áN+ṄīP* (1.15)+*Jas* = *vāsanty-áḥ kanda-lat-ā́ḥ* 'vernal creepers good for flowering'.
3. *śarád-i pac-yá-nte = śarád+áN+Jas = śā́rad-ā́ḥ śā́lay-aḥ* 'rice ripening in autumn'; similarly *graiṣm-ā́ḥ yáv-āḥ* 'barley ripening in summer'.

4.3.44 up-t-é ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25, designating a division of time 43] to denote 'sown' (up-t-é) [at that time 25].

hemant-é up-yá-nte = hemanta+áN (16) = *hainman-á* (22)+*Jas* = *haiman-ā́ḥ/ haimant-ā́ḥ yáv-āḥ* 'barley sown during winter'.

4.3.45 āśva-yujy-ā́ḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] āśva-yuj-ī́ 'day of full moon in conjunction with the lunar mansion aśva-yúj-' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'sown' 44 at that time 25].

Exception to [ṭhaÑ 11 above]: *āśva-yujy-ā́m up-t-ā́ḥ = āśva-yuj-ī́+vuÑ = ā́śva-yuj-ak-āḥ mā́ṣ-āḥ* 'mā́ṣa lentils (Phaseolus Radiatus) sown during the full moon day of Āś.'

4.3.46 [1]grīṣmá-[2]vasant-ā́t=anya-tára-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 45] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- 'summer' and vasantá- 'spring' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'sown' 44 at that time 25].

grīṣmá+vuÑ = *graíṣm-aka-/graiṣm-á-* (16) 'sown during summer'; so also *vā́sant-aka-/vāsant-á-* 'sown during spring'.

4.3.47 déya-m ṛṇ-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote 'to be repaid as a debt' [at that time 25] (déy-am ṛṇé).

mā́s-e déyam ṛṇá-m = *mā́sa+ṭhaÑ* (11) = *mā́s-ika-m* 'a debt repayable in a month'.

4.3.48 [1]kalāpí(n)=[2]aśvatthá=[3]yava-bus-ā́t=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kalāpín- 'period during which peacocks spread their tails' aśvatthá- 'the period when the tree Ficus Religiosa bears fruit' and yava-busá- 'time for producing chaff from barley' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'a debt payable 47 at that time' 25].

kalāpín-i kāl-é déya-m ṛṇá-m = *kalāpín+vuN* = *kálāp∅∅-aka-m* (6.4.144) 'debt repayable at the K. time'. Similarly *áśvatth-aka-* 'debt repayable at A. time'; *yáva-bus-aka-m* 'debt repayable at the time of producing chaff from barley'.

4.3.49 [1]grīṣmá=[2]avara-sam-ā́t=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- 'summer time' and avara-samā́- 'less than a year' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote a debt repayable 47 at that time 25].

grīṣm-é déya-m ṛṇá-m = *grīṣmá+vuÑ* = *graíṣm-aka-m* 'a debt repayable in summer'; *ávarā-su samā́su déya-m* = *ávara-sam-aka-m ṛṇam* 'a debt repayable in less than a year'.

4.3.50 [1]saṁvatsará=[2]āgra-hāyaṇī́-bhyām ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 49] as well as (ca) ṭhaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] saṁ-vatsará- 'year' and āgra-hāyaṇī́ 'full moon day when the moon is in conjunction with Agra-hā́yaṇa' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'a debt repayable' 47 at that time 25].

saṁ-vatsar-é déya-m = *saṁ-vatsará+ṭhaÑ/vuN* = *sā́ṁ-vatsar-ika-m/ sā́ṁ-vatsar-aka-m* 'debt repayable at the end of a year'; *ā́gra-hāyaṇ-ika/ ā́gra-hāyaṇ-aka-* 'debt repayable on the full moon day of Agr.'

4.3.51 vy-ā́-har-a-ti mr̥gá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote 'a wild beast (mr̥gá-ḥ) is prowling' (vy-ā́-har-a-ti) [at this time 25].

níśā-y-āṁ vyā́-har-a-ti = *níśā+ṭhaÑ* (14) = *naíś-ika-ḥ/naiś-á-ḥ* (16) 'a wild beast prowling at night'.

4.3.52 tád a-syá soḍhá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 consisting of time-words 43 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) for deriving a stem to denote 'this is his (a-syá) habit, custom or practice' (soḍhá-m).

niśā-saha-car-i-tám adhy-áy-ana-m = *níśā, tát soḍhám a-syá* = *chāttrá-sya* = *níśā+ṭhaÑ* (14)/*áN* (16) = *naíś-ika-ḥ/naiś-á-ḥ* '(a pupil) accustomed to study at night'. Similarly *prā́doṣ-ika-/prādoṣ-á-* 'accustomed to study at twilight'.

4.3.53 tá-tra bháva-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to derive a stem denoting 'being or obtaining there' (tá-tra bháva-ḥ).

srughn-e bháv-a-ḥ = *srughna+áN* (1.83) = *sraughn-á-ḥ* 'being or obtaining in S.'

4.3.54 díś=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with díś- 'direction' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

diś-í bháva-m = díś+yàT = díś-ya-m 'what obtains or occurs in the direction or region'; similarly *várg-e bháva- = várg-ya-* 'found or obtaining in the group'.

4.3.55 śarīra=avayav-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 54 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a member of the body (śarīra=avayav-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

kaṇṭh-é bháva-m = kaṇṭhá+yàT = káṇṭh-ya-m 'velar, occurring in the velum or throat'; similarly *tā́l-au bháva-m = tālav-yà-m* 'palatal', *mūrdhan-yà-* 'retroflex', *dánt-ya-* 'dental' and *óṣṭh-ya-* 'labial', *nāsik-yà-* 'nasal', *kárṇ-ya-* 'being in or near the ear'.

4.3.56 [1]dṛ́ti-[2]kukṣí-[3]kalaśi-[4]vastí=[5]ásti=[6]áher ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dṛtí- 'leather bag', kukṣí- 'abdomen', kalaśi- 'jar', vastí- 'bladder', ásti- 'existence' and ahí- 'serpent' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

dṛ́t-au bháva-m = dṛ́ti+ḍhaÑ = dā́rt-eya-m 'contained or being in a leather bag'; *kaúkṣ-eya-m/kā́laś-eya-m/vā́st-eya-m/ā́st-eya-m/ā́h-eya-m* 'being or found in the abdomen/a jar/the bladder/in existence/in the serpent' respectively.

4.3.57 grīvā́-bhyaḥ=áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhaÑ 56] as well as (ca) áṆ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] grīvā́ 'nape of neck' [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'found or obtaining there' 53].

grīvā́-y-ām bháva-m = grīvā́+áṆ/ḍhaÑ = graiv-ám/gráiv-eya-m 'being or found in the nape of the neck'.

4.3.58 gambhīr-ā́t=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gambhīrá- 'profound, deep' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'found or obtained there' 53].

gambhīr-é bháva-m = *gambhīrá+Ñya* = *gā́mbhīr-ya-m* 'found or occurring in profundity or depth'.

4.3.59 avyayī-bhāv=ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 58] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound (2.1.6) [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

By interpretation the application of this rule is restricted to items beginning with [pari-mukhám] 'round or about the face' which is not included in the traditional Gaṇapāṭha lists. *pari-mukha+am* (2.4.83)+*Ñya* = *pari-mukha+∅* (2.4.71)+*Ñya* = *pari-mukha+Ñya* = *pā́ri-mukh-ya-m* = *pari-mukh-ám bháva-m* 'being around or about'.

4.3.60 antáḥ-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59] with antár-° 'in, within' as a prior member (pūrva-pad-ā́t) [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

véśman-i bháv-am = *antar-veśmán+ṬáC+am*= *antar-veśm-ám* (5.4.108) *bháv-am* = *antar-veśm-á+ṭhaÑ* = *ā́ntar-veśmik-am* 'being or found inside the house' = *ā́ntar-geh-ik-am*.

4.3.61 grā́m-āt [1]pári=[2]ánu-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 60] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59 ending in 1.1.72] °grāma- 'village', co-occurring with preverbs pári-°, ánu-° [to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

pari-grām-ám/anu-grām-ám bháva-ḥ = *pā́ri-grām-ika-ḥ* 'being around the village', *ā́nu-grām-ika-ḥ* 'being in the village'.

4.3.62 [1]jihvā-mūlá=[2]aṅgúle-s=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] jihvā-mūla- 'root of the tongue' and aṅgúli- 'finger' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

jihvā-mūl-é bháv-am = *jihvā-mūlá+cha* = *jihvā-mūl-íy-am* 'being at the root of the tongue'; *aṅgul-íy-am* 'being on the finger'.

4.3.63 várga=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 62] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-várga- 'class' [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

ka-varg-é bháv-am = *ka-varg-íy-am* 'being in the velar class'.

4.3.64 á-śabd-e [1]yàT-[2]kh-au=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-várga- 63] when not denoting phonemes (á-śabd-e) [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

The option is in respect of affix [cha 63]. *vāsudeva-vargá+yàT/kha/cha* = *vāsu-deva-várg-ya-/vāsu-deva-varg-íṇa-/vāsu-deva-varg-íya-* 'being in the party of V.' Cf. 6.2.131.

4.3.65 [1]kárṇa-[2]lalā́ṭ-āt kaN alaṁ-kār-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kárṇa- 'ear' and lalā́ṭa- 'forehead' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'being or obtaining therein' 53] when signifying an ornament (alaṁ-kār-é).

kárṇ-e bháv-ā = *kárṇa+kaN+ṬāP* (1.4) = *kárṇ-ik-ā* (7.3.44) 'an ear ornament ('being on the ear')'; in other senses *kárṇ-ya-m* (55); *lalā́ṭ-e bhav-ā* = *lálāṭ-ik-ā* 'an ornament (worn by women) on the forehead'; in other meanings *lalā́ṭ-yà-m* 'being on the forehead' (55).

4.3.66 tá-sya vy-ā-khyā́n-e=iti ca vy-ā-khyā-távya-nāmn-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a text commented upon (vy-ā-khyā-távya-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to derive a stem denoting its commentary (vy-ā-khyā́n-e) as well as (ca) [to denote 'being or obtaining there' 53].

sUP-ām vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ = *sUP+áṆ* (1.83) = *saup-á-ḥ* 'a commentary on declensional affixes'; similarly *sUP-su bháva-m* = *saup-á-m* 'found or occurring in the declensional system'.

4.3.67 bahu=áC=aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahv-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1] with a high-pitched accent on its final syllable (ánta=udātt-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet, representing a text to be commented upon to denote its commentary 66 and 'being or occurring therein' 53].

ṣa-tva=ṇa-tváy-or (vidhāyaka-śāstrá-sya) vy-ā-khyā́na-m = *ṣa-tva-ṇa-tvá+ṭhaÑ* = *ṣā́-tva-ṇa-tv-ika-m* 'a commentary on a text dealing with retroflexion of the phonemes /s/, /n/, found or occurring in the domain of retroflexion of /s/, /n/'.

4.3.68 [1]krátu-[2]yajñé-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] consisting of names of Vedic sacrifices (krátu-°) and domestic sacrifices (°-yajñé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote the commentaries on them 66 or 'found or occurring in them' 53].

1. krátu-: *agni-ṣṭomá-sya vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ* = *ā́gni-ṣṭom-ika-ḥ* 'a commentary on Agniṣṭomá'. *rā́jñ-ā sū-yá-te* = *rā́jan+∅*[1]*+sū+KyaP* (3.1.114) = *rāja-sū́-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *rā́ja-sū-y-ika-* where the original polysyllabic stem is not marked with final udātta accent; similarly *vāja-pé-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *vā́ja-pe-y-ika-*.
2. yajñá: *pāka-yajñá-sya vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ* = *pā́ka-yajñ-ika-ḥ*.

4.3.69 adhy-āyé-ṣu=éva=ṛ́ṣe-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 67 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of a Vedic seer (ṛ́ṣe-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72

the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on that text 66 and also 'being or obtaining therein' 53] to derive a stem indicating a chapter only (adhy-āyé-ṣu=éva).

vásiṣṭh-ena dṛṣṭá-ḥ mántra-ḥ = vásiṣṭha-ḥ, tá-sya vy-ākhyā́na-ḥ/ta-tra bhava-ḥ vā = vásiṣṭha+ṭhaÑ = vā́siṣṭh-ika-ḥ adhy-āyá-ḥ.

4.3.70 [1]pauroḍāśá-[2]puroḍāś-ā́t=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pauroḍāśá- 'a mantra consecrating Puroḍāśa' and puroḍāśá- 'a text dealing with puroḍāśá' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

pauroḍāśá+ṢṭhaN = paúroḍāś-ika-ḥ 'a commentary on Paur./being or obtaining therein'; similarly *puroḍāśá+SṭhaN = puro-ḍāś-ika-ḥ*. In both illustrations the feminine form is derived with affix [ṄīṢ (1.41)].

4.3.71 chándas-aḥ=[1]yàT=[2]áṆ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and áṆ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chándas- 'Veda' [ending in 1.1.73 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 65].

Prior exception to 72 below, blocking out the affix [ṭhaK]. *chándas-aḥ vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ = chándas+yàT/áṆ = chandas-yà-ḥ/chāndas-á-ḥ* 'a commentary on Ch./found or occurring in Ch.'

4.3.72 [1]dvy-áC=[2]ṛT=[3]brāhmaṇá=[4]ṛ́c-[5]prathamá=[6]adhvará-[7]puraṣ-cáraṇa-[8]nāmākhyāt-ā́t ṭhaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC), or [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T), and [the stems] brāhmaṇá- 'a class of Vedic texts', ṛ́c- 'stanza or verse of Ṛg-Veda', prathamá- 'first', adhvará- 'sacrificial rite', puraś-cáraṇa- 'preliminary rite' and nāma=ākhyātá- 'nomen and verbum' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein'53].

1. dvy-áC: *íṣṭe-ḥ vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ/íṣṭ-au vā bháva-ḥ = íṣṭi+ṭháK = aíṣṭ-ika-ḥ* 'commentary on a text dealing with sacrifice [íṣṭi].

2. °ṛT-: *cátur-hotṛ+ṭháK* = *cātur-hotṛ-ká-ḥ* 'commentary on/or found or occurring in C.'
3. brāhmaṇá: *brāhmaṇá+ṭháK* = *brāhmaṇ-iká-* 'commentary on/or found or occurring in Br.' *prātham-iká-*, *ārc-iká-*.
4. Similarly: *ādhvar-iká-*, *pauraṣ-caraṇ-iká-*, *nāmākhyāt-iká-* where by interpretation this last is also to be considered in addition as two separate expressions generating *nām-iká-/ākhyāt-iká-*.

4.3.73 áṆ ṛg-ayaná=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áṆ] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ṛg-ayaná- 'n. of a text on the study of the RV' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or 'found or obtaining therein' 53].

ṛg-ayaná-sya vy-ā-khyā́na-ḥ/ṛg-ayan-é bháva-ḥ = *ṛg-ayaná+áṆ* = *ārg-ayan-á-* 'commentary on/or found or occurring in Ṛ.' Exception to [ṭhaÑ 67, cha 2.114]. Non-retroflexion by 8.4.3.

4.3.74 tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (tá-taḥ) to denote 'arrived from there' (tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tá-ḥ).

mathurā-y-āḥ ā-ga-tá-ḥ = *mathurā+áṆ* (1.83) = *māthur-á-ḥ* 'arriving or arrived from Mathurā'.

4.3.75 ṭháK=āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of revenue offices (āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74].

śulka-śālā́-y-āḥ ā-ga-tá-ḥ = *śulka-śālā́+ṭháK* = *śaulka-śāl-iká-ḥ* 'arrived or arriving from the custom house'.

4.3.76 śuṇḍika=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śuṇḍika- 'tavern' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74].

śuṇḍik-āt ā-ga-tá-ḥ = *suṇḍika+áṆ* = *sauṇḍik-á-ḥ* 'arrived from the tavern'.

4.3.77 [1]vidyá-[2]yóni-saṁ-bandhe-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a person related (°sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ) either through transmitted knowledge (vidyá-°) or consanguinity (°-yóni-°) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there'74].

1. vidyā-°: *upādhyāyā́d ā-ga-tá-ḥ* = *upādhyāyá+vuÑ* = *aúpādhyāy-aka-ḥ* 'come from the teacher'.
2. yóni-°: *pitāmah-ā́t ā-ga-tá-m* = *paitāmah-á-m* 'coming from the paternal grandfather'.

4.3.78 r̥T=as=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short r̥(T) designating a person related through transmitted knowlege or consanguinity 77, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74.

1. *hótur ā-ga-tá-m* = *hótr̥+ṭhaÑ* = *haútr̥-ka-m* (7.3.51) 'coming from the H. priest'.
2. *bhrātúr ā-ga-tá-m* = *bhrā́tr̥-ka-m*.

4.3.79 pitúr yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 78] as well as (ca) yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pitŕ̥- 'father' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from him' 74].

pitúr ā-ga-tá-m = *pitŕ̥+yàT/ṭhaÑ* = *pitrī+yàT* (7.4.27) = *pitr∅+ya* (6.4.148) = *pítr-ya-m/paítr̥-ka-m* 'coming from the father, paternal'.

4.3.80 gotr-ā́t=aṅka-vát

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a patronymic descendant (gotr-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'arrived from there' 74] are like those introduced to denote a sign (aṅka-vát 126-27 below).

úpago-r gotrāpatyé-bhyaḥ ā-ga-tá-m = *aupagavá+vuÑ* = *aúpa-gav-aka-m* (126); *gargásya gotrāpatye-bhya-ḥ ā-ga-tá-ḥ* = *gā́rg-ya+áṆ* (127) = *gā́rgy∅+á* (6.4.148) = *gārg∅+á* (6.4.151) = *gārg-á-ḥ*.

4.3.81 ¹hetú-²manuṣyè-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām rū́pya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a cause (hetú-°) or a human being (°-manuṣyè-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

1. hetú: *sam-ā́t=ā-ga-tá-m = sama-rūpya-m/sama+cha* (2.1.38) = *sam-ī́ya-m* 'come from a similar cause'.
2. manuṣyà: *deva-datt-ā́t=ā-ga-tá-m = deva-datta-rū́pya-m/deva-datta+áṆ* (1.83) = *daiva-datt-á-m*.

4.3.82 máyaṬ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 rū́pya 81] and (ca) máyaṬ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 designating a cause or human being 81, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74].

sama-máya-m; deva-datta-máya-m. Alternate forms are as given under 81 above. Feminine stems are derived with affix [ṄīP 1.15].

4.3.83 prá-bhav-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74] to denote 'arising therefrom or thence' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

himavát-aḥ prá-bhav-a-ti = himavát+áṆ (1.83) *ṄīP* (1.15) = *haima-vat-ī́* 'the river Ganges (arising from H.)'. Similarly *dā́rad-ī́* 'the river Indus (arising from Darada)'.

4.3.84 vidūr-āt=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vídūra- 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74 to denote 'arising therefrom or there' 83].

vídūr-āt prá-bhav-a-ti = vidūra+Ñya = vaídūr-ya-ḥ maṇi-ḥ 'gem or precious stone arising from the region of V.'

4.3.85 tád gácch-a-ti [1]páthi(n)-[2]dūtáy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'goes there' (tád gácch-a-ti) to indicate a path (páthin-) or a messenger (° dūtáy-oḥ).

mathurā-ṁ gácch-a-ti = *mathurā+áṆ* (1.83) = *māthur-a-ḥ* 'a road/messenger going to Mathurā'.

4.3.86 abhi-níṣ-krām-a-ti dvā́r-am

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] to denote a gate (dvā́r-am) which leads towards that (abhi-níṣi-kram-ā-ti).

srughnam abhi-níṣ-krām-a-ti = *srughna+áṆ* = *sraughn-ám dvā́r-am* 'a gate leading towards Srughna'.

4.3.87 adhi-kṛ̥́-t-ya kṛ̥-t-é granth-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] designating the subject on which the work (granth-é) is based to denote that book (adhi-kṛ̥́-t-ya kṛ̥-t-é).

sú-bhadr-ām adhi-kṛ̥́-t-ya kṛ̥-tá-ḥ = *súbhadrā+áṆ* (1.83) = *saubhadr-á-ḥ granthá-ḥ* 'a text composed on Súbhadrā as subject'.

4.3.88 [1]śíśu-krandá-[2]yama-sabhá-[3]dvaṁdvá=[4]indra-jananá=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śíśu-krandá- 'cries of children', yama-sabhá- 'assembly of Yama', a Dvaṁdvá compound and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with indra-jananá- 'birth of Indra' [designating the subject on which the work is based to denote that work 87].

śiśu-krand-ám adhi-kṛ̥́-t-ya kṛ̥-tá-ḥ = *śiśu-krandá+cha* = *śiśu-krand-íya-ḥ granthá-ḥ; yama-sabh-íya-ḥ; śyena-kapot-íya-ḥ* 'a book on hawks and doves'; *indra-janan-íya-ḥ* 'a text dealing with the topic of Indra's birth'.

4.3.89 sá-ḥ=a-syá ni-vāsá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote 'that is his residence' (a-syá ni-vāsá-ḥ).

mathurā ni-vāsá-ḥ a-syá = *mathurā+áṆ* (1.83) = *māthur-á-ḥ* 'resident of Mathurā'.

4.3.90 abhi-jána-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] also (ca) to denote [that is his 89] ancestral residence (abhi-jana-ḥ).

srughna-ḥ abhi-jána-ḥ a-syá = *srughna+áṆ* (1.83) = *sraughn-á-ḥ* 'a person whose ancestral home is Sr.'

4.3.91 āyudha-jīví-bhyas=cha-ḥ párvat-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a mountain (párvat-e) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 representing the ancestral residence 90] to denote mercenaries (āyudha-jīví-bhyaḥ).

hr̥d-gola-ḥ párvata-ḥ abhi-jana-ḥ e-ṣā́m = *hr̥d-gola+cha* = *hr̥d-gol-ī́ya+Jas* = *hr̥d-gol-ī́y-āḥ* 'mercenaries whose ancestral home is Hr̥.'

4.3.92 śaṇḍika=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śaṇḍika- 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote 'this is his ancestral residence' 90].

śaṇḍika-ḥ abhi-jána-ḥ a-syá = *śaṇḍika+Ñya* = *śā́ṇḍik-ya-ḥ* 'one whose ancestral home is Śaṇḍika'.

4.3.93 [1]síndhu-[2]takṣa-śilā́=ādi-bhyaḥ=[1]áṆ=[2]aÑ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áṆ and aÑ are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with síndhu- and takṣa-śilā́ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the ancestral residence 90].

síndhu-ḥ abhi-jána-ḥ a-syá = síndhu+áṆ = saindhav-á-ḥ 'whose ancestral residence is in the Indus region'. *takṣa-śilā́ abhi-jána-ḥ a-syá = takṣa-śilā́+aÑ = tā́kṣá-śil-a-ḥ.*

4.3.94 [1]tūdī-[2]śalātura-[3]varmatī-[4]kūcavār-āt [1]ḍháK-[2]chaṆ-[3]ḍhaÑ-[4]yáK-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ḍháK, chaṆ, ḍhaÑ and yáK are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tūdī, śalātura-, varmatī and kūcavāra- 'placenames' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote ancestral residences 90].

tūdī+ḍháK = taud-eyá-ḥ 'whose ancestral home is T.' *śalātura+chaṆ = śālātur-íya-ḥ; varmatī+ḍhaÑ = vā́rmat-eya-ḥ; kūcavāra+yáK = kauca-vār-yá-ḥ.*

4.3.95 bhák-ti-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] to denote 'this is the object of devotion or worship' (bhák-ti-ḥ).

vāsu-devá-ḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = vāsudevá+vuN (98) = *vā́sudev-aka-ḥ* 'devotee or worshiper of V'; similarly *árjun-aka-ḥ* (98).

4.3.96 á-citt-āt á-[1]deśa-[2]kāl-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating an inanimate thing (á-citt-āt) other than those representing locality or time (á-deśa-kāl-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion or worship 95].

apūp-ā́ḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = apūpá+ṭháK = āpūp-iká-ḥ 'person fond of cakes', but *deva-dattá+áṆ = daiva-datt-á-ḥ* (1.83); *srughna+áṆ = sraughn-á-ḥ; graiṣm-á-ḥ* (16) (counter-exx. for animate, locality and time respectively).

4.3.97 mahārāj-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mahārājá- 'great king, emperor' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

mahārājá-ḥ bhák-tir a-syá = mahārājá+ṭhaÑ = mā́hārāj-ika-ḥ.

4.3.98 vāsudevá= árjunā-bhyām vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vāsudevá- and árjuna- 'names of persons' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote objects of devotion 95].

vā́sudev-aka-h, árjun-aka-ḥ (cf. 95 above).

4.3.99 [1]gotrá-[2]kṣatríya=ākhye-bhyaḥ=bahulám vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced variously (bahulám) [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] representing patronymics (gotrá-°) or warriors (°kṣatríya=ākhye-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

1. gotrá: *aupagav-á-ḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = aupagav-á+vuÑ = aúpagav-aka-ḥ.*
2. kṣatríya: *nakulá-ḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá= nakulá+vuÑ = nā́kul-aka-ḥ,* but *pāṇin-á+cha = pāṇin-ī́ya-ḥ* (2.114).

4.3.100 jana-padín-āṁ jana-pada-vát sárvaṁ jana-pad-éna samāná-śabdā-nām bahu-vacan-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating rulers of populated localities (jana-padín-ām) which are identical with the names of localities (jana-pad-éna samāná-śabdā-nām) in the plural (bahu-vacan-é) are the same as those introduced after the name denoting the locality (jana-pada-vát) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

aṅg-āḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = aṅga+vuÑ (2.124) = *ā́ṅg-aka-ḥ* 'a devotee or lover of Aṅga country or its prince'.

4.3.101 t-éna prókta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' (próktam).

This propagation denotes original authorship by another since that situation has already been covered by 87 above. *any-éna kṛ-tá māthur-éṇa prok-tā = mathurā+áṆ+ṄīP* (1.15) = *māthur-ī́ vṛ́t-ti-ḥ* 'propagated by Māthura'.

4.3.102 ¹tittirí-²vara-tantu-³kháṇḍika=⁴ukh-ā́t=cha-Ṇ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] chaṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tittirí-, vara-tantu-, kháṇḍika- and ukhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' 101].

tittirí-ṇā prók-ta-m = tittirí+chaṆ = taittir-ī́ya-; in like manner: *vāra-tantav-ī́ya-, khāṇḍik-ī́ya-, aukh-ī́ya-.*

4.3.103 ¹kā́śyapa-²kaúśikā-bhyām ṛ́ṣi-bhyām Ṇíni-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇíni̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kā́śyapa- and kaúśika- 'n.pr. of ṛ́ṣi-s' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated or propagated by him' 101].

kā́śyap-ena próktam kálp-am = kāśyapa+Ṇíni̱ = kāśyap-ín-; kaúśika+Ṇíni̱ = kauśik-ín-. 'propagated by K'.

4.3.104 ¹kalāpi(n)=²vaísampāyana=ante-vāsi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇíni̱ is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of pupils of Kalāpín and Vaíśampāyana [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'promulgated by him' 101].

There are four pupils of Kalāpín: [Harídru-], [Chagalín-], [Tumburu-] and [Úlapa]. *harídru-ṇā prók-ta-m = harídru+Ṇíni̱ = hāridrav-ín-* 'promulgated by H.'; similarly *chagalin+ḍhinuK=chāgal-eyín* (109); *aulap-ín-.*

The pupils of Vaíśampāyana are nine: [Ā́lámbi-, Palaṅga-, Kámala-, Ṛcābha-, Aruṇi-, Tāṇḍya-, Śyāmāyana-, Kaṭhá- and Kalāpin-] *ālámbi-nā prók-tam = ālámbi+Ṇini̱ = ālamb-ín-* 'promulgated by Ā.' Similarly: *pālaṅg-ín-, kāmal-ín-, ārcabh-ín-, āruṇ-ín-, tāṇḍ-ín-* (6.4.148, 151), *śyāmāyan-ín-, kaṭhá+Ṇin-luK* (107) = *kaṭhá+∅¹; kalāpín+aṆ* (108) = *kālāp-á-.*

4.3.105 purāṇa-pro-ktéṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇíni̱ 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 101 to derive stems 1.1] designating either Brāhmaná (texts) or Kálpa (sū́tras) propagated in ancient times (purāṇa-prok-té-ṣu).

bhallu-nā purāṇa-muní-nā prók-ta- = bhallu+Ṇín = bhāllav-ín- 'Brāhmaṇa text promulgated by the ancient sage Bhallu'.

piṅg-ena purāṇa-munī-nā prók-ta- = *piṅga+Ṇín* = *paiṅg-ín-* 'a Kalpa-sūtra promulgated by the ancient sage Piṅga'.

4.3.106 śaúnaka=ādi-bhyas=chándas-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇíni 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śaúnaka- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101] designating the Veda (chándas-i).

śaúnak-ena prók-ta- = *śaúnaka+Ṇín* = *śaunak-ín-* 'a Veda text propagated by Ś.' But *śaúnak-ena prók-tā śikṣā́* = *śaúnaka+cha* (2.114) = *śaunak-íy-ā* (1.4).

4.3.107 [1]kaṭhá-[2]cárak-āt=luK

The substitute luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇíni 103 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaṭhá- and cáraka- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

kaṭh-éna prók-ta- = *kaṭhá+Ṇín* = *kaṭhá+*$\emptyset^1$ = *kaṭhá-* 'propagated by Kaṭhá'; similarly *cáraka+áṆ* (101; 1.83) = *caraka+*$\emptyset^1$ = *cáraka-*.

4.3.108 kalāpín-aḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kalāpín 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

kalāpín-ā prók-ta- = *kalāpín+áṆ* = *kālāp*$\emptyset\emptyset$*-á* (by a vārttika on 6.4.144) = *kālāp-á-* 'Vedic text propagated by Kalāpin'.

4.3.109 chagalín-aḥ=ḍhínuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhínuK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chagalín- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101].

chagalín-ā prók-ta- = *chagalín+ḍhínuK* = *chāgal-eyín-* 'Vedic text propagated by Ch.'

4.3.110 [1]pā́rāśarya-[2]śilāli-bhyām [1]bhikṣu-[2]naṭa-sūtrá́y-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇíni̲ 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pā́rāśarya- and śilálin- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101] to designate [respectively 1.3.10] Bhikṣu-sūtrá and Naṭa-sūtrá.

pā́rāśary-eṇa prók-tam = pā́rāśarya+Ṇíni̲- = pārāśar∅∅-ín- 'Bhikṣu-sūtrá propagated by P.' Similarly *śailāl-ín-* 'Naṭa-sūtrá propagated by Ś.'

4.3.111 [1]karmanda-[2]kṛśā́śv-āt=íni̲-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni̲ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṛśā́śva- and karmanda 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'propagated by him' 101 to designate respectively 1.3.10 Bhikṣu-sūtrá and Naṭa-sūtrá 110].

karmand-ena prok-tam = karmanda+ín = karmand-ín- 'Bhikṣu-sūtrá propagated by Kar.'; similarly *kṛśā́śv-ín-* 'Naṭa-sūtrá propagated by Kṛś.' These two texts deal respectively with the duties of monks and of actors.

Interpretation of rules 101-111 generally illustrate them by extending these formations to denote those who study or know the texts referred to in 2.59 together with 2.66. In consequence the plural forms are given as indicating those who study or know these texts.

4.3.112 t-éna=éka-dik

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'having the same direction with that' (t-éna= éka-dik).

su-dāmn-ā=éka-dik = su-dāmán+áṆ+Ṅīp (1.15) = *sau-daman-ī́* (6.4.167) *vi-dyút* 'lightning moving in the direction of Mount Sudāmán'.

4.3.113 tási̲-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tás is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'having the same direction with that' 112].

su-dāmán+tási̲ = su-dāma∅-tás (8.2.7) = *su-dāma-táḥ* (8.3.15) = *sau-dāman-ī́* (cf. 112).

4.3.114 úras-aḥ=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási̱ 113] as well as (ca) yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] úras- 'chest', [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'having the same direction with that' 112].

úras-ā=éka-dik = *úras+yaT/tás* = *uras-yà-ḥ/uras-táḥ* 'having the same direction as the chest'.

4.3.115 úpa-jñā-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote 'discovered by him' (úpa-jña-t-e).

pā́ṇini-nā úpa-jñā-ta-m = *pā́ṇini+cha* (2.114) = *pāṇin-ī́ya-ṁ vy-ā-káraṇa-m* 'grammar discovered by P.'

4.3.116 kr̥-t-é granth-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote 'a text has been composed by him' (kr̥-t-é granth-é).

vára-ruci-nā kr̥-t-ā́ḥ ślok-āḥ = *vára-ruci+áN+Jas* (1.83) = *vāra-ruc-ā́ḥ*.

4.3.117 saṁjña-y-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by him' 116] to form a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

mákṣikā-bhiḥ kr̥-tá-m = *mákṣikā+áN* = *mākṣik-á-m* 'honey (= 'made by bees').

4.3.118 kúlāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kúlāla- 'potter' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by him' 116 to form a name 117].

kúlāl-ena kr̥-tá-m = *kúlāla+vuÑ* = *kaúlāl-aka-m* 'pottery'.

4.3.119 [1]kṣudrā́-[2]bhramará-[3]vaṭara-[4]pādap-ā́t=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṣudrā́- 'small bee', bhramará- 'bee', vaṭara- 'bee' and pāda-pa- 'bee' [ending in 1.172 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote 'made by it' 116 to form a name 117.]

kṣudrā́-bhiḥ/bhramar-aíḥ/vaṭar-aiḥ/pāda-p-aíḥ kr̥-tám = kṣaúdr-a-m/ bhrā́mar-a-m/vā́ṭar-a-m/pā́dap-a-m 'honey'.

4.3.120 tá-sya=idám

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'this is his' (tá-sya=idám).

úpa-gor idám = upa-gu+áṆ = aupa-gav-á-m 'belonging to Up.'

4.3.121 ráth-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] rátha- 'chariot' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its' 120].

rátha-sya=idám = ratha+yàT = ráth-ya-m 'belonging to the chariot (such as wheel, axle, etc.)'.

4.3.122 páttra-pūrv-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem °-rátha- 121] co-occurring with a word denoting a draught animal as a prior member (in composition: páttra-pūrv-āt) [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

aśva-rathá-sya idám = aśva-rathá+aÑ = ā́śva-rath-á-m (cakrá-m) '(a wheel) belonging to the horse-chariot'.

4.3.123 [1]páttra=[2]adhvaryú-[3]pariṣad-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 122] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting draught animals (páttra-), adhvaryú- 'n. of an officiating priest', and pariṣád- 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it/him' 120].

áśva-sya idám (vahaníya-m) = áśva+aÑ = áśv-a-m 'horse-load (= a load fit for a horse to carry)'. *ā́dhvaryav-a-* 'belonging to the Adh. priest'; *pā́riṣad-a-* 'belonging to the assembly'.

4.3.124 [1]halá-[2]sī́r-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] halá- and sī́ra- 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

halá-sya/sī́ra-sya idám = halá-/sī́ra+ṭhák = hāl-iká-m/sair-iká-m 'belonging to the plough'.

4.3.125 dvaṁdv-ā́t=vuN [1]vairá-[2]maíthunikay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120] to express enmity (vairá-°,) or marriage relationship (°-maíthunikay-oḥ).

1. vaira: *kākolūká-sya vairá-m = kākolūka+vuN = kā́kolūk-ika+ṬāP* (1.4) = *kā́kolūk-ik-ā* 'pertaining to crows and owls (natural enemies)'. Similarly *bā́bhravya-śālaṅkāyan-ik-ā* 'enmity between B. and S.'
2. maithunikā: *atri-bharadvājáy-or vivāhá-ḥ = atri+bharadvājá+vuN = átri-bharadvāj-ik-ā* 'marriage between A. and Bh. families'.

4.3.126 [1]gotrá-[2]cáraṇ-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating patronymics (gotrá-°) and those representing Vedic schools (°-cáraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to it' 120].

1. gotrá: *aupa-gav-á-sya idám = aupa-gav-á+vuÑ = áupa-gav-aka-m* 'belonging to Aupagavá'.
2. cáraṇa: *kaṭhá-sya idám = kā́ṭhak-a-m* 'belonging to the Kaṭha school of Vedic studies'.

By interpretation the meanings under 2. are restricted to signify law (dhárma) and tradition (ā-mnā-y-á) only.

4.3.127 [1]saṁghá=[2]aṅká-[3]lákṣaṇe-ṣu=[1]aÑ-[2]yaÑ-[3]iÑ-ām áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] aÑ, yaÑ and iÑ [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 120] to derive stems expressing an assemblage (saṁghá-°), a mark (°-aṅká-°) or a characteristic (°-lákṣaṇe-ṣu).

Exception to [vuN 126]. The metarule 1.3.10 does not operate here.

1. aÑ: *bidá-sya gotrāpatyá-sya* = *baída-sya* (1.104) *idáam* = *baída+áṆ* = *baid-á-ḥ saṁghá-ḥ/anká-ḥ; baid-á-m lákṣaṇa-m.*
2. yaÑ: *garga-sya gotrāpatyá-sya* = *gā́rgya-sya* (1.105) *idám* = *gā́rg-ya+áṆ* = *gārg-á-ḥ saṁghá-ḥ/aṅká-ḥ; gārg-ám lákṣaṇa-m.*
3. iÑ: *dā́kṣe-r idám* = *dā́kṣi+áṆ* = *dākṣ-á-ḥ saṁghá-ḥ/aṅká-ḥ dākṣ-á-m lákṣaṇa-m.*

4.3.128 śākal-ā́t=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 127] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śākalá- 'follower of Śákalya' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120 to derive a stem expressing an assemblage, mark or characteristic 127].

śākalá+áṆ/vuÑ (126) = *śākal-á-/śā́kal-aka-* = *śākalá-sya idám.*

4.3.129 [1]chandogá=[2]aukthiká-[3]yājñiká-[4]bahv-ṛcá-[5]naṭ-ā́t= Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] chandoga-́ 'a priest of the Sāma-Veda', aukthiká- 'who knows the recitation of [uktha]', yājñiká- 'sacrificer', bahv-ṛcá- 'who knows the many stanzas of Ṛg Veda' and naṭá- 'actor, dancer' [ending in 1.172 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

chandogā́-nām dhárma-ḥ/āmnāyá-ḥ = *chandoga+Ñya* = *chā́ndog-ya-ḥ* 'law or tradition of Chandogá-s'. Similarly: *aúkthik-ya-, yā́jnik-ya-, bā́hv-ṛc-ya-, nā́ṭ-ya-.*

4.3.130 ná [1]daṇḍa-māṇavá=[2]ante-vāsí-ṣu

[The taddhitá affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 126] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 consisting of patronymics 126 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120] for deriving stems

signifying primary pupils (daṇḍa-māṇavá- 'staff-pupil') or advanced pupils (ante-vāsí-ṣu).

gó-kakṣa-sya gotrāpatyásya = gaú-kakṣ-ya-sya (4.1.105) *imé = gaúkakṣ-ya+áÑ+Jas* (127) = *gau-kakṣ-áh* 'primary or advanced pupils of Gau.'

4.3.131 raivatiká=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with raivatiká [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

reváty-āḥ ápatyam = revátī+ṭháK (1.4) = *raivat-ik-á-* (1.46), *tá-sya idám = raivat-ik-á+cha= raivat-ik-ī́ya-m* 'belonging to Raiv.'

4.3.132 [1]kaupiñjalá-[2]hāsti-pad-ā́t=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaupiñjalá- and hāsti-padá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120].

kúpiñjala-sya ápatyam = kúpiñjala+áṆ = kaupiñjal-á-ḥ, tá-sya idám = kaupiñjal-á+áṆ = kaupiñjal-á-m 'belonging to Kaup.'; similarly *hāsti-padá-sya idám = hāsti-pad-á-m.*

4.3.133 ātharvaṇiká-sya=ika-lopas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem ātharvaṇiká 'who studies or knows the Atharva-Veda' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this belongs to him' 120] with substitute lopa (∅) replacing the element °-ika-.

átharvaṇ-ā prókta-m ádhīte véda vā = átharvan+áṆ (1.83)+*ṭhák* (2.63) *ātharvan-iká-ḥ, tá-sya=idám = ātharvan-iká+áṆ = ātharvan-∅-áṆ = ātharvaṇ-á-m* 'belonging to Ātharvaṇiká'.

4.3.134 tá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'transformation of that' (tá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ).

The repetition of the word [tá-sya] in this sūtra while it was available by anuvr̥tti (recurrence) from 120 above is to block out the affixes introduced in the section

beginning with 2.92 onwards to convey the specific senses mentioned from here onwards.

The illustrations cover the following types of stems subject to this operation: (a) stems denoting inanimate objects or (b) having low-pitched accent (andātta) on the first syllable or (c) not containing the vowel phonemes [ā, ai, au] in the first syllable, members of the tyad-class or denoting place-names in the east with vowel phonemes [e,o] in their first syllable (1.1.73-75).

áśman-aḥ vi-kār-á-ḥ = *áśman+áṆ* = *āsm∅∅+á-ḥ* (by an interpreting vārttika on 6.4.144, contra 6.4.167) 'transformation of a rock or stone', but *ā́śman-á-* (6.4.167) 'belonging to the rock' (120).

4.3.135 avayav-é ca [1]prāṇí(n)=[2]óṣadhi-[3]vr̥kṣé-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying names of animals (prāṇín-°), herbs (°- óṣadhi-°) or trees (°-vr̥kṣé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'transformation of that' 134] in addition to (ca) 'this is its limb' (avayav-é).

1. prāṇín: *kapóta-sya vikāra-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *kapóta+aÑ* (154) = *kā́pot-a-ḥ* 'modification/limb of a pigeon'.
2. óṣadhi: *mūrvā́-yāḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *mūrvā́+áṆ* (1.83) = *maurv-á-ḥ* 'transformation/limb of mūrvā́ (kind of hemp)'.
3. vr̥kṣá: *píppala+áṆ* = *paippal-á-ḥ* 'modification/limb of Ficus Religiosa'.

4.3.136 bilvà=ādi=bhyyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bilvà- 'wood-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its transformation' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

bilvà-sya- vi-kārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *bilvà+áṆ* = *bailv-á-ḥ*. This is a prior exception to [aÑ 140] and [máyaṬ 144] where these would have become applicable to members of this class: *ikṣu+áṆ= aikṣav-á-ḥ* instead of **aíkṣav-a-ḥ/*ikṣu-máya-ḥ*.

4.3.137 ká̲=upadhāt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 136] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its modification' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

Prior exception to [áÑ 139-40]: *tarkó-r vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *tarkú+áÑ* = *tārkav-á-ḥ* 'modification or limb of a spindle'.

4.3.138 ¹trápu-²játu-n-oḥ ṣuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 136 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] trápu- 'tin' and játu 'lac' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135] with the final increment [ṣ] inserted after the stem final [1.1.46].

trápu-ṇ-o vikārá-ḥ = trā́pu+ṣ-áṆ 'modification or transformation of tin'; similarly *játu-n-o vikārá-ḥ = jātu-ṣá-ḥ.*

4.3.139 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

devadāró-r vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = deva-dārū́+aÑ = daíva-dārav-a-ḥ 'modification/limb of the Devadāru tree'. Exception to [áṆ 1.83 and 136ff.]. This rule supplements the succeeding rule by covering stems which have an udā́tta accent on their first syllable.

4.3.140 án-udātta=ādes=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing an ánudātta 'low-pitched' accent on the first syllable (án-udātta=āde-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

dadh-án-i tíṣṭh-a-ti = dadhi-tthá-ḥ, tásya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ- = dadhi-tthá+aÑ = dā́dhi-tth-a- 'produced from or a limb of the tree Feronia Elephantus'; similarly *kapitthá-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = kā́pitth-a-.*

4.3.141 palāśá=ādi-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.3.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with palāśá- 'the Butea Frondosa tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

palāśá-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = palāśá+aÑ/áṆ = pā́lāś-a-ḥ/pālāś-á-ḥ 'produced from or a limb of P.' The difference in the two derivatives is in accent only. This class of stems consists of both udā́tta=ādi and ánudātta=ādi stems and the option applies to both.

4.3.142 śamy-ā́-s=ṬlaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬlaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śamī́ 'the Prosopis Spicigera tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

> *śamy-ā́-ḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = śamī́+ṬlaÑ = śā́mī-la+ṄīP* (1.15) = *śā́mī-l-ī* 'made ofŚamī (a ladle)'; *śā́mī-l-a-m bhás-ma* 'ash from the tree Ś.'

4.3.143 máyaṬ=vā=etáy-or bhāṣā́-y-ām á-[1]bhakṣyà=[2]ācchā́danay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṬ is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] in these two (etáy-oḥ) [meanings: its modification 134 or limb 135] excluding food (°-bhakṣyà) or clothing (°-ācchā́daniyoh) in colloquial speech (bhāṣā́-y-ām).

> *áśman-o vikāra-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = áśman+máyaṬ/áṆ = ásma-máya-/ā́śm-á-/āśman-á-* (6.4.167).

4.3.144 nítyam [1]vr̥ddhá-[2]śara=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143] is necessarily (nítyam) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] belonging to the vr̥ddhá- type (1.1.73-75) and the class of words beginning with śará- 'a kind of reed, Saccharum Sara' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, excluding food or clothing, in colloquial speech 143].

> 1. vr̥ddhá stems: *āmrá-sya vikār--ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = āmra-máya-* 'modification or part of the mango tree'.
> 2. *śarā́-ṇ-ām vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = śara-máya-*.
>
> In non-colloquial speech 143-44 do not apply: *bailv-á-ḥ khādir-ó vā yū́pa-ḥ*. Similarly: *maudgá-ḥ sūpa-ḥ (bhakṣyè), kārpās-á-m ācchā́danam.*

4.3.145 gó-s=ca pū́rīṣ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gó- 'cow f., bull m.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to mean 'cowdung' (pū́rīṣ-e).

> *gó-r vikārá-ḥ pū́rīṣam = go-máya-m* 'cow-dung'; in other senses: *go+yaT* (160) = *gáv-ya-m* 'produced from the cow (such as milk, butter, etc.)'.

4.3.146 piṣṭ-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stam 1.1] piṣṭá- 'flour' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = piṣṭa-máya- 'made of flour'.

4.3.147 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ kaN

[The taddhita 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 piṣṭá- 'flour' 146 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to derive a name (saṁjñā́).

piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = píṣṭa+kaN = píṣṭa-ka-ḥ 'cake made of flour'.

4.3.148 vrīhé-ḥ puroḍāś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vrīhí- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to designate a sacrificial cake (puroḍāś-é).

vrīhī́-ṇ-ām vikārá-ḥ = vrīhi-máya-ḥ (puroḍāśá-ḥ).

4.3.149 á-saṁjña-y-ām [1]tíla-[2]yávā-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tíla- 'sesamum' and yáva- 'barley' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when not forming a name (á-saṁjñā-y-ām)

tíla-sya vikārá-ḥ = tila-máya- 'produced from sesamum'; so also *yáva-sya vikārá-ḥ = yava-máya-*; but as names: *tail-á-m* (1.83)/*yā́v-a-ka-* (1.83; 5.4.29) 'sesamum oil/a particular item of food made of barley'.

4.3.150 dvy-áC-as=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1.1] (dvy-áC-as) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

parṇá-n-ām vikārá-ḥ = parṇa-máya-ḥ 'made of leaves'; so also *darbha-máya-, śara-máya-* 'made of grass, reeds'.

4.3.151 ná=[1]uT-vát=[2]várdhra-[3]bilv-ȁt

[The taddhitá 1.i6 affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ 143] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 containing two syllables 150] (one of which is) short phoneme [u] (uT-vat) [and nominal stems 1.1]. várdhra- 'strap, thong' and bilvà- 'wood-apple tree, Aegle Marmelos' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, in the domain of Chandas 150].

Exception to 150 above. *múñja-sya vikārá-ḥ = múñja+áṆ* (1.83) = *mauñj-á-* 'produced from Múñja grass'; *garmút-aḥ=vikārá-ḥ = gārmut-á-* 'modification of Garmút beans'; similarly *várdhra-sya vikārá-ḥ = várdhra+áṆ+ṄīP* (1.15) = *vārdhr-ī́* 'leather strap'; *bilvà+áṆ = bailv-á-* 'made from B.'

4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with tāla- 'the Palmyra tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

tāla-sya vikārá-ḥ = tāla+áṆ = tāl-á- 'made from the Tāla tree'.

4.3.153 jātá-rūpe-bhyaḥ pari-mā́ṇ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 1.83 is introduced after 1.3.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying gold (jātá-rūpe-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when the modification is one of weight or measure (pari-mā́ṇ-e).

hā́ṭaka-sya vikārá-ḥ niṣka-ḥ = hā́ṭaka+áṆ = hāṭak-á-ḥ 'transformation of gold into a niṣka coin'; similarly: *jāta-rūp-á-, tāpaniy-á-* but *hāṭaka-máy-ī yaṣṭí-ḥ* 'a stick made of gold' which is not a measure or weight.

152-153 are exceptions to [máyaṬ 143] and [aÑ 154].

4.3.154 [1]prāṇí(n)-[2]rajatá=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating animals (prāṇín-°) and the class of words beginning with rajatá- 'silver' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 145].

1. prāṇín- : *kapóta-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = kapóta+aÑ = kā́pot-a-* 'modification or limb of pigeon' and similarly *mā́yūr-a-* 'modification or limb of a peacock'.

2. rajatá=ādi: *rā́jat-a-* 'made of silver'; *sī́sa-sya vikārá-ḥ* = *saís-a-* 'modification of lead'.

4.3.155 Ñ-IT-as=ca tát-pratyay-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker [Ñ] (Ñ-IT-as) [denoting the meanings of modification 134 and limb 135] (tát-pratyay-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 only].

Exception to [máyaṬ 143]. The affixes denoting [vikārá-/avayavá-], ending in marker [Ñ] are: aÑ (139,154,168), ṬlaÑ (142), vuÑ (157), ḍhaÑ (159) and yaÑ (168).

dáivadārava-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *dáivadārava+aÑ* = *dáivadārav-a-* 'a post or stake made in the forest of D. trees' (139); similarly *dā́dhitth-a-* (140), *pā́lāś-a-* (141), *śā́mī-la-* (142), *kā́pot-a* (154), *aúṣṭrak-a-* (157), *aíṇey-a-* (159), *kā́ṁs-ya-*, *pā́rásav-a* (168).

4.3.156 krīta-vát parimā́ṇ-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying a measure (parimā́ṇ-āt) [to denote a modification 134 or limb 135] are identical with those introduced [in the section 5.1.18ff.] to denote 'purchased by him (krīta-vát 5.1.37).

Exception to [áṆ 1.83]. Numerals are included under 'measure' for this purpose.

niṣká-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *niṣká+ṭháK* (5.1.20) = *naiṣk-iká-* 'modification of part of a N.' Similarly *śatá+ṭhaN/yàT* (5.1.21) = *śát-ika-/śát-ya-* modification or part of a hundred'.

4.3.157 úṣṭr-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] úṣṭra- 'camel' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

úṣṭra-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *úṣṭra+vuÑ* = *aúṣṭr-aka-* 'produced from or a limb of a camel'.

4.3.158 ¹úmā=²ū́rṇay-or vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 157] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] úmā 'flax' and ū́rṇā 'wool' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

úmā-y-āḥ vikārá-h = *úmā+vuÑ/áṆ* (1.83) = *aúm-aka-/aum-á-* 'produced from flax'; similarly *ū́rṇā-y-āḥ vikārá-ḥ* = *aúrṇ-aka-/aurṇ-á-* 'made of wool'.

4.3.159 eṇy-ā́ḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] eṇī́ 'antelope, doe' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

eṇy-ā́ḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *eṇī́+ḍhaÑ* = *aíṇ-eya-* 'produced from or a limb of the doe antelope', but *eṇa-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *eṇa+áṄ* = *aíṇ-a-* (154).

4.3.160 ¹gó-²páyas-or yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] gó- 'cow, bull' and páyas- 'milk, water' [ending in 1 1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

gó-r vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ = *gó+yàT* = *gáv-ya-* 'produced from the cow or its limb' similarly *páyas-o vikārá-ḥ* = *payas-yà-* 'milk product'.

4.3.161 dró-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 160 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] drú- 'wood' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

dró-ḥ vikār-áḥ = *dru+yàT* = *dráv-ya-* 'wood product'.

4.3.162 mā́n-e váya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] váya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 drú- 'wood' 161 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to signify a measure (mā́n-e).

drór vikāráḥ = *dru+váya-* = *dru-váya-* 'a wooden measure'.

4.3.163 phál-e luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135] when designating a fruit (phál-e).

> *āmalaky-ā́ḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *āmalaka+ṄĪṢ+(máyaṬ* 144→*luK) āmalaka+$\emptyset^1$* (1.2.49) = *āmalaka-m* 'the fruit of the Āmalaka tree'.

4.3.164 plakṣá=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with plakṣá- 'the Ficus Religiosa tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when designating its fruit 163].

> *plakṣá-sya vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ phála-m* = *plakṣá+áṆ* = *plākṣ-á-m* 'the fruit of the Ficus Religiosa tree'.

4.3.165 jambv-ā́ḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] jambū́ 'the rose-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

> *jambv-ā́ḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ* = *jambū́+áṆ/[áṆ→luk]* = *jāmbav-ám/jambú* 'rose-apple'.

4.3.166 luP ca

luP ($\emptyset^3$) [optionally 165 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 jambū́ 'rose-apple tree' 165 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

> *jambū+áṆ/áṆ→luK/áṆ-luP* = *jāmbav-á-m/jambú/jambū́*; by 1.2.51 when replacement of an affix by luP occurs the original stem retains its gender and number.

4.3.167 harītakī=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP (∅[3])] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with harītakī 'Myrobalan' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

harītaky-āḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ phálam = harītakī+áṆ→luP = harītakī 'the fruit of Myrobalan'.

4.3.168 [1]kaṁsī́ya-[2]paraśavyà̀y-or [1]yaÑ=[2]aÑ=au luK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yaÑ and aÑ are introduced respectively (1.3.10) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaṁsī́ya- 'bronze' and paraśavyà- 'iron' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] and luK (∅[1]) replaces [the affixes cha 5.1.1 and yàT 5.1.2 respectively (1.3.10) of these stems].

kaṁsī́ya-sya vikārá-ḥ = kaṁsa+cha+yaÑ = kaṁsa+∅[1]+yaÑ = kā́ṁs-ya- 'made of bronze'. *paraśavyà-sya vikārá-ḥ = paraśu+yàT+aÑ = paraśu+∅[1]+aÑ = pā́raśav-a-* 'made of iron'.

4.4.1 prā̆k=váhate-s=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] (in this section) preceding (prā̆k) the sū̆tra [tád váhati rátha-yugá-prāsaṅgám (76 below)].

This is a governing rule [adhikāra-sútra] and the affix [ṭháK] or its replacements will recur in the following sū̆tra-s 2-75.

4.4.2 t-éna dī́v-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote (a) plays with it (dī́v-ya-ti), (b) digs with it (khán-a-ti), (c) wins with it (jáy-a-ti) and conquered with it (ji-tá-m).

1. *akṣ-aír dī́v-ya-ti = akṣá+ṭháK = ākṣ-iká-ḥ* 'who gambles with dice'.
2. *ábhry-ā khán-a-ti = ábhri+ṭháK = ābhr-iká-ḥ* 'who digs with a spade'.
3. *akṣ-aír jáy-a-ti = ākṣ-iká-h* 'who wins with dice'
4. *akṣ-aír ji-tá-m = ākṣ-iká-m* 'won with dice'.

4.4.3 sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'seasoned or garnished with it' (sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m).

dadh-n-ā́ sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m = dádhi+ṭháK = dādhi-ká-m 'seasoned or garnished with curds'; similarly *marica+ṭháK = māric-iká-m* 'seasoned with pepper'.

4.4.4 [1]kulattha-[2]ka̱=upadh-āt=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kulattha- 'the pulse Dolichos Uniflorus' and those containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'seasoned or garnished with it' 3].

Exception to [ṭháK 1].

1. *kulatth-ena sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m = kulattha+áṆ = kaulatth-á-m* 'mixed with pulse K.'
2. *tittiḍīk-ena sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m = tittiḍīka+áṆ = taittiḍīk-á-* 'seasoned or spiced with tamarind'.

4.4.5 tár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'crosses with it' (tár-a-ti).

uḍup-éna tár-a-ti = *uḍupá+ṭháK* = *auḍup-iká-ḥ* 'who sails across by boat'.

4.4.6 go-pucch-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] go-pucchá- 'ox-tail' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'crosses with it' 5].

go-pucch-éna tár-a-ti = *go-pucchá+ṭhaÑ* = *gaú-pucch-ika-ḥ* 'who goes across holding on to the tail of an ox'.

4.4.7 [1]naú-[2]dvy-áC-as=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naú- 'boat' and those containing two syllables (dvy-áC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'crosses with it 5].

1. *nāv-ā́ tár-a-ti* = *naú+ṭhaN* = *nā́v-ika-ḥ* 'sailor (who crosses by boat).
2. *pláv-ena tár-a-ti* = *pláv-ika-ḥ* 'sailor'; *bāhú-bhyām tár-a-ti* = *bā́hu-ka-ḥ* 'who swims across with his arms'.

4.4.8 cár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'moves or eats with it' (cár-a-ti).

śakaṭ-ena cár-a-ti = *śakaṭa+ṭhák* = *śākaṭ-iká-ḥ* 'travels by a chariot'; *dadh-n-ā́ cár-a-ti* = *dādh-iká-ḥ* 'eats with curds'.

4.4.9 ā-karṣ-ā́t=ṢṭhaL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ākarṣá-'touch-stone' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it' 8].

ākarṣ-éṇa cár-a-ti = *ākarṣa+ṢṭhaL* = *ākárṣ-ika-ḥ* 'who moves with a touch-stone'; a variant reading is *ākaṣa-* with a derivative *ākáṣ-ika-*. Feminine derivative with *ṄīṢ* (1.41).

4.4.10 parpá=ādi-bhyas=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with parpá- 'wheel-chair' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it' 8].

parp-éṇa cár-a-ti = *parpá+ṢṭhaN* = *párp-ika-ḥ* m./*parp-ik-ī́* f. (1.41) 'moves with a wheel-chair'.

4.4.11 śva-gaṇ-ā́t=ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ, in addition to (ca) [ṢṭhaN 10 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śva-gaṇá- 'a pack of dogs' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'moves with it 8].

śva-gaṇ-ena cár-a-ti = *śva-gaṇá+ṭhaÑ/ṢṭhaN* = *śvā́-gaṇ-ika-ḥ/śvá-gaṇ-ika-ḥ* 'who moves with a pack of dogs'.

4.4.12 vétana=ādi-bhyaḥ=jī́v-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with vétana- 'wages' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2]to denote 'earns his livelihood with it' (jī́v-a-ti).

vétan-ena jī́v-a-ti = *vétana+ṭháK* = *vaitan-iká-ḥ* 'who lives with wages'.

4.4.13 [1]vasná-[2]kraya-vikray-ā́t=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vasná- 'salary' and kraya-vikrayá- 'buying and selling' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'earns his livelihood with it' 12].

vasn-éna jī́v-a-ti = *vasná+ṭhaN* = *vásn-ika-ḥ* 'lives by earning salary or wages'; similarly *kráya-vikray-ika-ḥ* 'who earns his livelihood by buying and selling'; separately *kray-éṇa/vikray-éṇa jī́v-a-ti* = *kráy-ika-ḥ/víkray-ika-ḥ*.

4.4.14 ā́-yudh-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha in addition to (ca) [ṭhaN is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā́-yudh-a 'weapon' [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'earns his livelihood with it 12].

ā́-yudh-ena jī́v-a-ti = ā́-yudh-a+cha/ṭhaN = ā-yudh-ī́ya-ḥ/ā́-yudh-ika-ḥ 'a mercenary who earns his livelihood with weapons'.

4.4.15 hár-a-ti=ut-saṅgá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ut-saṅg-á- 'lap' [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote the sense of 'carry away, bear' (hár-a-ti).

ut-saṅg-éna hár-a-ti = ut-saṅg-á+ṭháK = aut-saṅg-iká-ḥ 'who carries with his lap'.

4.4.16 bhástrā=ādi-bhyas=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bhástrā 'leather pouch or bag' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carry away' 15].

bhástray-ā hár-a-ti = bhástrā+ṢṭhaN = bhástr-ika-ḥ m., *-ikī́* f. 'who transports with a leathern bag'.

4.4.17 vibhāṣā [1]vivadhá-[2]vī̃vadh-ā́t

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 16] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vivadhá- and vī̃vadhá- 'a shoulder yoke' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carries or bears with it' 15].

vivadh-éna/vīvadh-éna hár-a-ti = vī̃vadhá+ṢṭhaN/ṭháK = vívadh-ika-(m) (*°-ikī́* f.) / *vī́vadh-ika-* (*°-ikī́* f.) / *vaivadh-iká-* (*-ikī́* f.) 'who carries with a shoulder yoke'.

4.4.18 áṆ kū́ṭilikā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kū́ṭilikā 'moving crookedly' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'carries or bears with it' 15].

kū́ṭilikay-ā hár-a-ti = kū́ṭilikā+áN = kauṭilik-á-ḥ mr̥gá-ḥ 'who carries while moving crookedly (said of an animal)'.

4.4.19 nír-vr̥t-t-e=akṣa-dyūtá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with akṣa-dyūtá- 'gambling with dice' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' (nír-vr̥t-t-e).

akṣa-dyūt-éna nír-vr̥tta-m = akṣa-dyūtá+ṭháK = ā́kṣa-dyūt-iká-m (vairám) '(enmity) engendered by gambling with dice'.

4.4.20 Ktre-r maP=nítya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] maP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktrí (3.3.38 occurring after verbal stems with marker ḌU as IT) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' 19] necessarily (nítya-m).

pāk-éna nír-vr̥t-ta-m = ḌU-pac-AṢ+Ktrí+maP = pak=trí-ma-m 'completed by cooking'; similarly *kr̥-trí-ma-* 'artificial, accomplished by fashioning'.

4.4.21 [1]apa-mí-t-ya-[2]yācitā́-bhyāṁ káK= kaNau

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] káK and kaN are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] apa-mí-t-ya- 'debt' and yāc-i-tá 'alms' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'originated or accomplished by it' 19.]

apa-mí-t-ya .nír-vr̥t-ta-m = apa-mí-t-ya+káK = ā́pa-mi-t-ya-ká-m 'achieved by barter' (according to Kāśikā and S. Kaumudī) where [apa-mí-t-ya] is construed as a gerund, but the nominal stem occurs in AV. Similarly *yā́cit-éna nír-vr̥t-ta-m = yā́cita-ka-m* 'received through alms'.

4.4.22 sáṁ-sr̥ṣ-ṭ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK i is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'mixed with it' (sáṁ-sr̥ṣ-ṭ-e).

dadh-n-ā́ sáṁ-sr̥ṣ-ṭa-m = dádhi+ṭháK = dādhi-ká-m 'mixed with curds'.

4.4.23 cūrṇ-āt=íni̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] cūrṇa- 'powder' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUp triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

cūrṇ-ena sáṁ-sr̥ṣ-ṭa-m = cūrṇa+ín = cūrṇ-ín- 'covered with powder'.

4.4.24 lavaṇ-ā́t=luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] lavaṇá- 'salt' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

lavaṇ-éna sáṁ-sr̥ṣ-ṭa-m = lavaṇá+ṭháK→luK = lavaṇá- 'salted; mixed with salt'.

4.4.25 mudg-ā́t=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mudgá- 'Mung bean' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote 'mixed with it' 22].

mudgá+áṆ = maudg-á- 'mixed with M. beans'.

4.4.26 vy-áñjan-air úpa-sik-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a condiment (vy-áñjan-aiḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'sprinkled with' (úpa-sik-t-e).

dadh-n-ā́ úpa-sik-ta-m = dádhi+ṭháK = dādhi-ká-m 'sprinkled with curds'; similarly *páyas-ā úpa-sik-ta-m = pāyas-iká-m* 'sprinkled with water/milk'.

4.4.27 ¹ójas=²sáhas=³ámbhas-ā várt-a-te

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] ójas- 'strength', sáhas- 'violence' and ámbhas- 'water' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote 'proceeds with' (várt-a-te).

ójas-ā várt-a-te = ojas+ṭháK = aujas-iká- 'endowed with strength'; similarly: *sāhas-iká-* 'violent' and *āmbhas-iká-* 'aquatic'.

4.4.28 tát [1]práti=[2]ánu-pūrva-m [1]īpa-[2]loma(n)=[3]kūla-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] °-īpá- 'water', °-loman- 'hair' and °-kūla- 'bank, shore' co-occurring with the preverbs práti-° and ánu-° as prior members (°-pūrvam) (ending in 1.1.27) the second sUP triplet (tát) [to denote 'remaining with' 27].

pratīpá-m várt-a-te = pratīpá+ṭháK = prātīp-iká- 'moving against the current'; similarly *ānv-īp-iká-* 'moving with the current'; *prāti-lom-iká-/ānu-lom-iká* 'moving against/along the bank'.

4.4.29 pari-mukhá-ṁ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] parimukhá 'round or about the face' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'remaining with' 27].

pari-mukhá-ṁ várt-a-te = pāri-mukh-iká- '(always) facing (the master) = attendant, servant'.

4.4.30 prá-yacch-a-ti garhyà-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'gives what is blameworthy' (prá-yacch-a-ti garhyà-m).

dvi-guṇá-m (= dvi-guṇārthá-m) prá-yacch-a-ti = dvi-guṇa+ṭháK = dvai-guṇ-iká-ḥ 'who lends money for the purpose of doubling it (by usury)'.

4.4.31 [1]kúsīda-[2]daśa=ekādaś-ā́t [1]ṢṭhaN=[2]ṢṭháC-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN and ṢṭháC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúsīda- 'interest-bearing loan' and daśa=ekādaśá- 'lending money at 10 % interest' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'gives what is blameworthy' 30].

kúsīda-m prá-yacch-a-ti = kusīda+ṢṭhaN = kúsīd-ika-ḥ (°*-ikī́* f. 1.41) 'usurer,

money-lender'. Similarly ***daśa=ekādaśá-m prá-yacch-a-ti = daśaikādaśá+ṢṭháC = daśaikādaś-iká-ḥ*** **'who charges 10 % interest'.**

4.4.32 úñch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'gleans it' (úñch-a-ti).

badarā-ṇ-i uñch-a-ti = badara+ṭháK = bādar-iká-ḥ **'who gleans or gathers jujube fruit'.**

4.4.33 rákṣ-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'protects it' (rákṣ-a-ti).

samājá-ṁ rákṣ-a-ti = sāmāj-iká-ḥ **'guardian of the assembly'.**

4.4.34 [1]śábda-[2]dardura-ṁ kar-ó-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śábda- 'sound' and dardura- 'a particular kind of pot' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'produces it' (kar-o-ti).

śábda-ṁ kar-ó-ti = śábda+ṭháK = śābd-iká-ḥ **'grammarian, linguist' similarly** ***dārdur-iká-ḥ*** **'potter'.**

4.4.35 [1]pakṣí(n)-[2]mátsya-[3]mr̥gā́-n hán-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] designating birds (pakṣín-°), fish (°-mátsya-°) and animals (°-mr̥gā́-n) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'kills them' (hán-ti).

pakṣíṇ-aḥ hán-ti = pakṣi∅+ikáK **(6.4.144) =** ***pākṣ∅-iká-ḥ*** **(6.4.148) 'bird hunter';** ***māyūr-iká-ḥ*** **'hunter of peacocks'.**

mátsyā-n hán-ti = mātsy-iká-ḥ **'fisherman' (vārtt. on 6.4.149); similarly** ***śāphar-iká-ḥ*** **'a fisherman catching Ś. fish'.**

mr̥gā́-n hán-ti = mārg-iká-ḥ **'animal-hunter'; so also** ***sūkarā́-n hán-ti*** **'hunter of wild-boars':** ***saukar-iká-ḥ.***

4.4.36 pari-panthá-ṁ=ca tíṣṭh-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-panthá- 'by or on the way' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'remains' (tíṣṭh-a-ti) in addition to (ca) [kills, strikes' 35].

pari-panthá-m tíṣṭh-a-ti/hán-ti = pari-panthá+ṭháK = pāri-panth-iká- 'highway robber/murderer'.

Note that 35-36 constitute a natural hemistich of an anuṣṭubh verse.

4.4.37 [1]māthá=uttara-pada-[2]padavī́=[3]anupadá-ṁ dhā́v-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with °-māthá- 'way, road' as final member (°-uttara-pada-° of a compound), and the words padavī́ 'footpath' and anu-padá- 'following closely' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 29] to denote 'runs' (dhā́v-a-ti).

daṇḍa-māthá-ṁ dhā́v-a-ti = daṇḍa-māthá+ṭháK = dāṇḍa-māth-iká- 'who runs on a straight road'; similarly *pādav-iká-* 'running on the sidewalk, footpath or pavement'; *ānu-pad-iká-* 'pursuer, shadower'.

4.4.38 ā-krand-ā́t=ṭhaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced, in addition to (ca) [ṭháK 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-krand-á 'battle-field or place of lamentation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'runs' 37].

ā-krand-á-ṁ dhā́v-a-ti = ā-krand-á+ṭhaÑ/ṭháK = á-krand-ika-ḥ/ā-krand-iká-ḥ 'runs on the battle-field or a place of lamentation'.

4.4.39 padá=uttara-pada-ṁ gr̥h-ṇā́-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °padá- as a final member (°-uttara-pada-ṁ of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'grasps it' (gr̥h-ṇā́-ti).

pūrva-padá-m gr̥h-ṇā́-ti = pūrva-pada+ṭháK = paurva-pad-iká- 'who grasps the preceding member (of a compound)'.

4.4.40 ¹prati-kaṇṭhá=²ártha=³lalā́ma-ṁ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.1 the nominal stems 1.1] prati-kaṇṭhá- 'throat by throat', ártha- 'sense, import, meaning' and lalā́ma- 'an ornament' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'grasps it' 39].

prati-kaṇṭhá-ṁ gr̥h-ṇā́-ti = *prati-kaṇṭhá+ṭháK* = *prāti-kaṇṭh-iká-* 'who seizes throat by throat'; similarly *ārth-iká-* 'who grasps the meaning'; *lālām-iká-* 'who holds the ornament'.

4.4.41 dhárma-ṁ cár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dhárma- 'law' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'observes or practises it' (cár-a-ti).

dhárma-ṁ cár-a-ti = *dharma+ṭháK* = *dhārm-iká-* 'who observes or practises law'.

4.4.42 prati-path-ám é-ti ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] as well as ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prati-path-á- 'path by path' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'goes along it' (é-ti).

prati-path-á-m é-ti = *prati-path-á+ṭhaN/ṭháK* = *práti-path-ika-/prāti-path-iká-* 'who goes along each path'.

4.4.43 samavāyā́-n sam-á-vaiti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an assemblage (sam-ava=āyā́-n) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'assembles it' (sam-áva+e-ti).

samavāyā́-n sam-ávai-ti = *samavāyá+ṭháK* = *sāmavāy-iká-* 'frequenter of communities'.

4.4.44 pari-ṣád-aḥ=Ṇyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-ṣád- 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'frequents it' 43].

pari-ṣád-aṁ sam-ávai-ti = pariṣad+Ṇyá- = pāri-ṣad-yá- 'assemblyman, councillor'.

4.4.45 sénā-y-āḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṇyá 44] is optionally (vā) introduced [after the nominal stem 1.1] sénā 'army' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote 'frequents it' 43].

sénā-ṁ sam-ávai-ti = śenā+Ṇyá/ṭháK = sain-yá-/sain-iká- 'soldier'.

4.4.46 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ [1]lalā́ṭa-[2]kukkuṭy-áu páśy-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] lalā́ṭa- 'forehead' and kukkuṭī́ 'hen' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'sees it' (paśy-a-ti) when deriving a proper name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

lalā́ṭa-m páśy-a-ti = lalā́ṭa+ṭháK = lālāṭ-iká- 'a negligent servant'; *kukkuṭī́-m paśy-a-ti = kaukkuṭ-iká-ḥ (bhikṣú-ḥ)* 'wandering (monk)'. These meanings are derived from the fact that in the first case the person looks at the forehead of the master from a distance without performing his duties and in the second case he walks looking down on the ground.

4.4.47 tá-sya dharm-yà-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'one's proper duty or obligation' (dharm-yà-m).

śulka-śālā́-y-āḥ dharm-yà-m = śulka-śālā́+ṭháK = śaulka-śāl-iká-m 'behavior proper to a custom-house'; similarly *ā-kará-sya dharmyà-m = ākar-iká-m* 'miner's duty'.

4.4.48 áṆ máhiṣī=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with máhiṣī 'principal queen' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'one's duty or obligation' 47].

máhiṣy-āḥ dharmyàm = máhiṣ-á-m 'duties proper to the principal queen'.

4.4.49 ṛT-aḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme short [ṛ] (ṛT-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'one's proper duty' 47].

hót-ur dharmyàm = *hótṛ+aÑ* = *haútr-a-m* 'duty of the Hótṛ-priest'.

4.4.50 ava-kray-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 47] to denote 'its revenue' (ava-kray-á-ḥ).

śulka-śālā́-y-āḥ ava-kray-á-ḥ = *śulka-śālā́+ṭháK* = *.śaulka-śāl-iká-ḥ* 'custom-house revenue'.

4.4.51 tád a-syá páṇya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'his commodity for sale' (a-syá páṇya-m).

apūpá-ḥ páṇya-m a-syá = *apūpá+ṭháK* = *āpūp-iká-ḥ* 'a dealer in cakes'; similarly *módaka+ṭháK* = *maudak-iká-ḥ* 'a dealer in sweetmeats'.

4.4.52 lavaṇ-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] lavaṇá- 'salt' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

lavaṇá-m páṇya-m a-syá = *lavaṇá+ṭhaÑ* = *lā́vaṇ-ika-ḥ* 'salt dealer'.

4.4.53 kiśara=ādi-bhyas=Ṣṭhaṇ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṣṭhaṇ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kiśara- 'n.pr. of a perfume' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

kiśara-ḥ páṇya-m a-syá = *kiśara+Ṣṭhaṇ* = *kíśar-ika-ḥ* (°*-ik-ī́* f. 1.41) 'dealer in perfumery'

4.4.54 śalālu-n-aḥ=anya-tarás-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 53] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śalālu- 'n: of a perfume' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one's commodity for sale 51].

śalālu páṇya-m a-syá = śalālu+ṢṭhaN/ṭháK = śálālu-ka-ḥ/śālālu-ká-ḥ 'dealer specializing in Ś. perfume'. Feminine derivatives are: *śalālu-kī́/śālālu-kī́* (resp. 1.41, 15).

4.4.55 śílpa-m-

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote that 'it is one's art' (śílpa-m).

mṛdaṅga-vādaná-m śílpa-m a-syá = mṛdaṅga+ṭháK = mārdang-iká-ḥ 'expert drum-player'; similarly *vaiṇ-iká-ḥ* 'expert player on the Vīṇā'.

4.4.56 [1]maḍḍuka-[2]jharjar-āt=áṆ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] maḍḍuka- and jharjhara- 'kinds of drums' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51 to denote one's art 55].

The option is with respect to the general affix [ṭháK 1].
maḍḍuka+áṆ/ṭháK = māḍḍu-ká-ḥ/māḍḍuk-iká-ḥ 'expert player on M. drum'; similarly *jhārjhar-á-ḥ/jhārjhar-iká-ḥ.*

4.4.57 pra-hár-aṇa-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote 'this is [one's 51] weapon' (pra-hár-aṇa-m).

así-ḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = así+ṭháK = āsi-ká-ḥ 'swordsman'.
dhánuḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = dhānuṣ-ká-ḥ 'archer'.

4.4.58 paraśvadh-āt=ṭhaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced in addition to (ca) [ṭháK 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] paraśvadha- 'hatchet' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's' 51 weapon 57].

paraśvadha+ṭhaÑ/ṭháK = pā́raśvadh-ika-ḥ/pāraśvadh-iká-ḥ 'hatchet-man'.

4.4.59 [1]śaktí-[2]yaṣṭy-ór īkáK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] īkáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śaktí- 'dart, spear' and yastí- 'stick' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's' 51 weapon 57].

śaktí-ḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = śakti+īkáK = śākt-īká-ḥ 'wielder of darts or spears'; so also *yāṣṭ-īká-ḥ* 'whose weapon is a stick'.

4.4.60 [1]ásti-[2]nā́sti-[3]diṣṭá-m matí-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] ás-ti 'there is', ná=as-ti 'there is not' and diṣṭá- 'fate' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is [one's 51] belief (matí-ḥ)].

ás=ti matí-r a-syá = asti+ṭháK = āst-iká-ḥ 'theist'; so also *nāst-iká-ḥ* 'atheist' and *daiṣṭ-iká-ḥ* 'fatalist'.

4.4.61 śī́la-m

[The taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote '[this is one's 51] habit or nature' (śī́la-m).

apūpa-(bhakṣaṇ-ám) śī́la-m a-syá = apūpá+ṭháK = āpūp-iká-ḥ 'who has for his regular diet cakes'; similarly *audan-iká-ḥ* 'accustomed to eat rice'.

4.4.62 cháttra=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ṇá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with chát-tra- 'shelter, cover' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is one's 51 habit or nature 61].

chát-tra-ṁ śī́la-m a-syá = chat-tra+Ṇá = chāt-tr-á-ḥ 'accustomed to take shelter (under a preceptor), pupil'.

4.4.63 kárma=adhy-áyan-e vr̥t-tá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an action (kárman) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote 'occurring in [one's 51] study' (adhy-áyan-e).

éka-m anyád adhy-áy-an-e vr̥t-tám = ekānyá+ṭháK = aikāny-iká-ḥ '(a pupil) who commits a single error in the course of his study'; similarly *dvaiyany-iká-ḥ/traiy-any-iká-ḥ.*

4.4.64 bahu=áC-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭháC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a polysyllabic prior member (bahu=áC-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51 to denote 'occurring in (one's 51) study' 63].

dvā́-daśa anyā́-n-i kármā-ṇ-i adhy-áyan-e vr̥t-tá-m = dvā-daśānyá+ṭháK = dvā́daśāny-iká-ḥ '(a pupil) who commits twelve errors in his study'. The difference between the two affixes is with reference to the vr̥ddhi replacement of the first syllable: *trayodaśāny-iká-ḥ.*

4.4.65 hi-tá-m bhakṣā́-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is his 51] wholesome diet (hi-tá-m bhakṣā́-ḥ).

odana-(bhakṣaṇá-m) hi-tá-m a-syá = odaná+ṭháK = audan-iká-ḥ 'whose wholesome diet is rice'.

4.4.66 tád a-smaí dī-yá-te ní-yuk-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'is allotted to him rightfully' (a-smaí dī-yá-te ní-yuk-ta-m).

ágr-e bhój-ana-m a-smaí ní-yuk-ta-m̐ dī-yá-te = ágra-bhojana+ṭháK = āgra-bhojan-iká-ḥ 'entitled to be served first with food'.

4.4.67 ¹śrāṇā́-²māṁsa=odan-ā́t=ṬiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śrāṇā́ 'rice gruel' and māṁsaudaná- 'rice mixed with meat' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is allotted to him rightfully' 55].

If only these two nominal stems were involved the affix [ṭhaÑ] might as well have been introduced in the place of [ṬiṭhaN]; the purpose of so introducing this affix is to indicate, according to interpretation, that besides the compound *māṁsaudaná-*, *odaná-* also is subiect to the same operation.

śrāṇā́ a-smaí dī-yá-te ní-yuk-ta-m = *śrāṇā́+ṬiṭhaN* = *śrā́ṇ-ika-ḥ* 'entitled to be served with rice gruel'; *odaná+ṬiṭhaN* = *ódan-ika-ḥ* 'entitled to be served with rice'.

4.4.68 bhak-t-ā́t=áṆ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhak-tá- 'food' [ending in 1 1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it is alloted to him rightfully 66].

bhaktám asmaí níyuktaṁ dīyáte = *bhaktá+áṆ/ṭháK* = *bhā́kt-á-ḥ/bhākt-iká-ḥ* 'entitled to be served with food'.

4.4.69 tá-tra ní-yuk-ta-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'appointed or employed there'(niyuktaḥ).

śulka-śālā́-y-āṁ níyuktah = *śulkaśālā́+ṭháK* = *śaulka-śāl-iká-ḥ* 'employed at the custom-house'.

4.4.70 agāra=ant-āt=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °-agāra- 'house' as a final member (agārānt-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'appointed or employed therein 69].

devāgār-é níyukta-ḥ = *devāgārá+ṭhaN* = *dévāgār-ika-ḥ* 'temple employ, church employ'; so also *bhā́ṇḍāgār-ika-ḥ* 'employed in the treasury'.

4.4.71 adhy-āy-ín-i=á-[1]deśa-[2]kāl-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] specifying an improper place or time (á-deśa-kāl-āt) and [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote a student (adhy-āy-ín-i).

1. á-deśa: *śmaśān-e ádhī-te = śmaśana+ṭháK = śmāśān-iká-ḥ* '(a pupil) studying in the crematorium'.
2. a-kāla: *caturdaśy-am ádhī-te = cāturdaś-iká-ḥ* 'who studies on the fourteenth day of a fortnight'.

4.4.72 [1]kaṭhiná=anta-[2]pra-stār-á-[3]saṁ-sthā́ne-ṣu vy-áva-har-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.i6 attix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with °-kaṭhiná- 'thicket, clump, forest' as a final member (°-antāt of a compound) and the words prastārá- 'jungle, forest' and saṁ-sthā́na- 'public place' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'transacts business [there 69]' (vy-áva-iar-a-ti).

1. *vaṁśa-kaṭhin-é vy-áva-har-a-ti = vaṁśa-kaṭhiná+ṭháK = vāṁśa-kaṭhin-iká-ḥ* 'who transacts business in a bamboo thicket'.
2. *pra-stār-é vy-áva-har-a-ti = prāstār-iká-ḥ* 'who carries on business/trade in a jungle'.
3. *saṁ-sthā́n-e vy-áva-har-a-ti = sāṁsthan-iká-ḥ* 'who carries on business in a public place'.

4.4.73 ní-kaṭ-e vás-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ni-kaṭa- 'near' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'he lives [there 69] (vás-a-ti).

níkaṭ-e vás-a-ti = níkaṭa+ṭháK = naikaṭ-iká-ḥ (bhikṣú-ḥ) 'lives near (a village) [said of an ascetic]'.

4.4.74 ā-vas-áth-āt=ṢṭhaL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-vas-áth-a- 'house' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69 to denote 'one lives (there 69)'73].

ā-vas-áth-e vás-a-ti = *ā-vas-áth-a+ṢṭhaL* = *ā-vas-áth-ika-ḥ* m. (*°-ikī́* f. 1.41) 'who resides in a house'

4.4.75 prā́k=hi-t-ā́t=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] beginning with this section up to 5.1.5 below [tá-smai hi-tá-m].

This constitutes a governing rule (adhikārá) and the affix [yáT] recurs in all subsequent rules of this section unless otherwise specified up to 5.1.4 inclusive.
The section governing the affix [ṭháK 1ff.] ends here.

4.4.76 tád váh-a-ti [1]rátha-[2]yugá-[3]prāsaṅgá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] rátha- 'chariot', yugá- 'yoke' and prāsaṅgá- 'a kind of yoke for cattle' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet [tád] to denote 'bears or carries that' (tád váh-a-ti).

rátha-ṁ váh-a-ti = *ratha+yàT* = *ráth-ya-ḥ* (6.1.13) 'which draws the chariot'. *yugá-ṁ váh-a-ti* = *yúg-ya-ḥ* 'yoke-bearer'; *prāsaṅgá-ṁ váh-a-ti* = *prāsaṅg-yà-ḥ*.

4.4.77 dhúr-aḥ=yàT= ḍháK-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and ḍhaK are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dhúr- 'beam of a plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries that' 76].

dhúr-aṁ váh-a-ti = *dhúr+yàT/ḍháK* = *dhúr-ya-ḥ/dhaur-eyá-ḥ* '(a beast) carrying the beam of a plough'.

4.4.78 kha-ḥ sarva-dhur-ā́t

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sarva-dhur-ā́ 'entire burden' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries that' 76].

sarva-dhurā́-ṁ váh-a-ti = *sarva-dhurā́+kha* = *sarva-dhur∅[1]-ī́ṇa-ḥ* 'bearing the whole burden'.

4.4.79 eka-dhur-ā́t=luK ca

luK (∅[1]) also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 78 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] eka-dhur-ā́ 'a single shaft' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it 78].

eka-dhur-ā́-ṁ váh-a-ti = eka-dhurā́+kha/kha→luk = eka-dhur-ī́ṇa-ḥ/eka-dhur-á-ḥ (1.2.49) 'bearer of a single shaft'.

4.4.80 śakaṭ-āt=áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śakaṭa- 'cart' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it' 76].

śakaṭa-ṁ váh-a-ti = śakaṭa+áṆ = śākaṭ∅[1]+á-ḥ (6.4.148) 'who draws the cart'.

4.4.81 [1]hala-[2]sī́r-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1.] halá- and sī́ra- 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries it' 76].

halá-ṁ/sī́ra-ṁ váh-a-ti = halá/sī́ra+ṭháK = hā́l-iká-ḥ/sair-iká-ḥ 'who bears the ploughshare'.

4.4.82 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ jány-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] jánī́ 'a young married woman' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'bears or carries her' 76 to form a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām)].

jánī-ṁ váh-a-ti = janī+yàT+ṬāP (1.4) = *ján∅-yā* (6.4.148) 'bridesmaid (who introduces the bride to the bridegroom)'.

4.4.83 vídh-ya-ti=á-dhanuṣ-ā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'pierces with [it 76]' (vídh-ya-ti) other than with a bow (á-dhanuṣ-ā).

padá-ṁ vídh-y-anti = padá+yàT+Jas = pad+yàT+Jas (6.3.53) = *pád-yāḥ*

(śárkarā-ḥ) 'piercing the foot (said of gravel)'. But *pād-aú vídh-ya-ti dhánuṣ-ā* 'pierces the feet with a bow'.

4.4.84 [1]dhána-[2]gaṇá-m lab-dhā́

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dhána- 'wealth' and gaṇá- 'troop' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'receives [that 76]' (lab-dhā́).

dhán-aṁ lab-dhā́ = dhána+yàT = dhán∅-ya-ḥ 'wealthy'; similarly *gaṇá-m lab-dhā́ = gáṇ-ya-ḥ* 'who acquires a multitude'.

4.4.85 ánn-āt=Ṇá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ánna- 'food' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76 to denote 'obtains [that 76]' 84].

ánna-ṁ lab-dhā́ = ánna+Ṇá = ānn-á-ḥ 'one who gets food'.

4.4.86 váśa-ṁ ga-tá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1.] váśa- 'control, subjection' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'has gone to or under [that 76]' (ga-tá-ḥ).

váśa-ṁ ga-tá-ḥ = váśa+yT = váś-ya-ḥ 'subjected, gone under subjection or control of'.

4.4.87 padá-m a-smín dŕ̥ś-ya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] padá- 'foot-print' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (padá-m) to denote 'is to be seen or visible in this' (a-smín dŕ̥ś-ya-m).

padá-m a-smín (kardám-e) dŕ̥ś-ya-m = padá+yT = pád-ya-ḥ (kar-dáma-ḥ) '(mud) in which a footstep is to be seen'.

4.4.88 mū́la-m a-syá=ā-barhí

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mū́la- 'root' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (mū́la-m) to denote 'fit for eradication or uprooting' (ā-barhi).

mū́la-m e-ṣā́m (mā́ṣā-ṇ-ām ā-barhí) = mū́la+yaT+Jas = mū́l-yā-ḥ (mā́ṣā-ḥ) 'these plants of M. beans are fit for uprooting'.

4.4.89 saṁjñā́-y-ām dhenuṣyā́

(The irregular expression) dhenuṣ-yā́ is introduced as a name (saṁjña-y-ām) 'a cow whose milk has been pledged as repayment of a debt' [irregularly derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75].

dhenu+yàT = dhenu+ṣuK+yàT+ṬāP = dhenu-ṣ-yā́

4.4.90 gr̥ha-patí-nā sáṁ-yuk-t-e Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gr̥ha-patí- 'master of the house' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (gr̥ha-patí-nā) to denote 'joined with' (sáṁ-yuk-t-e)].

gr̥ha-patí-nā sáṁ-yuk-ta-ḥ (agní-ḥ) = gr̥ha-patí+Ñya = gā́rha-pat∅-ya-ḥ 'domestic [fire] joined with the master of the house'.

4.4.91 [1]naú-[2]váyas=[3]dhárma-[4]vísa-[5]mū́la-[6]mū́la-[7]sī́tā-[8]tulā́-bhyas=[1]tār-yà-[2]túl-ya-[3]prā́p-ya-[4]vádh-ya=[5]ā-nām-yà-[6]samá-[7]sá-mita-[8]sám-mi-te-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naú 'boat', váyas- 'age', dhárma- 'law,' víṣa- 'poison', mū́la-[1] 'root', mū́la-[2] 'capital, value', sī́tā 'furrow made by a plough', and tulā́ 'balance' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'to be crossed' (tār-yà-), 'equal to' (túl-ya-), 'to be attained' (prā́p-ya-), 'to be killed' (vádh-ya-), 'to be bent down' (ā-nām-yà-), 'equivalent to' (samá-), 'measured out' (sá-mita-), and 'equal to' (sám-mita-).

1. *nāv-ā́ tār-yà-m = naú+yàT = nāv-yà-m* (6.1.79,213) 'to be crossed by boat, navigable'.
2. *váyas-ā túl-ya-ḥ = vayas-yà-ḥ* 'companion, friend (of the same age group)'.

3. *dhárm-eṇa prā́p-ya-m* = *dhárm-ya-m* 'attainable by law, righteous'.
4. *víṣ-eṇa vádh-ya-ḥ* = *víṣ-ya-ḥ* 'to be killed by poison'.
5. *mū́l-ena*[1] *ā-nām-yà-m* = *mū́l-ya-m*[1] 'to be uprooted/extirpated'.
6. *mū́l-ena*[2] *samá-ḥ* = *mū́l-ya-ḥ*[2] 'equivalent in value'.
7. *sī́tay-ā sá-mi-ta-m* = *sī́t-ya-m (kṣetra-m)* '(a field) measured by the number of furrows'.
8. *tuláy-ā sám-mi-ta-m* = *túl-ya-m* 'having the same weight, equivalent'.

4.4.92 [1]dhárma-[2]páthi(n)=[3]ártha-[4]ny-āy-ā́t=án-ape-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dhárma- 'law', páthin- 'path', ártha- 'interest' and ny-āy-á- 'rule, law' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (°-ny-āy-ā́t) to denote 'not deviating from' (án-ape-t-e).

dhárm-āt án-ape-ta-m = *dhárma+yàT* = *dhárm-ya-m* 'not deviating from law, legal, moral'; similarly *páth-ya-m* (6.4.144) 'not diverting from the path'; *árthāt ánapetam* = *árth-ya-m* 'not departing from interest'; *ny-ā́y-ya-m* 'not deviating from the rule'.

4.4.93 chándas-o nír-mi-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chándas- 'wish, desire' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' (nír-mi-t-e).

chándas-ā nír-mi-ta-ḥ = *chándas+yàT* = *chands-yà-ḥ* 'willingly created'.

4.4.94 úrasa-aḥ=áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced in addition to (ca) [yàT 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] úras- 'chest, bosom' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' 93].

úras-ā nír-mi-ta-ḥ = *úras+yàT* = *uras-yà-ḥ* 'produced from one's bosom, legitimate'. *úras+áṆ* = *auras-á-*.

4.4.95 hṛ̥́daya-sya priy-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] hṛ̥́daya- 'heart' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (hṛ̥́daya-sya) to denote 'dear to' (priy-á-ḥ).

hṛ̥́daya-sya priy-á-ḥ = *hṛ̥́daya+yàT* = *hṛ̥́d+yàT* (6.3.50) = *hṛ̥́d-ya-ḥ* 'dear to one's heart, hearty'.

4.4.96 bándh-an=e ca=ṛ̥́ṣ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 hṛ̥́daya- 'heart' 95 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 95] to denote a Vedic incantation (ṛ̥́ṣ-au) which bewitches (bándh-an-e) or 'casts a spell'.

hṛ̥́daya-sya bándh-ana-m ṛ̥́ṣi-ḥ = *hṛ̥́d-ya-ḥ (mántra-ḥ)* 'a Vedic spell for bewitching'.

4.4.97 [1]matá-[2]jána-[3]hal-ā́t [1]kárana-[2]jalpá-[3]kárṣe-su

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] ma-tá- 'knowledge', ján-a- 'individual' and halá- 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72] in the sixth sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'a means' (kár-aṇa-), 'gossip' (jalp-á-) and 'dragging' (kárṣ-a-).

ma-tá-sya kár-aṇa-m = *ma-tá+yàT* = *mát-ya-m* 'means of acquiring knowledge'; similarly *jána-sya jalpá-ḥ* = *ján-yaḥ* 'rumor, gossip'; *halá-sya kárṣ-á-ḥ* = *hál-ya-ḥ* 'dragging of the plough'.

4.4.98 tá-tra sādhū́-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'it is good for it' (tátra sādhū́-ḥ).

The expression [sādhú- 'good'] also denotes 'proper, suitable, expert in'. *sā́ma-su sādhū́-ḥ* = *sā́man+yàT* = *sāman-yà-ḥ* (6.4.168) for retention of [n] 'expert in Sāma Veda'. Similarly *kárman-i sādhū́-ḥ* = *karman-yà-ḥ* 'good in action'.

4.4.99 pratijaná=ādi-bhyḥ khaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced[after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with prati-janá- 'each person/adversary' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98].

prati-jan-é sādhū́-ḥ = *prati-janá+khaÑ* = *prā́ti-jan-īna-ḥ* 'good/suitable for each person/adversary'.

4.4.100 bhak-t-ā́t=Ṇá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhak-tá- 'food, nourishment' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98].

bhak-t-é sādhū́-ḥ = bhakta+Ṇá = bhā́k-t-á-ḥ (śā́li-ḥ) '(rice) suitable as nourishment'.

4.4.101 pari-ṣád-aḥ=Ṇyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-ṣád- 'assembly' ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98.

pari-ṣád-i sādhū́-ḥ = pari-ṣád+Ṇya = pāri-ṣad-yá-ḥ 'proper/fit for the assembly'.

4.4.102 kathā́-ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kathā́ 'narrative, story' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for that' 98].

kathā́-y-ām sādhū́-ḥ = kathā́+ṭháK = kāth-ika-ḥ 'suitable for a narrative'.

4.4.103 guḍá=ādi-bhyas=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with guḍá- 'molasses' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

guḍ-é sādhū́-ḥ = guḍá+ṭhaÑ= gaúḍ-ika-ḥ 'good for molasses'.

4.4.104 [1]páthi(n)-[2]átithi-[3]vasáti-[4]svapatéḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] páthin- 'path', á-tithi- 'guest', vas-á-ti 'residence', sva-pati- 'one's master' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

path-í sādhū́-ḥ = páthin+ḍhaÑ = pā́tha∅∅+eya- (6.4.144) = *pā́th-eya-* 'good or suitable for the road'. Similarly: *átithi+ḍhaÑ = ā́tith-eya-* (6.4.148) 'proper for the guest'; *vā́sat-eya-* 'suitable for a residence' and *svā́-pat-eya-* 'good for one's master'.

4.4.105 sabhā́-y-āḥ=yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sabhā́ 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

sabhā́-y-āṁ sādhū́-ḥ = *sabhā́+yá-* = *sabh∅+yá* (6.4.148) = *sabh-yá-ḥ* 'fit for the assembly'.

4.4.106 ḍha-s=chandas-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem 1.1 sabhā́ 'assembly' ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'good for that' 98].

sabhā́-y-āṁ sādhū́-ḥ = *sabh-éya-ḥ*.

4.4.107 sa-mān-a-tīrth-é vās-ī́

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna-tīrthá- 'the same preceptor' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote 'residing there' (vās-ī́).

samāna-tīrth-é vās-ī́ = *samāna-tīrthá+yàT* = *sa-tīrtha+yàT* (6.3.87) = *sa-tīrth-yà-ḥ* 'living with the same preceptor, co-disciple'.

4.4.108 sa-māna=udar-é śay-itá-s=ó ca=udātta-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna=udará- 'the same womb' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'lying [therein 98]' (tá-tra śay-i-tá-ḥ) with phoneme [ó] bearing the udātta accent.

samānodar-é śay-i-ta-ḥ = *samānodará+yàT* = *samānódar-ya-ḥ (bhrā́tā)* 'uterine brother'.

4.4.109 sódar-āt=yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sódara- 'the same womb' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'lying (therein 98)' 108].

sa-mān-e udar-e śay-i-ta-ḥ = *sa+udara+yà* (6.3.88) = *sodar-yá-ḥ* 'uterine brother'.

4.4.110 bháv-e chándas-i

In the domain of Chńdas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote 'occurring or being [therein 98]' [tá-tra 98] (bháv-e).

namo médh-yā-ya ca vidyut-yā́-ya ca: médh-e bháva-ḥ = médha+yàT = médh-ya-ḥ 'wise one'; similarly *vi-dyut-i bhava-ḥ = vi-dyū́t+yàT= vidyut-yà-ḥ* 'brilliant one'.

4.4.111 [1]pā́thas=[2]nadī́-bhyām ḌyáṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌyáṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pā́thas- 'heaven' and nadī́ 'river' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98]'. 110].

From hereon up to the end of this chapter these rules pertain to the domain of Chandas (110).

pā́thas-i bháva-ḥ = pā́thas+ḌyáṆ = pāth∅∅+yá (6.4.143) = *pāth-yá-ḥ* 'heavenly'; similarly *nadī́+ḌyáṆ = nād∅+yá = nād-yá-* 'fluvial, riverine'.

4.4.112 [1]veśantá-[2]himávad-bhyām áṆ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] veśantá- 'pool' and hima-vát- '-snow-clad peak or mountain' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'occurring or being [therein 98]' in the domain of Chandas 110].

veśant-é bháv-ā = veśantá+áṆ+ṄīP (1.15) = *vaiśant-ī́* 'being or occurring in the pool'; so also *himavát+áṆ+ṄīP = haima-vat-ī́* 'occurring in the snow-clad mountains' etc. (referring to water)'.

4.4.113 srótas-aḥ=vibhāṣā [1]ḌyàT=[2]Ḍy-aū́

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ḌyaT and Ḍyá are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] srótas- 'river' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

srótas-i bháva-ḥ = srótas+ḌyàT/Ḍyá/yàT = srót∅∅-ya-ḥ/srot-yá-ḥ (6.4.143)/*srotas-yà-ḥ* 'being or occurring in the river'.

4.4.114 [1]sa-garbhá-[2]sa-yūthá-[3]sa-nu-t-ā́t=yaN

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sa-garbhá- 'same womb', sa-yūthá- 'same herd' and sanutá- [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

1. *sa-garbh-é bháva-ḥ* = *sa-garbha+yaN* = *sá-garbh∅-ya-ḥ* 'uterine brother' in: *ánu-bhrātā sá-garbh-ya-ḥ.*
2. *sa-yūth-é bhava-ḥ* = *sa-yūtha+yaN* = *sá-yūth-yaḥ* 'belonging to the same herd' in: *ánu-sakhā sáyūth-ya-ḥ.*
3. *sa-nu-t-é bháva-ḥ* = *sá-nu-t-ya-ḥ* 'furtive'.

The word *sanuta-* is not found in Chándas, but the form there is *sanutar-* ind. 'aside, secretly, clandestinely' and *sanu-tara-* mfn. 'furtive'. Nyāsa glosses it in two ways: *samānám nu-tá-m yá-sya* as a Bahuvrīhi or *samāná-ṁ ca tad nutá-m ca* as a Karmadhāraya compound while Padamañjari glosses *nutá-* as *núti-* which is also the gloss of SK.

4.4.115 túgr-āt=ghaN

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá16 affix 1.76] ghaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] túgra- 'n.pr. of Bhujyu's father' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98] 11O].

túgr-e bháva-ḥ = *túgra+ghaN* = *túgr∅-iya-ḥ* 'descendant of T.'

4.4.116 ágr-āt=yàT

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ágra- 'tip' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98] 110].

ágr-e bháva-ḥ = *ágr∅-ya-ḥ (ágra+yàT)* 'at the top, foremost'.

4.4.117 [1]gha=[2]ch-au ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá affixes 3.1.1] gha and cha are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 ágra- 'tip' 116 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98] 110].

ágr-e bháva-ḥ = *ágra+gha/cha* = *agr-íya-ḥ/agr-ī́ya-ḥ.*

4.4.118 [1]samudrá=[2]abhr-ā́t=gha-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] samudrá- 'sea, ocean' and abhrá- 'cloud' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote 'being or occurring [therein 98]' 110].

1. *samudr-é bhávā = samudrá+gha = samudr∅-iya+ṬāP = samudr-íyā* 'belonging to the sea': *samudr-íyā-ṇ-ām nadī́-n-ām.*
2. *abhr-é bháva-ḥ = abhrá+gha = abhr-íya-ḥ* 'occurring in the cloud' in *abhr-íya-sya=iva ghóṣa-ḥ.*

4.4.119 barhíṣ-i dat-tá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] barhís 'layer of kuśa grass' [ending in 1.1.72]the seventh triplet (barhíṣ-i) to denote 'given' (dat-tá-m).

barhíṣ-i dat-tá-m = barhís+yàT = barhiṣ-yà-m 'oblation offered on the B.'

4.4.120 dūtá-sya[1]bhā́ga-[2]kárman-ī

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dūtá- 'messenger, ambassador' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (dūtá-sya) to denote (his) role (bhā́ga-°) or function (°-kárman-ī).

dūtá-sya bhā́ga-ḥ/kárma vā = dūtá+yàT = dū́t-ya-m 'role or function of an ambassador'.

4.4.121 [1]rákṣas=[2]yātū́-n-āṁ hán-an-ī

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] rákṣas-'demon' and yātú- 'sorcerer [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (°-yatū́-n-ām) to denote 'destruction, killing' (hán-an-ī).

rákṣas-ām hán-an-ī = rákṣas+yàT+ṬāP = rakṣas-y-ā̀ 'killing demons'. Similarly *yātū́-n-āṁ hán-an-ī = yātú+yàT+ṬāP = yātav-y-ā́* 'destruction of sorcerers'.

4.4.122 [1]revátī-[2]jágatī-[3]haviṣyā́-bhyaḥ pra-śás-y-e

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] revátī 'n. of a lunar mansion', jágatī 'n. of a metre' and haviṣyā̀ 'what is suitable for oblation' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'praise or eulogy' (pra-śás-y-e).

1. *reváty-āḥ pra-śás-ya-m* = *revátī+yàT* = *revat∅-yà-m* (6.4.143) 'eulogy of R.'; similarly: *jagat-yà-m* 'praise of J.'; *haviṣyā̀+yàT* = *haviṣy∅+yàT* (6.4.148) = *haviṣ∅+yà-* (8.4.64) = *haviṣ-y-à* 'eulogy of items suitable for oblation'.

4.4.123 ásura-sya svá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ásura- 'demon' [ending in 1 1.76] the sixth sUP triplet (ásura-sya) to denote 'property of' (svá-m).

ásura-sya svá-m = *asura+yàT* = *asur-yà-m* 'property of an A.'

4.4.124 māyā́-y-ām áṆ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 ásura- 'demon' 123, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 123] to denote 'his illusion' (māyā́-y-ām).

ásura-sya māyā́ = *ásura+áṆ+ṄīP* (1.15) = *āsur∅+áṆ+ṄīP* = *āsur-∅+ī́* 'illusion created by an Asura'.

4.4.125 tád-vān ā-sā́m upa-dhā́-n-o mántra=iti íṣṭakā-su luK ca matO-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP (tád-vān) and [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet denoting a sacred formula (upa-dhā̆no mántra-ḥ) to designate the bricks (íṣṭakā-su) and luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the affix] matUP (luK ca matO-ḥ).

várcas-vān upa-dhā́-n-o mátra-ḥ ā-sā́m íṣṭakā-n-ām = *várcas-vat+yàT* = *várcas-$\emptyset^1$+yàT+ṬāP+Jas* = *varcas-y-ā̀-ḥ* 'bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [várcas-vat-]'.

4.4.126 aśví-mān áṆ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] aśví-mat- 'containing the word [aśvín-] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 125 denoting an upadhā́na mantra for setting up sacrificial bricks to designate those bricks and luK replaces the affix matUP 125].

aśví-mān upa-dhā́n-o mántra-ḥ=ā-sā́m íṣṭakā-n-ām = aśví-mat+áṆ = aśvín+Ø[1]*+áṆ+ṄīP+Śas = āśvin-í-ḥ ū́pa-dadhā-ti* 'he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhā́na mántra containing the word [aśvín-]'.

4.4.127 vayasyā̀-su mūrdh-n-ó matUP

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.2] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mūrdhán- 'head' to denote the vayasyā̀ bricks.

The upadhā́na mántras which contain both the words váyas-vat- and mūrdhán-vat may be signified by either of these two words; in the case of [vayasyā̀] rule 125 has operated; by this rule the affix [matUP], replaced by 125, is re-introduced.
mūrdhan+vátUP+ṄīP = murdhan-vát-ī+Śas (6.1.176; 8.2.16) = *mūrdhan-vát-ī-r ū́pa-dadhā-ti* 'he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [mūrdhan-vát-]'.

4.4.128 matU=arth-e [1]māsa-[2]tanv-óḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] with the sense of [affix] matUP when designating names of months (mā́sa-°) or the body (°-tanv-óḥ).

nábhā-ṁ-si víd-ya=ante yá-smin mā́s-e sá-ḥ : nábhas+yàT = nabhas-yà-ḥ 'a cloudy month'; *ójaḥ a-syā́m tanv-ā́m víd-ya-te sā́ : ójas+yàT+ṬāP* (1.4) = *ojas-y-ā̀ tanū́-ḥ* 'powerful body'.

4 4.129 mádho-r Ña ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced in addition to (ca) [yàT 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mádhu 'honey' [to denote the sense of affix matUP to designate a month or body 128].

mádhu víd-ya-te a-smín más-e = mádhu+Ña/yàT = mā́dhav-a-ḥ/madhav-yà-ḥ (6.4.146; 1.79) 'the month of honey (second month of spring)'. By interpretational extension luK (125) also is introduced: *mádhu-ḥ*.

mádhu víd-ya-te a-syā́m tanv-ā́m = madhu+Ña/yàT+ṬāP = mā́dhav-ā/madhav-y-ā̀/mádhu-ḥ 'a body fit to drink Soma'.

4.4.130 ójas-aḥ=áhan-i [1]yàT-[2]kh-au

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ójas- 'power' [to denote the sense of affix matUP 128] for designating a day (áhan-i).

ójaḥ a-smín áhan-i várt-a-te = ójas+yàT/kha = ojas-yà-m/ojas-ína-m áhaḥ 'a powerful day'.

4.4.131 [1]veśás=[2]yáśa=āde-r bhág-āt=yaL

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhága- 'fortune', co-occurring with veśás-° 'strength' and yáśas- 'glory' as prior members (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [to denote the sense of affix matUP 128].

veśo-bhagá-ḥ víd-ya-te yá-sya sá-ḥ = veśo-bhagá+yaL = veśo-bhág-ya-ḥ 'possessing nourishing strength'; so also *yaśo-bhag-ó víd-ya-te yá-sya sá-ḥ = yaśo-bhág-ya-ḥ* 'rich in glory'.

4.4.132 kha ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha also (ca) is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 bhága- co-occurring with veśás-°- and yáśas-° as prior members in composition 131 to denote the sense of the affix matUP 128].

veśo-bhagá-/yaśo-bhagá+kha = veśo-bhag-ína-ḥ/yaśo-bhag-ína-ḥ. A separate rule has been framed in order to block the operation of metarule 1.3.10.

4.4.133 pū́rv-aiḥ kṛ-tá-m [1]íni-[2]y-áu ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ín and yá are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pū́rva- 'ancient' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (pū́rv-aiḥ) to denote 'made by' (kṛ-tá-m) in addition to (ca) [the affix kha 132].

pū́rv-aiḥ kr̥-ta-m = *pūrva+ín/yá/kha* = **pūrv-ín-** /**pūrv-yá-**/ **pūrv-íṇa-** : 'created by ancestors'.

4.4.134 ad-bhíḥ sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m

[In Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] áp- 'water' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (ad-bhíḥ) to denote 'sanctified with' (sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m).

ad-bhíḥ sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-m = *áp+yàT* = *áp-ya-m (háviḥ)* '(oblation) sanctified/purified with water'.

4.4.135 sahásr-eṇa saṁ-mit-aū́ gha-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sahásra- 'a thousand' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (sahásr-eṇa) to denote 'equal to, comparable, on a par with' (sáṁ-mit-au).

sahásr-eṇa saṁ-mití-ḥ = *sahásra+gha* = *sahasr∅-íya-ḥ* 'a thousandfold, on a par with a thousand'.

4.4.136 mat-AU ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 gha] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 sahásra- '1000' ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet] to denote the meaning of the affix matUP.

sahásra-m a-syá víd-ya-te = *sahásra+gha sahasr-íya-ḥ* 'possessing a thousand'.

4.4.137 sóma-m árh-a-ti yá-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sóma- 'n. of the sacred drink' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (sóma-m) to denote 'deserves it' (árh-a-ti).

sóma-m árh-a-ti = *sóma+yá-* = *som-yá-* 'deserving of sóma = fit for participating in a sacrifice'.

4.4.138 máy-e ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 sóma- 137] also to denote the sense of the affix máyaṬ.

[máyaṬ] is introduced by the following rules: 4.3.82,143ff., 148ff.; 5.2.47; 4.21ff. with different sUP triplets of the stems. The same will apply in the case of this stem.

sóma-m pra-kr̥-tá-m = *soma-maya-m* = *soma+yá* = *som∅-yá-m* (5.4.21) 'consisting of soma'.

4.4.139 mádho-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mádhu- 'mead, honey' [to denote the sense of the affix máyaṬ 138].

mádhu pra-kr̥-tá-m a-smín = *mádhu+yàT* = *madhav-yà-* = *madhu-máya-* 'consisting wholly of honey'.

4.4.140 váso-ḥ sam-ūh-é ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vásu- 'excellent, good, riches' to denote 'a collection' (sam-ūh-é) as well as (ca) [the sense of affix máyaṬ 139].

vásu+yàT = *vasav-yà-* 'a collection of riches/consisting wholly of excellence' (5.4.21).

4.4.141 nákṣatr-āt=gha-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] nákṣatra- 'asterism' in (a pleonastic) sense.

nákṣatra+gha = *nakṣatr∅-íya-* 'asterism'.

4.4.142 sárva-dev-ā́t tātiL

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tātiL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sárva- 'all' and devá- 'divinity' (in a pleonastic sense).

sárva+tātiL = *sarvá-tāti* - 'all'; so also *devá-tāti-* 'god, divinity'.

4.4.143 ¹śivá-²śám=³áriṣṭa-sya kar-é

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātiL 142 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śivá- 'favorable', śám 'auspicious' and áriṣṭa- 'freedom from injury' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'performance, doing' (kar-é).

śivá-sya kará-ḥ = *śivá-ṁ kar-ó-ti* = *śivá-tāti-ḥ* 'making auspicious, favorable'; similarly *śáṁ-tāti-ḥ; ariṣṭá-tāti-ḥ* 'making free from injury'.

4.4.144 bhāv-é ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātiL is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 śivá- 'favourable', śám- 'auspicious' and áriṣṭa- 'freedom from injury' 143 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote 'the state or condition of' (bhāv-é).

śivá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ = *śivá-tāti-ḥ* 'the state of blissfulness'; *śáṁ-tāti-ḥ* 'the state of blessedness'; *ariṣṭá-tāti-ḥ* 'the state of being free from injury'.

5.1.1 prā́k=krī́t-ā́t=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 9.1.1] in this section beginning here and extending up to and including 36 below [prā́k krī́t-ā́t: t-éna krī-tá-m 37] to denote the senses indicated therein.

This is a governing rule heading this section, and the affix [cha] as the (utsarga) will recur in the subsequent rules unless otherwise specified.

5.1.2 [1]u-[2]gáv=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with go- 'cow, bull' [to denote the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

The meanings listed are: [5. tá-smai hi-tá-m; 12. tad-arthá-m vi-kr̥̄́-te-ḥ pra-kr̥̄́-t-au; 16. tád a-syá tád a-smín syā́t].

1. °-u: *śaṅkú+yàT* = *śaṅko+yàT* (6.4.146) = *śaṅkav-yà-* (6.1.79) 'suitable for a stake'.
2. *gó+yàT* = *gáv-ya-* 'suitable or proper for a cow/bull'.

5.1.3 kambál-āt=ca saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 2 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kambála- 'blanket, rug' to designate a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

kambála+yàT = *kambal∅-yà-m* 'a measure of wool equal to 100 [pala-s]'; in other senses *kambála+cha* = *kambal-ī́ya* (1).

5.1.4 vibhāṣā [1]hávis=[2]apūpá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 2] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] hávis- 'sacrificial offering' and the class of words beginning with apūpá- 'cake' [in the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

1. *hávis+yàT* = *haviṣ-yà-* 'suitable for an oblation'; this word stands for itself as well as its synonyms (by interpretation, and by its inclusion in the [gó]-class, 2 above) yàT is necessarily introduced, but the option holds good for its synonyms: *āmikṣa+yàT/cha* = *ā-mikṣ∅+yà-m/ā-mikṣ-ī́ya-m (dádhi)* 'suitable for making (curds)'.

2. *apūpá+yàT/cha = apūp-yà-/apūp-ī́ya-* 'suitable for making cakes'.

5.1.5 tá-smai hi-tám

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (tá-smai) to denote 'good or beneficial for it (tá-smai hitám).

vatsé-bhyaḥ hi-tá-ḥ go-dhúk = vatsá+cha (1) = *vats-ī́ya-ḥ* 'suitable for the calves (such as cow's milk)'. So also *háviṣ-e hi-tá-m = haviṣ-yà-m; apūpā́-ya hi-tá-m = apūp-ī́ya-m.*

5.1.6 śarīra=avayav=ā́t=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting members of the body (sarīra=avayav-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to signify 'good/beneficial for it' 5].

Exception to [cha 1]. *dánte-bhyaḥ hi-tá-m = dánta+yàT = dánt-ya-m* 'beneficial to the teeth'; similarly *káṇṭh-ya-m/óṣṭh-ya-m/nā́bh-ya-m/nás-ya-m* 'good for the throat/lips/navel/nose'.

5.1.7 [1]khála-[2]yáva-[3]mā́ṣa-[4]tilá[5]vṛ́ṣa-[6]bráhmáṇ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 6] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] khála- 'threshing floor', yáva- 'barley', mā́ṣa- 'a kind of lentil, Phaseolus Radiatus', tilá- 'sesamum', vṛ́ṣa- 'bull' and brahmán- 'n. of an officiating priest' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet denote 'good/beneficial for it' 5].

khálā-ya hi-tá-m = khála+yàT = khál-ya-m 'good for the threshing floor'; so also: *yáv-ya-m/mā́ṣ-ya-m/tíl-ya-m/vṛ́ṣ-ya-m/brahmaṇ-yà-m.*

5.1.8 [1]ajá=[2]ávi-bhyām thyaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ajá 'goat' and ávi- 'sheep' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for it'5].

ajā́-ya hi-tā́ = ajá-thyaN+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *ája-thy-ā* 'yellow jasmine (which is good for the goat)'. Similarly *ávi-thy-ā* 'n. of a plant (supposed to be beneficial to sheep)'.

5.1.9 [1]ātmán=[2]viśva-janá-[3]bhóga=uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] ātmán- 'one's self'. viśva-janá- 'all men, mankind' and expressions co-occurring with °-bhóga- as a final member (°uttara-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good or beneficial for that' 5].

1. *ātmán-e hi-tá-m* = *ātmán+kha* = *ātman-ína-m* (6.4.167) 'beneficial to one's self';
2. *viśva-jané-bhyo hi-tá-m* = *viśva-jan∅-ína-m* 'good/fit for all mankind';
3. *mātr̥-bhogā-ya hi-ta-ḥ* = *mātr̥-bhog∅-íṇa-ḥ* 'good for the enjoyment of the mother'.

5.1.10 [1]sarvá-[2]púruṣā-bhyām [1]Ṇá-[2]ḍhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṇá and ḍhaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' and púruṣa- 'person' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for that' 5].

sárva-smai hi-tá-m = *sarvá+Ṇá* = *sārv-á-m* 'beneficial to all', *púruṣā-ya hi-tá-m* = *púruṣa+ḍhaÑ* = *paúruṣ∅-eya-m* 'beneficial/proper to a person'.

5.1.11 [1]māṇavá-[2]cárakā-bhyām khaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] māṇava- 'pupil' and cáraka- 'wandering student' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'good/beneficial for that' 5].

māṇavā́-ya hi-tá-m = *māṇavá+khaÑ* = *māṇav∅-ína-m* 'beneficial for a pupil'; similarly *cā́rak∅-ína-m* 'proper for a wandering student'.

5.1.12 tad-arthá-ṁ vi-kŕ̥-te-ḥ pra-kŕ̥-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying a by-product (vi-kŕ̥-te-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5] to denote the source (pra-kŕ̥-t-au).

áṅgāre-bhyaḥ hi-tā́-n-i kāṣṭhā́-n-i = *áṅgāra+cha(1)+Śi* = *aṅgār∅-íyā-ṇ-i* 'wood serviceable for turning into charcoal'; similarly *prākārā́-ya hi-tā́-ḥ* = *prākār∅-íyā-ḥ=íṣṭakā-ḥ* 'bricks suitable for building a wall'; *śaṅkú+yàT* = *śaṅkav∅yà-m* (2) *dāru* 'wood suitable for turning into a stake'.

5.1.13 ¹chadís=²upa-dhí-³balé-ḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] chadís- 'roof', upa-dhí- 'part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference, spokes' and balí- 'sacrificial offering' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 and denoting a by-product to denote the source 12].

chadíṣ-e hi-tā́-ni tṛ̥́ṇā-n-i = chadís+ḍhaÑ = chā́diṣ-eyā-ṇi 'grass suitable for thatching a roof'; similarly *upadhí+ḍhaÑ = aúpadh∅-eya-m dā́ru* 'wood suitable for connecting the nave to the circumference as spokes'; *balí+ḍhaÑ = bal∅-eyā-ḥ (taṇḍulā́-ḥ)* '(grains of rice) suitable as a sacrificial offering'.

5.1.14 ¹ṛ̥ṣabhá-²upānáh-or Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ṛ̥ṣabha- 'bull' and upānáh- 'sandal' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5, signifying a by-product to denote the source 12].

ṛ̥́ṣabha+Ñya = ā́rṣabh∅-ya-ḥ vatsá-ḥ 'a calf destined to grow into a bull'. Similarly *upānáh+Ñya = aúpānah-ya-ḥ múñja-ḥ* 'muñja grass suitable for being made into a sandal'.

5.1.15 cárman-aḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] cárman- 'leather, hide, pelt' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 to designate a by-product to denote its source 12].

vardhr-aí idám = vardrhī́+aÑ = vā́rdhr∅-a-m cárma 'leather suitable for making a strap or thong'; similarly *varatrā́-y-ai id-ám = varatrā́+aÑ = vā́ratr∅-a-m cárma* 'ib.'

5.1.16 tád a-syá tád a-smín s-yā́t=iti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below 1 occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'may possibly be (s-yā́t) of it (a-syá) or in it (a-smín).

prāsādá-ḥ ā-sām íṣṭakā-n-ām s-yā́t = prāsādá+cha(1)+Jas = prāsād∅-íyā-ḥ íṣṭakā-ḥ 'bricks of which a mansion may possibly be built'; *parikhā́ a-syā́m s-yā́t = parikhā́+ḍhaÑ = pārikh∅-eyī bhū́mi-ḥ* 'earth in which a moat may possibly be built' (17).

5.1.17 parikhā́-y-āḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] parikhā́ 'moat, ditch' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it may possibly of or in it' 16].

Example cited above under 16.

5.1.18 prā́k=váte-s=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses] indicated in this section beginning here and extending up to 115 below [t-éna túlya-m kriyā́ cét váti-ḥ].

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) within another governing rule (1) but extending beyond it. The affix [ṭhaÑ] will recur in each of the subsequent rules unless *otherwise specified.*

5.1.19 ā́=árh-āt=a-[1]go-pucchá-[2]saṁkhyā́-[3]pari-mā́ṇ-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding go-pucchá- 'cow's tail', number-words (saṁ-khyā́) and names of measures (pari-mā́ṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses indicated in the section] beginning here and extending up to 63 below [tád árh-a-ti].

This is also a governing rule within another governing rule (18) forming a sub-section of the preceding (18), and affix [ṭháK] will normally recur in the subsequent rule unless otherwise specified, up to 63 below. The exclusion of the words [go-pucchá-, etc.] will be illustrated at the appropriate places (37 etc.).

Within the governing sphere of affix [ṭhaÑ (18-115)] its exception is introduced in this sub-section 19-63.

5.1.20 á-sam-ās-e niṣká=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with niṣká- 'n. of a coin' when not forming a compound (á-sam-ās-e) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the senses introduced in the section (19-63) 19].

niṣk-éṇa krī-tá-m = *niṣká+ṭháK* = *naiṣk∅-iká-m* 'purchased with the niṣká'; here the affix [ṭháK] blocks out the more general affix [ṭhaÑ 19], but in composition (samās-e) affix [ṭhaÑ] operates: *ut-tama-niṣk-éṇa krī-tá-m* =

ut-tama-niṣka+ṭhaÑ = út-tama-naiṣk-ika-m (7.3.17). The difference between these two affixes is in accentuation only. The exclusion of compounds in this section does not debar them from the normal affix in the earlier section: e.g., *go/su-go+yàT = gáv-ya-/su-gav-yà-/ati-su-gav-yà-* etc.

5.1.21 śat-ā́t=ca ¹ṭhaN-²yàT-au=á-śat-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaN and yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śatá- 'hundred' [to denote the senses listed in this section 19-63] also (ca) [when not forming a compound 20] and not denoting the number 100 (á-śat-e).

śat-éna krī-tá-m = śatá+ṭhaN/yàT = śát∅-ika-m/śát∅-ya-m 'bought for a hundred pieces' but *śatá-m prā́-mā́ṇ-a-m a-syá = śatá+kaN* (22) = *śáta-ka-m* 'measuring a hundred'.

dvaú ca śatá-ṁ ca = dvi∅-śata-m, t-éna krī-tá-m = dví-śata∅+kaN (22) = *dví-śata-ka-m* 'bought for 200'. But *śatá-m pari-mā́na-m a-syá = śata+kaN = śáta-ka-m* (22,57-8).

5.1.22 saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ=á-¹ti-²śat=antā-y-āḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] designating number words (saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ) excluding those [ending in 1.1.72] °-ti and °-śat [to denote meanings listed in the section 19-63].

Exception to [ṭhaÑ 18]. *páñca-bhiḥ krī-tá-ḥ = páñcan+kaN = pánca∅-ka-ḥ* (8.1.7) 'bought with 5 pieces', but *saptaty-ā́ krī-tá-ḥ = saptatí+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *sā́ptat∅-ika-ḥ* 'bought with 70' and *catvāriṁśát+ṭhaÑ = cā́tvariṁśat-ka-* 'bought with 40'.

5.1.23 vatO-r iṬ=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 22] with optional (vā) initial increment i(Ṭ) inserted at its head (1.1.46) is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating numerals 22 ending in 1.1.72 the affix] °-vatU [to denote the meanings listed in the section 19-63].

tā́-vat-ā krī-tá-m = tā́vat+kaN/iṬ-kaN = tā́-vat-ka-m/tā́-vat-i-ka-m 'bought for so much'.

5.1.24 [1]viṁśatí-[2]triṁśát=bhyām ḌvuN á-saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] ḌvuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] viṁśatí- '20' and triṁśát- '30' [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section] when not forming a name (á-saṁjñā-y-ām).

viṁśaty-ā́ krī-tá-ḥ = *viṁśatí+ḌvuN* = *víṁśa∅∅+aka-* (6.4.142) = *víṁś-aka-ḥ* 'bought for 20'; similarly *tríṁś-aka-ḥ* 'bought for 30'.

5.1.25 kaṁs-ā́t=ṬiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kaṁsá- 'n. of a particular measure equal to two āḍhaka-s' [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

kaṁs-éna krī-tá-ḥ = *kaṁsá* + *ṬiṭhaN* = *káṁs∅-ika-ḥ* m./ °*-kī* (f. 4.1.15) 'bought with the price of a kaṁsa'.

5.1.26 śū́rp-ād aÑ anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śū́rpa- 'winnowing basket' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

śū́rp-eṇa krī-tá-m = *śū́rpa+aÑ* = *śaúrp∅-a-m/śū́rpa+ṭhaÑ* = *śaúrp∅-ika-m* 'purchased by the winnowing basket' (18).

5.1.27 [1]śatá-māna-[2]víṁśatika-[3]sahásra-[4]vásan-āt=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śatámāna- 'n. of a weight', víṁśatika-, sahásra- 'names of monetary units' and vásana- 'cloth' [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

śatámān-ena krī-tá-m = *śatámāna+áṆ* = *śā́tamān∅-a-m* 'bought with the ś. weight'; similarly: *vaiṁśatik∅-a-m/sāhasr∅-á-m* 'bought with 20/1000 pieces (of money)' and *vāsan∅-á-m* 'purchased with cloth'.

5.1.28 ¹ádhi=ardha-pūrva-²dvigó-r luK á-saṁjñā-y-ām

luK (∅¹) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ádhy-ardha-° 'one and a half' as a prior member (°-pūrva- in composition) and a Dvigú compound [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63] when not forming a name (saṁjñā́-y-am).

adhy-ardha-kaṁs-éna krī-tá-m = *adhy-ardha-kaṁsá+ṬiṭhaÑ* (25) = *adhy-ardha-kaṁsa+ṬiṭhaÑ→luk* = *adhy-ardha-kaṁsá-m* 'bought with 1 1/2 kaṁsas'.

dvā́-bhyāṁ kaṁsā́-bhyāṁ krī-tá-m = *dvi∅-kaṁsá+∅¹* = *dvi-káṁsa-m* 'bought with 2 kaṁsas'. Cf. 6.2.122 for accent.

When a name is formed: *páñca lóhiny-aḥ parimā́ṇam a-syá* = *páñca+lóhita+ṄīP* (4.1.39)*+ṭhaÑ* (57) = *páñca-lohit∅+∅+ṭhaÑ* (1.2.49) *páñca-lohit-ika-* 'n.pr. of a measure equal to five lohinī-s'.

5.1.29 vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇa-sahásrā-bhyām

[luK (∅¹)] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kārṣāpaṇa- 'n. of a coin' and sahásra- '1000' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha-° as a prior member in composition or a Dvigu compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-kārṣapaṇ-éna krī-tá-m = *adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇa+(ṬiṭhaN→∅¹)/ṬiṭhaN* = *adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇá-m/adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇ∅-ika-m* 'bought with 1 1/2 k.' Similarly *dvi-kārṣāpaṇá-m/dvi-kārṣā-paṇ∅-ika-m*.

ádhy-ardha-sahasr-eṇa krī-tá-m = *adhy-ardha-sahasrám/adhy-ardha-sāhasr∅-á-m; dvi-sahasrá-m/dvi-sāhasr∅-á-m* (27; 7.3.17).

5.1.30 ¹dvi-²tri-pūrv-āt niṣk-ā́t

[luK (∅¹) optionally 29 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] niṣká- 'n. of a coin' co-occurring with dví-° or trí-° as a preceding member (°-pūrv-āt in composition) in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

dvā́-bhyāṁ niṣkā́-bhyāṁ krī-tá-ḥ = *dvi∅+niṣka+ṭhaÑ/ṭhaÑ→luK* = *dví-naiṣk∅-ika-ḥ* (18)/*dvi-niṣká-ḥ* 'purchased with 2 n.'; similarly *trí-naiṣk-ika-ḥ/tri-niṣká-ḥ*.

5.1.31 bist-āt=ca

[luK 28 optionally replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bista- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with dví- ° or trí- ° as preceding members in a Dvigú compound 30 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

dvi-bistá+ṭhaÑ/ṭhaÑ→luK = dví-baist-ika-/dvi-bistá- 'purchased with 2 b.'; similarly: *trí-baist-ika-/tri-bistá-*.

5.1.32 víṁśatik-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] víṁśatika- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° as a preceding member in composition or final member of a Dvigu compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-viṁśatik-éna krí-tá-m = adhy-ardha-viṁśatiká+kha = adhy-ardha-viṁśatik∅-ína-m; similarly *dvi-viṁśatik-ína-m.*

5.1.33 khāry-ā́ḥ=īkaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] īkaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] khārī́ 'n. of measure' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° as a preceding member in composition and as final member in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

ádhy-ardha-khāry-ā krī-tá-m = ádhy-ardha-khārī+īkaN = ádhy-ardha-khār∅-īka-m 'bought by 1 1/2 kh.' Similarly *trí-khār-īka-m.*

5.1.34 [1]paṇá-[2]pādá-[3]mā́ṣa-[4]śat-ā́t=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] paṇá-, pādá-, mā́ṣa- and śatá- 'names of measures' [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° as preceding member in composition or at the end of a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 in this section].

adhy-ardha-paṇá+yàT = adhy-ardha-paṇ∅-yà-m/dvi-paṇ-yà-m; adhy-ardha-pād-yà-m/dvi-pād-yà-m; adhy-ardha-māṣ-yà-m/dvi-māṣ-yà-m; adhy-ardha-śat-yà-m/dvi-śat-yà-m.

5.1.35 śāṇ-āt=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 34] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śāṇa- 'n. of a coin' [co-occurring with adhy-ardha-° as final member in composition or as final member in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

adhy-ardha-śāṇ-éna krī-tá-m = adhy-ardha-śāṇá+yàt/ṭhaÑ (18)→*luK* (28) *adhy-ardha-śāṇ∅-yà-m/adhy-ardha-śāṇá-m; dvi-śāṇ-yà-m/dvi-śāṇá-m.*

5.1.36 [1]dvi-[2]tri-pūrv-āt=áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ, in addition to (ca) [yàT 35 and ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śāṇa- 35] co-occurring with dví-° '2' and trí-° '3' as preceding members (°-pū́rv-āt in composition) to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

dvā́-bhyāṁ śāṇā-bhyāṁ krī-tá-m = dvi∅+śāṇá+áṄ/yàT/ṭhaÑ →luK (28) = *dvai-śāṇ∅-á-m/dvi-śāṇ-yà-m/dvi-śāṇá-m*; similarily *trai-śāṇ-ám/tri-śāṇ-yà-m/ tri-śāṇá-m.*

5.1.37 t-éna krī-tá-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'bought/purchased with' (krī-tá-m).

Thirteen affixes are involved here: 1. ṭhaÑ (18), 2. ṭháK (19), 3. ṭhaN (21), 4. kaN (22); 5. yàT (21, 34, 39); 6. iṬ+kaN (23); 7. ḌvuN (24); 8. ṬiṭhaN (25); 9. aÑ (26); 10. áṆ (27); 11. luK (28-31); 12. kha (32); and 13. īkaN (33).

The illustrations are given under the particular sūtra-s introducing these affixes.

5.1.38 tá-sya nimitta-m [1]saṁ-yogá=[2]ut-pāt-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 8 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'the reason (nimitta-m) in the form of either a connection (saṁ-yogá-°) or a portent(°ut-pāt-aú)'.

1. *śatá-sya nimitta-ṁ dhana-patí-nā saṁ-yogá-ḥ = śatá+yàT/ṭhaN* (21) = *śát∅-ya-ḥ/śát∅-ika-ḥ* 'an understanding with a rich person for the loan of a hundred pieces (such as a pledge or promissory note)'.
2. *śatá-sya nimitta-ṁ ut-pātá-ḥ dakṣiṇākṣi-spánd-ana-m = śát-ya-m/śát-ika-m* 'the twitching of the right eye as an omen for gaining a hundred pieces'.

5.1.39 go-dvy-áC-aḥ=a-[1]saṁkhyā́-[2]pari-mā́ṇa=áśva=ade-r yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow, bull', and dissyllabic words (dvy-C-aḥ) excluding the class of words denoting numbers (saṁkhyā́) or measures (°parimā́ṇa-°) or those beginning with áśva- 'horse' [to denote 'the reason in the form of either a connection or a portent' 38].

1. *gó+yàT = gáv-ya-* 'cause or portent for gaining a cow'.
2. dvy-áC: *yáśas+yàT = yaśas-yà-* 'reason or portent for acquiring fame or renown'.
3. Exceptions: [saṁkhyā́]: *pañcā-nā́m nimittam saṁ-yogá-ḥ/utpātá-ḥ = páñca+kaN* (22) = *páñca-ka-ḥ*; similarly [parimā́ṇa]: *prasthá+ṭhaÑ* (57) = *prā́sthØ-ika-ḥ* and [áśva= ādi]: *áśva+ṭháK = āśvØ-ikā́-ḥ*.

5.1.40 putr-ā́t=cha=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote the reason/cause in the form of either a connection or a portent 38].

putrá-sya nimitta-ṁ saṁ-yogá-ḥ/utpātá-ḥ = putrá+cha/yàT = putrØ-ī́ya-ḥ/ pútrØ-ya-ḥ.

5.1.41 [1]sarva-bhūmí-[2]pṛthivī́ bhyām [1]áṆ[2]aÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áṆ and aÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarva-bhūmíi- 'whole earth' and pṛthivī́ 'earth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'the reason/cause in the form of connection or portent 38].

sarva-bhūmé-r nimittam saṁ-yogáḥ/utpātá-ḥ = sarva-bhūmí+áṆ = sārva-bhaumØ-á-ḥ (7.3.20); *pṛthivī+aÑ = pā́rthivØ-a-ḥ.*

5.1.42 tá-sya=ī́ś-vará-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 áṆ and aÑ 41 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 sarva-bhūmí- and pṛthivī́ 41 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'its lord or ruler' (ī́ś-vará-ḥ)

The repetition of [tá-sya] in this rule when it was already recurring from 38 above is to block out the meanings indicated in that rule.

sarva-bhūmé-ḥ/pṛthivy-ā́ḥ īś-vará-ḥ = sā́rva-bhaum-á-ḥ/pā́rthiv-a-ḥ (41) 'king, sovereign, emperor'.

5.1.43 tá-tra vid-i-tá iti ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 áṆ and aÑ 41 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 sarva-bhūmí- and pṛthivī́ 41 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'known as' (vid-i-tá iti).

sarva-bhūm-aú/pṛthivy-ā́m vid-i-tá-ḥ = sā́rva-bhaumá-ḥ/pā́rthiv-a-ḥ 'world-renowned'.

5.1.44 [1]loká-[2]sarva-lok-ā́t=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] loká- 'world' and sarva-loká- 'entire world' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'known therein as' 43].

lok-é/sarva-lok-é vid-i-tá-ḥ = loká/sarva-loká+ṭhaÑ = laúk∅-ika-/sā́rva-lauk-ika- (7.3.20) 'known in the (whole) world'.

5.1.45 tá-sya vāp-á-ḥ

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'its field' (vāp-á-ḥ).

prasthá-sya vāp-á-ḥ (kṣétra-m) = prasthá+ṭhaÑ (18) = ***prā́sth∅-ika-m*** '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a prasthá'; similarly ***draúṇ-ika-m kṣétra-m***.

5.1.46 pā́tr-āt=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pātra- 'a measure of capacity' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'its field' 45].

pā́tra-sya vāp-á-ḥ kṣétra-m = pā́tra+ṢṭhaN = pā́tr∅-ika-m '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a p.' ***pātr-ik-ī́*** (*ṄĪṢ* 4.1.41) ***kṣetra-bhak-tí-ḥ*** 'part of a field so sown'.

5.1.47 tád a-smín [1]vṛ́d-dhi=[2]āyá-[3]lābhá-[4]śulká=[5]upa-dā́ dī-yá-te

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'an interest (vṛ́ddhi-°), rent (°=āyá-°), profit (°-lābhá-°), tax (°-sulká-°) or bribe (°upa-dā́) is given (dī-yá-te) in it (a-smín)'.

páñca a-smín vṛ́d-dhi-ḥ/āyá-ḥ/lābh-á-ḥ/śulká-ḥ/upa-dā́ dī-yá-te = páñca+kaN (22) = *pánca-ka-ḥ* 'five pieces given in it'; so also *śatá-m a-smín dī-ya-te = śatá+thaN/yaT* (21) = *śátØ-ika-/śát-ya-*.

5.1.48 [1]pū́raṇa=[2]ardh-ā́t=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying ordinals (pū́raṇa-°) and the expression ardhá- 'half' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given it it 47].

Exception to [ṭháK 19] and [ṬiṭhaN 25]. *dvi-tī́ya-ḥ vṛ́ddhi-r ādi-r a-smín dī-yá-te = dvi-tīya+ṭhaN = dví-tīyØ-ika-* 'an operation or transaction in which interest etc. is doubled'; Similarly *árdhØ-ika-* 'a deal in which interest etc. is halved'.

5.1.49 bhāg-ā́t=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ṭhaN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhāgá- 'share' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given in it 47].

bhāg-á-ḥ vṛddhi=ādi-r a-smín dī-yá-te = bhāgá+yàT/ṭhaN = bhā́gØ-ya-/bhā́gØ-ika- 'an operation in which interest etc. is halved or divided'.

In 48-9 the words [ardhá-], [bhāgá-] denote half [rūpaka-] according to Kāśikā.

5.1.50 tád=hár-a-ti-váh-a-ti=ā́-vah-a-ti bhār-ā́t=vaṁśa=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhārá- 'load', co-occurring with the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1].beginning with vaṁśá- 'bamboo' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'carries' (hár-a-ti), 'conveys' (váh-a-ti) or 'brings it' (ā́-vah-a-ti).

vaṁśa-bhārá-ṁ hár-a-ti/váh-a-ti/ā́vah-a-ti = vaṁśa-bhārá+ṭháK (19)
vā́ṁśa-bhār∅-iká- 'who carries/conveys/brings a load of bamboos'.

This rule is also interpreted as: "introduced after the class of nominal stems beginning with vaṁśá-, denoting weight [bhār-ā́t] etc.", which gives the string: *bhāra-bhūtā́-n vaṁśā́-n hár-a-ti etc = vaṁśa+ṭháK= vā́ṁś-iká-* yielding the same sense, but a different string.

5.1.51 ¹vasná-²drávyā-bhyāṁ ¹ṭhaN-²kaN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaN and kaN are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vasná- 'salary, wages' and drávya- 'money' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'carries/conveys, brings it' 50].

vasná-ṁ hár-a-ti/váh-a-ti/ā́-vahati = vasná+ṭhaN = vásn∅-ika-; drávya+kaN = drávya-ka-.

5.1.52 ¹sám-bhav-a-ti=²áva-har-a-ti-³pác-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50] to denote 'capable of containing' (sám-bhav-a-ti), 'taking away' (áva-har-a-ti) or 'cooking' (pác-a-ti).

prasthá-ṁ sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = prasthá+ṭhaÑ (18) = *prā́sth∅-ika-* 'capable of containing/taking/cooking one [prasthá] measure (of grains)'; *prasthá-m pác-a-ti brāhmaṇī = prā́sth-ika+ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *prā́sthik∅-ī* 'a brahmin lady capable of cooking one prasthá (of grains)'.

5.1.53 ¹āḍhaka=²ā́cita-³pā́tr-āt kha-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] āḍhaka-, ā́cita- and pā́tra- 'names of measures of capacity' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote 'capable of containing/taking away/cooking' 52].

āḍhaka-ṁ sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = āḍhaka+ṭhaÑ (18)/*kha = ā́ḍhak-ika-/°ikī* f./*āḍhak∅-īna-* (*°īnā* f. 4.1.4) 'capable of holding/taking away/cooking one āḍ.'; similarly: *ā́cit-ika-/ācit-īna-; pā́tr-ika-/pātr-īṇa-.*

5.1.54 dvigó-s=ṢṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]ṢṭhaN in addition to (ca) [kha is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 āḍhaka-, ā́cita or pā́tra- 53, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'capable of containing/taking away/cooking' 51].

With reference to the affixes [kha 55, ṢṭhaN 54] operation of [luK] introduced by 28 above is blocked, while it governs the affix [ṭhaÑ 18].

dvy-āḍhaká-ṁ sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = *dvy-āḍhaká+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaÑ→luK* (28) = *dvy-ā́ḍhak∅-ika-/dvy-āḍhak∅-ī́na-/dvy-āḍhaká-*'capable of containing/taking away/cooking 2 āḍhaka-s', the corresponding fem. forms being *dvy-āḍhak-ikī́* (4.1.41), *dvy-āḍhak-ī́nā* (4.1.4), *dvy-āḍhakī* (4.1.15).

Similarly the feminine forms for the other two derivatives are: *dvy-ācit-ikī́, dvy-ācit-ī́nā, dvy-ācit-ī́; dvi-pātr-ikī́, dvi-pātr-ī́ṇā, dvi-patr-ī́.*

5.1.55 kulij-āt=¹luK-²kh-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luK (∅[1]) and kha are also (ca) optionally 53 introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulija- 'name of a measure' [occurring at the end of a Dvigú compound 54 and terminating in 1 1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote 'capable of holding,taking away or cooking' 52 in addition to affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 54].

Since the option applies also to luK, 28 above becomes optional with reference to a Dvigú ending in [°-kulija-] and consequently four forms result: *dvé kulij-e sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti* = *dvi∅+kulijá+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaÑ→luK* (18,28)/*ṭhaÑ* (18) = *dvi-kulij∅-ik-ī/dvi-kulij-ī́nā-/dvi-kulij-ā́/dvaí-kulij-ikī* 'capable of holding, taking away or cooking 2 kulija-s'.

5.1.56 sá-ḥ=a-syá=¹áṁśa-²vasná-³bhṝtay-aḥ

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote his (a-syá) share (áṁśa-ḥ), price (vasná-) or salary (bhṝti-).

páñca áṁśa-ḥ/vasná-m/bhṝti-r a-syá = *páñca+kaN* (22) = *pánca-ka-ḥ* 'whose share, price or salary is five pieces'.

5.1.57 tád a-syá pari-mā́ṇa-m

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote its (a-syá) measure (pari-mā́ṇa-m).

prasthá-ḥ pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = prasthá+ṭhaÑ (18) = *prā́sthØ-ika-ḥ rāśí-ḥ* 'a heap measuring one prastha'; *khārī pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = khārī́+īkaN = khā́rØ-īka-ḥ* (33); *śatá+yaT/ṭhaN* (21) = *śat-ya-ḥ/śát-ika-ḥ*.

5.1.58 saṃkhyā́-y-āḥ [1]saṁjñā́-[2]saṁghá-[3]sū́tra-[4]adhy-áy-ane-ṣu

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (saṁ-khyā́), [designating measures and ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 57] to denote its name (saṁ-jñā́), group (saṁghá), aphorism (sū́tra) or study (adhy-áy-ana).

1. saṁ-jñā: *páñca eva = páñca+kaN* (22) = *pánca-kā-ḥ* 'the five' (śakúnay-aḥ birds)'.
2. saṁ-ghá-: *páñca pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = pánca-ka-ḥ* 'a collection of five'.
3. sū́tra-: *aṣṭ-aú adhy-āȳ-ā́ḥ pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá sū́tra-sya=áṣṭa-ka-m* 'another name for Pāṇini's sū́tra-s'.
4. adhy-áy-ana-: *áṣṭa-ka-ḥ adhī-tá-ḥ* 'studied eight times'.

5.1.59 [1]paṅktí-[2]viṁśáti-[3]triṁśát-[4]catvāriṁśát-[5]pañcāśát-[6]ṣaṣṭí-[7]saptatí=[8]aśī́tí-[9]navatí-[10]śatá-m

The expressions paṅk-tí- 'n. of a metre', viṁśá-ti- '20', triṁśát- '30', catvāriṁśát- '40', pancāśít- '50', ṣaṣṭí- '60', saptatí- '70', aśī́tí- '80', nava-tí- '90' and śatá- '100' are introduced [as derived with various affixes [ti, śat and ta] to denote 'its measure' 58].

páñca pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = pañcan+tí = pañcØØ+tí = paṅk-tí-; dv-aú daśát=au pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = vin+śáti = viṁ-śati-; similarly for other forms which are introduced as finished expressions by a process called [nipātana] since framing individual rules will increase the number of statements.

5.1.60 ¹pañcat=²daśát-au varg-e vā

The expressions pañcát- 'consisting of 5' and daśát 'consisting of 10' are optionally (vā) introduced [to denote 'its measure' 57] to designate a class (varg-e).

páñcan+Ḍáti = *pañc∅∅-át/páñca-ka-ḥ várga-ḥ* 'a class of 5'; similarly *daś-át/dáśa-ka-ḥ várga-ḥ*.

5.1.61 saptán-aḥ=aÑ chándas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced, in the domain of Chándas, [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] saptán- '7' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'its measure' 57 to designate a class 60].

saptá pari-mā́ṇa-m e-ṣā́ṁ várgā-ṇ-ām = *sápta+aÑ* = *sā́pt∅-a-* in *saptá sā́ptā-n-i=á-sr̥j-a-t* 'he created seven classes each consisting of seven'.

5.1.62 ¹triṁśát=²catvāriṁśat-or brāhmaṇ-é saṁjñā́-y-ām ḌáṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌáṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] triṁśát- 'thirty' and catvāriṁśát- 'forty' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'its measure' 57] when designating a Brāhmaṇá (text).

The locative [brāhmaṇ-é] in this rule is not indicative of domain (viṣaya-saptamī) but of sense only (abhi-dheya-saptamī) and therefore signifies both the Brāhmaṇá and secular texts.

triṁśát adhy-āy-ā́ḥ pari-mā́ṇa-m e-ṣā́m brāhmaṇā́-n-ām = *triṁśat+ḌáṆ+Śi*= *traiṁś∅∅-ā́-n-i brāhmaṇā́-n-i* 'a Br. text consisting of 30 chapters'; similarly *cātvāriṁś-ā́-n-i brāhmaṇā́-n-i*.

5.1.63 tád árh-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'deserves it' (árh-a-ti).

śveta-cchatrá-m árh-a-ti = *śveta-cchatrá+ṭhá K* (19) = *śvaíta-cchatr∅-iká=ḥ* 'who deserves a white umbrella'; *śatá-m árh-a-ti* = *śata+ṭhaN/yaT* (21) *śát∅-ika-ḥ/ śát∅-ya-ḥ* 'deserving a hundred pieces'.

5.1.64 chéda=ādi-bhyaḥ nítyam

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with chéda- 'cutting off' and [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 83] necessarily (nítya-m) ['deserves 'it' 63].

chéda-ṁ nity-am árh-a-ti = *chéda+ṭháK* = *haid∅=iká-ḥ* 'who necessarily deserves mutilation'.

5.1.65 śīrṣa-cched-ā́t=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ṭháK 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śīrṣa-cchedá- 'decapitation' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 63 to denote 'necessarily deserves it' 63].

śīrṣa-cchedá-ṁ nítya-m árh-a-ti = *śīrṣa-cchedá+yàT/tháK* = *śīrṣa-cched∅-yà-ḥ/ śairṣa-cched∅-iká-ḥ* 'necessarily deserving decapitation'.

5.1.66 daṇḍá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with daṇḍá-'punishment' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

The reading of this sūtra is according to Kāśikā and Siddhānta-kaumudī; Boehtlingk and Renou have [daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ] instead, but the accentuation of certain accented words thus formed denote affix [yàT] instead, and it is also confirmed by Patañjali on 3.1.92 (2) where he confirms the introduction of [yàT] after [han-] with optional replacement of the verbal stem by [vadhá-], which is included in this class. Besides this, the three other words in this class are: *íbh-ya-*, *gúh-ya-*, *médh-ya-*.

daṇḍá-m árh-a-ti = *daṇḍa+yàT* = *dáṇḍ∅-ya-ḥ* 'who deserves punishment'; *vadhá-m árh-a-ti* = *vádh-ya-ḥ* 'deserves death'.

Note: there is the reading [yàT] in the place of [yá] recorded by Boehtlingk and Renou; the repetition of this word here when it is already available from the preceding sūtra is to block out the recurrence of [nítya-m] from 69.

5.1.67 chándas-i ca

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

Exception to the remaining twelve affixes beginning with ṭhaÑ 18.

udaká-m árh-anti = *udaká+yàT+Jas* = *udak∅-y-àḥ; yū́pa-m árh-a-ti* = *yū́p∅-ya-ḥ palāśá-ḥ* 'p. which deserves to be used as a sacrificial post'.

5.1.68 pā́tr-āt=ghaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaN is introduced, in addition to (ca) [yàT 65 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pā́tra- 'vessel' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

pā́tra-m árh-a-ti = *pā́tra+ghaN/yàT* = *pā́tr∅-iya-ḥ/pā́tr∅-ya-ḥ* 'worthy or fit to partake of a meal'.

5.1.69 kaḍaṅkará-dákṣiṇ-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha as well as (ca) [yàT 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.4] kaḍaṅkará- 'stalks of pulses' and dakṣiṇā 'fees, gratuity' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

kaḍaṅkará-m árh-a-ti = *kaḍaṅkará+cha/yàT* = *kaḍaṅkar∅-íya-ḥ* / *kaḍaṅkar∅-yà-ḥ gau-ḥ* 'a bull worthy of being fed with straw' and similarly *dákṣiṇā-m árh-a-ti* = *dákṣiṇā+cha/yaT dakṣiṇ∅-íya-ḥ/dakṣiṇ∅-yà-ḥ* 'deserving gratuity'.

5.1.70 sthālī-bil-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.?6 affixes 3.1.1 cha 69 and yàT 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthālī-bilá- 'interior or hollow of a cooking vessel' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

sthālī-bilá-m árh-a-ti = *sthālī-bilá+cha/yàT* = *sthālī-bil∅-íya-/sthālī-bil∅-ya-* '(a dish) worthy of being cooked within the cooking vessel'.

5.1.71 [1]yajñá=[2]r̥tv-íg-bhyām [1]gha-[2]khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and khaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yajñá- 'sacrifice' and r̥tv-íj- 'n. of an officiating priest' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'deserves it' 63].

yajñá-m árh-a-ti = *yajñá+gha* = *yajn∅-íya-ḥ* 'worthy of performing a sacrifice'; *r̥tv-íj-am árh-a-ti* = *r̥tv-íj+khaÑ* = *ā́rtvij-īna-* 'worthy of officiating as a r̥tv-íj'.

5.1.72 pārā́yaṇa-turā́yaṇa-cāndrāyaṇá-ṁ vart-áy-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pārā́yaṇa- 'reading through', turā́yaṇa- 'n. of a sacrifice' and cāndrāyaṇá- 'fast regulated by the phase of the moon' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet]to denote 'performs' (vart-áy-a-ti).

pārā́yaṇa-ṁ/turā́yaṇa-ṁ/cāndrāyaṇá-ṁ vart-áy-a-ti = *pā́rāyaṇ∅-ika-ḥ/ taúrāyaṇ-ika-ḥ/cā́ndrāyaṇ-ika-ḥ* 'who reads through a full text/performer of the T. sacrifice/observer of the C. fast'.

5.1.73 saṁ-śay-ám ā́-panna-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] saṁ-śay-á- 'doubt' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'fallen into' (ā́-pan-na-ḥ).

saṁ-śay-á-m ā́-pan-na-ḥ = *saṁ-śay-á+ṭhaÑ* = *sā́ṁ-śay∅-ika-ḥ* 'doubtful, uncertain'.

5.1.74 yójana-ṁ gácch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] yójana- 'n. of a unit of distance' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'goes, covers, traverses' (gácch-a-ti).

yójana-ṁ gácch-a-ti = *yójana+ṭhaÑ* = *yaújan∅-ika-ḥ* 'who covers a distance of one yojana'.

5.1.75 path-áḥ=ṢkaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢkaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] páthin- 'path' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'goes, covers' 74].

pánthā-n-aṁ gácch-a-ti = *páthin+ṢkaN* = *páthi∅-ka-ḥ* (°*-kī́* f. 4.1.41) 'way-farer'.

5.1.76 pánth-o Ṇá nítya-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 páthin-, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 74] to denote

'necessarily (nítya-m) [goes or covers' 74] and the substitute pánth- replaces the [whole 1.1.55] stem.

pánthān-aṁ nítya-ṁ gácch-a-ti = *páthin+Ṇá* = *pānth-á-ḥ* 'who necessarily travels a road each day, an almsman'.

5.1.77 ut-tara-path-éna=ā́-hr̥-ta-ṁ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ut-tara-path-á- 'northern route' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'brought or conveyed through it' (ā́-hr̥-ta-m) in addition to (ca) [goes or travels by it 74].

ut-tara-path-éna ā́-hr̥-ta-m = *ut-tara-pathá+ṭhaÑ* = *aút-tara-pathØ-ika-m* 'brought via the northern route'; *uttara-path-éna gácch-a-ti* = *aút-tara-path-ika-ḥ* 'a traveler going via the northern route'.

5.1.78 kāl-ā́t

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting time (kāl-ā́t) in the section beginning here and extending up to 96 inclusive below.

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á) and the word [kāl-ā́t] will recur in all the subsequent rules of this section.

5.1.79 t-éna nír-vr̥t-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'accomplished within it' (nír-vr̥t-ta-m).

áhn-ā nír-vr̥t-ta-m = *áhan+ṭhaÑ* = *ā́hØn-ika-m* (6.4.134) 'to be completed or accomplished within a day'; similarly *ṣā́ṇ-mās-ika-m/ā́rdha-mās-ika-m* 'accomplished in six months/a fortnight'.

5.1.80 tám ádhīṣṭa-ḥ bhr̥-tá-ḥ=bhū-tá-ḥ=bhāví

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tá-m) to denote the senses of (1)

invited to teach (ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ), hired (bhr̥-tá-ḥ), lasted (bhú-tá-ḥ) or will last (bhāvī́).

mā́sa-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhr̥-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-ī́ = *māsa+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *mā́s∅-ika-ḥ* = *adhy-ā́p-aka-ḥ/karma-kārá-ḥ/vy-ādh-í-ḥ/ut-sav-á-ḥ* '(a) invited to teach for a month; (b) hired for a month; (c) lasted for a month; (d) will last for a month'.

5.1.81 mā́s-āt=váyas-i [1]yàT-[2]kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mā́sa- 'month' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' (bhū́-ta-ḥ) 80] to designate age (váyas-i).

Though the meaning conditions of 80 recur in the succeeding rules, here only the third meaning is pertinent.

mā́sa-m bhū-tá-ḥ = *mā́sa+yàT/kha* = *mā́s∅-ya-ḥ/mās-ī́na-ḥ* 'one month old (= born a month back)'.

5.1.82 dvigó-r yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 the time-word 78 mā́sa- 'month' 81 and terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate age 81].

dv-aú mā́s-au bhū-tá-ḥ = *dvi∅+māsá+yaP* = *dvi-mās∅-yá-ḥ* 'aged two months'.

5.1.83 ṣaṇ-mās-ā́t=ṆyàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṆyàT, in addition to (ca) [yaP 72 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ṣaṇ-māsá- 'six months' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate 'age' 81].

ṣaṇ-māsa-m bhū-tá-ḥ = *ṣaṇ-māsá+ṆyàT /yaP* = *ṣāṇ-mās∅-yà-ḥ* / *ṣaṇ-mās-yá-ḥ* 'aged six months'; with the governing affix [ṭhaÑ 18] which is covered by [ca] also: *ṣā́ṇ-mās-ika-ḥ*.

5.1.84 á-vayas-i ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN, in addition to (ca) [ṆyàT 83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 ṣaṇ-māsá- 'six months' 83 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'lasted' 80] when not designating age (á-vayas-i).

ṣaṭ=māsá-n bhū-tá-ḥ = *ṣaṇ-māsá+ṭhaN/NyàT* = *ṣáṇ-māsØ-ika-ḥ* / *ṣāṇ-mās-yà-ḥ (roga-ḥ)* '(a malady) which has lasted six months'.

5.1.85 sámā-y-āḥ kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sámā 'year' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

sámā-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-í = *sámā+kha* = *samØ-ína-ḥ* 'invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last for a year'.

5.1.86 dvigó-r vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 85] is optionally (va) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 sámā 'year' 85 occurring at the end of 1.1.72]a Dvigú compound [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 and 'accomplished' 79].

Beginning here and extending up to 93 below the meaning conditions prescribed in 79 and 80 recur in each sūtra.

The option is with reference to the governing affix [ṭhaÑ].

dv-é sám-e nír-vṛt-ta-ḥ/ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-í vā dvi-samá+ṭhaÑ/kha = *dvaí-samØ-ika-ḥ/dvi-samØ-ína-ḥ* 'accomplished/invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two years'.

5.1.87 [1]rā́tri=[2]áha(n)-[3]saṁ-vatsar-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 85 is optionally 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] rā́tri- 'night', áhan- 'day' and saṁ-vatsará- 'year' [occurring as final members of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished 79, invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

The option is with reference to the governing affix [ṭhaÑ 18].

dvā́-bhyāṁ rā́tri-bhyāṁ nír-vṛt-ta-ḥ, dv-é rā́tr-ī ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-í vā = *dvi-ratrí+ṭhaÑ/kha* = *dvaí-rātrØ-ika-ḥ/dvi-rātrØ-íṇa-ḥ* 'accomplished within, or invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two nights'.

Similarly: *dvaíy-ahn-ika-ḥ* (7.3.3)/*dvy-ah-ína-ḥ* (6.4.134); *dví-sāṁ-vatsar-ika-ḥ* (7.3.15)/*dvi-saṁvatsar-íṇa-ḥ*.

5.1.88 varṣ-ā́t=luK ca

luK (=∅[1]) optionally 86 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 or kha 85 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1' varṣá- 'year' [forming the final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished within 79 or invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

> *dvā́-bhyāṁ varṣā́-bhyāṁ nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ, dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhr̥-tá-ḥ/ bhū́-ta-ḥ/vā = dvi-varṣá+ṭhaÑ/kha/→luk = dvi-vārṣ∅-ika-ḥ* (7.3.16)/ *dvi-varṣ-ī́ṇa-ḥ/dvi-varṣá-ḥ* 'accomplished within two years, or invited to teach/hired/lasted'
>
> *°bhāv-ī : dvaí-varṣ-ika-ḥ* [*+ṭhaÑ* 18] (7.3.16).

5.1.89 citta-vát-i nítya-m

[luk (∅[1]) 88] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 varṣá- 'year' 88 forming a final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished by' 79] to designate an animate item (citta-vát-i).

> *dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhr̥-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-ī́ vā, dvā́-bhyāṁ varṣā́-bhyāṁ nír-vr̥t-ta-ḥ = dvi-varṣá+∅[1] = dvi-varṣá-ḥ (dāraka-ḥ).*

5.1.90 ṣáṣṭi-k-āḥ ṣaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ánte

The expression ṣáṣṭi-ka- is introduced to denote the sense of 'ripened in sixty nights' (ṣaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ánte).

> By interpretation affix kaN is introduced after the Dvigú compound [ṣaṣṭi-rātr-á] with ∅ replacement of [°rātra-]: *ṣaṣṭi-rātr-éṇa pac-y-ánte = ṣaṣṭi-∅+kaN = ṣáṣṭi-ka-* 'name of a particular type of rice (ripening in 60 nights)'.

5.1.91 vatsará=ant=āt=cha-s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vatsará- 'year' occurring as a final member (°-ant-āt of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished with' 79].

id-vatsará-m/idā-vatsará-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-í, id-vatsar-éṇa/ idā-vatsar-éṇa nír-vṛt-taḥ = id-vatsará/idā-vatsará+cha = id-vatsar∅-íya-ḥ/ idā-vatsar∅-íya-ḥ.

The words *id-vatsará-/idā-vatsará-* are defined by Padamañjarī as *pañca-varṣ-é yug-é dváy-or varṣáy-oḥ saṁjñ-e* 'one of the names given to two single years in a period of five years'.

5.1.92 [1]sám-[2]pári-pūrv-āt kha ca

[In the domain of Chándas 91 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha in addition to (ca) [cha 91 is introduced after 3.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1 vatsará- 'year' 91] co-occurring with the preverbs sám-° and pári-° as prior members (°-pū́rv-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished within' 79].

saṁ-vatsará-/pari-vatsará+kha/cha = saṁvatsar∅-ína-ḥ/°-íya-ḥ; pari-vatsar-íṇa-ḥ/°-íya-ḥ; cf. preceding sūtra for sense.

5.1.93 t-éna [1]pari-jáy-ya-[2]lábh-ya-[3]kā́r-ya-[4]su-kár-am

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'to be conquered (pari-jáy-ya-), gained (lábh-ya-), accomplished (kā́r-ya-) or easily achieved (su-kár-am)'.

mā́s-ena pari-jáy-ya-ḥ/lábh-ya-ḥ/kā́r-ya-ḥ/su-kár-am = māsa+ṭhaÑ = mā́s∅-ika-ḥ 'to be conquered, gained, accomplished or easily achieved within a month'.

5.1.94 tád a-syá brahma-cár-ya-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'this is the duration of his (a-syá) practice of abstinence' (brahma-cárya-m).

mā́sa-ṁ brahma-cárya-m a-syá = māsa+ṭhaÑ = mā́s∅-ika-ḥ 'who practises continence for a period of one month'.

An alternate interpretation is: the affix ṭhaÑ is introduced after a time-word (78) ending in the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'this is his period of continence': *mā́sa-ḥ a-syá brahma-cárya-sya = mā́s-ika-m* 'the period of his continence is one month'.

5.1.95 tá-sya ca dákṣiṇā yajñá=ākhye-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating names of sacrifices (yajña=ākhye-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'this is his gratuity or sacrificial fee (dákṣiṇā)'.

agni-ṣṭomá-sya dákṣiṇā = *agni-ṣṭomá+ṭhaÑ* = *ágni-ṣṭomØ-ik-ī* (4.1.15) 'sacrificial fee for the A. sacrifice'. Similarly *vā́ja-pey-ikī, rā́ja-sūy-ikī* etc.

5.1.96 tá-tra ca dī-yá-te kār-yà-m bhav-a-vát

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 which is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'is given in that' (dī-yá-te) or 'is to be done therein (kār-yà-m) is the same as that introduced to denote a state or condition (bhav-a-vát 4.3.53ff.).

mā́s-e dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m = *mā́sa+ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11) = *mā́sØ-ika-m* 'what is given or to be done in a month' as in the case of *mā́s-e bháv-a-m* (4.3.53).

5.1.97 vy-ùṣṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vy-ùṣṭa- 'dawn' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'it is given or done in that' 96].

vy-ùṣ-ṭ-e dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m vā = *vy-ùṣ-ṭa+áṆ* = *vaiy-uṣ-ṭá-m* (7.3.3) 'what is given or to be done at dawn'.

5.1.98 t-éna[1]yathā-kathā-cá-[2]hástā-bhyāṁ [1]Ṇá-[2]yàT-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṇá and yàT are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yathā-kathā-cá 'in any manner' and hásta- 'hand' [ending in 1.1.72]the third sUP triplet (t-éna) [to denote 'is given or to be done 96] by it'.

yathā-kathā-cá dī-yá-te/kār-yà-ṁ vā = *yathā-kathā-cá+Ṇá* = *yāthā-kathā-cØ-á-m* 'is given or to be done in any manner or somehow'; *hást-ena dī-yá-te/kār-yàṁ vā* = *hásta+yàT* = *hástØ-ya-m* 'is given or to be done by hand'.

5.1.99 sam-pād-ín-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 98] to denote 'is fit or suitable for' (sam-pād-ín-i).

karṇa-veṣṭakā́-bhyām sam-pā́d-i = karṇa-veṣṭaká+ṭhaÑ = kā́rṇa-veṣṭakØ-ika-m '(a face) fit for earrings'.

5.1.100 [1]kārma(n)-[2]véṣ-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kárman- 'action' and véṣa- 'costume' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'is fit or suitable for it' 99].

kárman-ā sam-pād-í = kárman+yàT = karmaṇ-yà-m (śarīra-m) (6.4.168) '(body) fit for activity'; *véṣ-eṇa sam-pād-í = véṣa+yàT = véṣØ-ya-ḥ (naṭa-ḥ)* '(an actor) fit for (wearing) costumes'.

5.1.101 tá-smai prá-bhav-a-ti saṁ-tāpá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with saṁ-tāpá- 'penitence' [ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (tá-smai) to denote 'is equal to or capable of' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

saṁ-tāpā́-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = saṁ-tāpá+ṭhaÑ=sā́ṁ-tāpØ-ika- 'capable of heating or warming up'; similarly *saṁ-grāmā́-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = sā́ṁ-grām-ika-ḥ* 'capable of fighting'.

5.1.102 yóg-āt=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] yóga- 'union' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'is equal to or capable of' 101].

yógā-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = yóga+yàT/ṭhaÑ = yógØ-ya-/yaúgØ-ika- 'capable of attaining union'.

5.1.103 kárman̤-ah̤=ukaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ukaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kárman- 'action, activity' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'is equal to or capable of' 101].

kárman̤-e prá-bhav-a-ti = *kárman+ukaÑ* = *kā́rm∅∅-uka-m* (6.4 144) 'n.pr. of a bow (lit. capable of action)'.

5.1.104 samayá-s tád a-syá prā́-p-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] samayá- 'opportune moment' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'has arrived for it' (a-syá pr-ā́p-ta-m).

samayá-ḥ pr-ā́p-ta-ḥ a-syá = *samayá+ṭhaÑ* = *sā́may∅-ika-m̀ (kā̆r-yà-m)* '(an action) for which the opportune moment has arrived'.

5.1.105 r̥tó-r áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] r̥tú- 'season' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

r̥tú-ḥ pr-ā́p-ta-ḥ a-syá = *r̥tú+áṆ* = *ārtav-á-m (púṣpá-m)* 'seasonal (flower)'.

5.1.106 chándas-i ghaS

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 r̥tú- 'season' 105 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

ay-ám te yóni-r r̥tv-íya-ḥ (RV 3.29.10) = *r̥tú-ḥ pr-ā́pta-ḥ a-syá (r̥tú+ghaS)* 'seasonal'. The marker [S] of the affix indicates that the stem before it is a padá (1.4.16) and therefore blocks the operation of 6.4.146.

5.1.107 kāl-ā́t=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālá- 'time' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'has arrived for it' 104].

kālá-ḥ pr-ā́p-ta-ḥ a-syá = *kālá+yàT* = *kā́l∅-ya-ḥ (tāpíḥ)* '(heat) occurring in poper time, seasonal'.

5.1.108 pra-kr̥ṣ-ṭ-é ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kālá- 'time'107 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] signifying 'long-standing' (pra-kr̥ṣ-ṭ-é) [to denote 'its' (a-syá) 104].

pra-kr̥ṣ-ṭá-ḥ = dīrghá-ḥ kālá-ḥ a-syá = kālá+ṭhaÑ = kā́l∅-ika-m (r̥ṇá-m) 'long-standing (debt)'.

5.1.109 pra-yój-ana-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] to denote [its 104] 'purpose, object, or proper occasion' (pra-yój-ana-m).

indra-mahá-ḥ pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = indra-mahá+ṭhaÑ = aíndra-mah∅-ika-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is the festival in honor of Indra'.

5.1.110 [1]ví-śākhā=[2]aṣāḍh-ā́t áṆ [1]manthá-[2]daṇḍáy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] víśākhā and a-ṣāḍh-ā́ 'names of asterisms' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109 to signify respectively 1.3.10] a churning stick (manthá°) and a staff (°daṇḍáy-oḥ).

ví-śākhā pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = vi-śā́khā+áṆ = vai-śākh∅-á-ḥ manthá-ḥ 'a churning stick used on the occasion of V.' Similarly *ā-ṣāḍh-á-ḥ daṇḍa-ḥ* 'a staff carried by an ascetic on the occasion of Pūrvāṣāḍhā'.

5.1.111 anu-pra-vác-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with anu-pra-vác-ana- 'repetition of a Vedic passage' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

anu-pra-vác-ana-m pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = anu-pra-vác-ana+cia = anu-pra-vac-an∅-ī́ya-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is repetition of a Vedic passage'.

5.1.112 sam-ā́p-an-āt sá-pūrva-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 111 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-ā́p-ana- 'accomplishment, achievement' co-occurring with a prior member (in composition: sá-pūrva-pad-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

chandaḥ-sam-āp-aná-m pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-aná+cha* = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-an∅-íya-m* 'whose object, purpose or occasion is the achievement of the study of Chándas'.

5.1.113 aíkāgārikaṬ caur-é

The irregular expression aík-āgār-ika-(Ṭ) is introduced to denote a thief (caur-é) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18].

ekāgāra-m pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = *ekāgārá+ṭhaÑ* = *aíkāgāra-ika-* (literally) 'whose object is an empty house (eka+agāra)' = a thief. This rule has been contradicted by the Várttika-kārá and Patañjali since they accept the position that the word has the udā́tta accent on the first syllable. Others indicate the irregularity in confining the meaning to a thief only, while a third view of interpretation holds that the affix is [ikaṬ] with irregular vr̥ddhi of the initial syllable *aikāgar-íka-, and the marker[Ṭ] then provides for the feminine form **aikāgār-ík-ī* (4.1.15) while [ṭhaÑ] yields *aíkāgār-ik-í* (4.1.15).

5.1.114 ā́-kāl-ika-Ṭ=ādy-antá-vac-an-e

The (unusual) expression ā́kalikaṬ is introduced to denote beginning and end (of an action: an instantaneous action) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 by 109 above].

This rule also is contradicted by the Vārttikakārá, but Patañjali tries to justify it by indicating that the expression [samāna-kālá-] is the original stem which is irregularly replaced by [ā́-kāla- = ā-vr̥tta-kāla-]; the unusualness of the expression is with respect to its meaning only. Some interpreters (including Kāś) posit, as in 112, the affix [íkaṬ] and both Vārt. and Bhās. add another affix [ṭhaN].

samāna-kāl-aú ādy-ant-aú a-syá = *ākāla+ṭhaÑ/(ṭhaN)* = *ā́-kāl-ik-ī/(ā́-kāl-ik-ā)* = *vi-dyút* '(lightning which is) momentary or instantaneous'; *ā́-kāl-ika-ḥ* = *stan-ay-ítnu-ḥ* '(thunder which is) instantaneous' (= having the beginning and ending at the same moment)'. The difference between the two affixes is with reference to feminine forms only. If [íkaṬ] is regarded as the affix in question the form would be: *ā-kāl-íka- (m.)/°-ik-ī.*

5.1.115 t-éna túl-ya-ṁ kriyā́ céd váti̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] váti̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote only an action similar to that (t-éna túl-ya-m céd).

brāhmaṇ-éna túl-ya-ṁ várt-a-te = brāhmaṇa-vát 'like a Br.'

5.1.116 tá-tra tá-sya=iva

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 váti̱ 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) or in the sixth (tá-sya) to denote the meanings associated with iva 'like, similar'.

1. *mathurā-y-ām iva = mathurā-vát* 'as in Mathura'.
2. *deva-dattá-sya iva = deva-datta-vát* 'like Devadatta's'.

5.1.117 tád arh-á-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 váti̱ 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'deserves it' (tád arh-á-m).

rā́jān-am árh-a-ti = rājan+vát = rāja∅-vát (8.1.7) 'deserving the king'.

5.1.118 upa-sárg-āt=chándas-i dhātv-arth-é

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 váti̱ 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising pre-verbs (upa-sárg-āt) to denote the meanings of verbal stems (dhātv-arth-é).

úd+váti̱ = ud-vát = úd-gatá- 'height, elevation'; similarly *ni-vát = ni-gatá-* 'depression, declivity'.

5.1.119 tá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ=[1]tvá-[2]taL-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tvá and taL are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote its essential state or condition (tá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ)

áśva-sya bhāv-á-ḥ =áśva+tvá/taL = aśva-tvá-/aśvá-tā 'the state, nature or condition of being a horse, horseness'.

5.1.120 ā́ ca tv-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 tvá and taL 119] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] under conditions listed in the subsequent rules up to 136 below. i.e., the end of the pāda[brahmaṇa-s-tvá-ḥ 136].

This rule provides for the introduction of these two affixes (as governing affixes) in addition to those specifically mentioned in each of the succeeding rules.

5.1.121 ná náÑ-pūrv-āt tatpuruṣ-ā́t=a-[1]cátura-[2]saṁ-gatá-[3]lavaṇá-[4]vaṭa-[5]yudhá-[6]kata-[7]rása-[8]láse-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter] do not occur [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising tatpuruṣa compounds co-occurring with the privative particle náÑ as a prior member (°-pūrv-āt) excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] cátura- 'able', saṁ-ga-tá- 'harmonious', lavaṇá- 'salt', vaṭa 'bunyan tree', yudhá- 'fighter', kata- 'name of a Vedic seer', rása- 'taste' and lása- 'active'.

There is a variant reading [budhá-] for [yudhá-]. accepted by Boehtlingk and Renou meaning 'wise man'.

By 128 below affix [yáK] is introduced after a compound stem ending in the word [°-pati-] but the compound *náÑ+pati = a-pati-* has only two forms to denote its state or condition: *a-pati+tvá-m/a-patí-tā*. Exceptions stated in this rule are: *ā-catur-yá-m, ā-saṁ-gat-yá-m, ā-lavaṇ-yá-m, ā-vaṭ-yá-m, ā-yudh-yá-m/ ā-budh-yá-m, ā-kat-yá-m, ā-ras-yá-m* and *ā-las-yá-m* (124).

5.1.122 pr̥thú=ādi-bhyaḥ=imániC=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] imániC is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pr̥thú- 'broad, wide' and [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential state or condition 119].

pr̥thó-r bhāv-á-ḥ = pr̥thú+imániC /tvá/taL (119)/*áṆ* (131) = *prathØ-imán-* (6.4.161)/*pr̥thu-tvá-/pr̥thú-tā/pārthav-á-* 'wideness, expanse'.

5.1.123 [1]várṇa-[2]dr̥ḍhá-ādi-bhyaḥ ṢyaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢyaÑ, in addition to (ca) [imániC 122 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of color words (várṇa-°) and the class of words beginning with dr̥ḍhá- 'firm' [ending in

1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their essential condition or state 119].

1. *śuklá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ = śuklá+ṢyaÑ/imániC = śaúkl∅-ya-m/śukl-imán-, śukla-tvá-m/śuklá-tā* 'whiteness'.
2. Similarly *dā́rḍh∅-ya-m/dṛḍha-tvá-m/dṛḍhá-tā/dṛḍh-imán-* 'firmness'.

5.1.124 [1]guṇa-vác-ana-[2]brāhmaṇá=ādihyaḥ kárman-i ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 SyaÑ 123 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of qualifying words (guṇa-vác-ana-°) and the class of words beginning with brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 119] to denote 'his function or duty' in addition to (ca) [his essential condition or state 119].

Beginning here, up to the end of this pāda both [bhāv-á 119 and kárman-] denote the significance of forms generated by these rules.

1. *jaḍa-sya bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = jaḍa+ṢyaÑ = jā́ḍ∅-ya-m/jaḍa-tvá-m/jaḍá-tā jaḍimań-* 'stiffness, intertia'.
2. *brāhmaṇá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = brā́hmaṇ∅-ya-m/brāhmaṇa-tvá-m/ brāhmaṇá-tā* 'state or duty of a brahmin'.

5.1.125 sten-ā́t=yàT=na-lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] stená- 'thief' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote his essential condition or state 119 or his function or duty 124] and ∅ (lopa) replaces the syllable [na] of the stem.

stená-sya bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = stená+yàT = ste∅∅-ya- = sté-ya-m 'the state or function of a thief'.

5.1.126 sákhy-ur yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sákhi- 'friend, companion' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

sákhy-ur bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = sákhi+ya = sakh∅-yá-m 'companionship or its duty/function'.

5.1.127 [1]kapí-[2]jñāty-ór ḍháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kapí- 'ape, monkey' and jnātí- 'kin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

kapé-r bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = kapí+ḍháK = kāp∅-eyá-m 'the state or duty of an ape or monkey'; similarly *jñāt∅-eyá-m* 'the state or function of kinship'.

5.1.128 [1]páti=anta-[2]puró-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ=yáK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] terminating in °-páti- (in composition: °-anta-) and the class of words beginning with puró-hita- 'chaplain' [ending in 1 1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *senā-paté-r bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = senā-patí+yáK = sainā-pat∅-yá-m* 'the state or function of an army general'.
2. *puró-hita-sya bhā-vá-ḥ/kárma vā = puró-hita+yáK = pauro-hit∅-yá-m* 'the state or duties of chaplainship'.

5.1.129 [1]prāṇa-bhr̥t=jātí-[2]vayo-vác-ana=[3]ud-gā-tŕ̥=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing species of animate beings (prāṇa-bhr̥t-jātí-), and those expressing age (°vayo-vác-ana-°) and the class of words beginning with ud-gā-tŕ̥- 'chanter' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or duty 124].

1. *áśva-sya bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = áśva+aÑ = ā́śv∅-a-m* 'state or function of being a horse'. *kaú-mar-á-m* 'state or duty of k.'
2. *ud-gā-tú-r bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā = ud-gā-tŕ̥+aÑ = aúd-gā-tr-a-m* 'state or duties of a chanter'.

5.1.130 [1]hāyaná=anta-[2]yúva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-hāyaná- 'year' as final member (°-anta-° in composition) and the class of words beginning with yúvan-

'youth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *dvi-hāyaná-sya bhāv-á-ḥ/kárma vā* = *dvi-hāyaná+áṆ* = *dvai-hāyan∅-á-m* 'state or activity of two years'.
2. *yū́n-aḥ bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā* = *yúvan+áṆ* = *yauvan-á-m* 'state or duties of being a youth'.

5.1.131 iK=ant-āt=ca laghú-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 130 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iK (= i,u,r̥,l̥) preceded by a light vowel (laghú-pūrv-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

śúce-r bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā = *śúci+áṆ* = *śauc∅-á-m* 'the state or function of being pure', but *kaṇḍū-tvá-m* 'the state or function of itchiness'.

5.1.132 ya̲=upadh-āt=gurú=upottam-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing phoneme [y] as penultimate (°-upadh-āt) and a heavy penultimate syllable (gurú=upottam-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition/state 119 or its duty/function 124].

ram-aṇī́ya-sya bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā = *ram-aṇī́ya+vuÑ* = *rā́m-aṇīy∅-aka-m* 'state or function of beauty, loveliness' but *kṣatriya-tvá-m* 'state or function of being a kṣatriya'.

5.1.133 [1]dvaṁdvá-[2]mano-jñá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 132] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising Dvaṁdvá compounds and the word-class beginning with mano-jñá- 'lovely' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition/state 119 or duty/function 124].

1. *go-pāl-a-paśu-pāl-ā́-n-ām bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā* = *go-pāla-paśu-pālá+vuÑ* = *gaú-pāla-paśu-pāl∅-ik-ā* (*TāP* 4.1.4; 7.3.44) 'the state/duties of cowherds and herdsmen'.
2. Similarly *mano-jñá+vuÑ* = *mā́no-jñ∅-aka-m* 'the state or function of loveliness'.

5.1.134 [1]go-trá-[2]cáraṇ-āt [1]śl͞aghā=[2]aty-ā-kārá-[3]tad-ave-té-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrá-°) or names designating Vedic schools (°-cáraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition or state 119 or its duties/functions 124] when signifying boasting (śl͞aghā°), contempt (°-aty-ā-kāra-°) or acquired knowledge (°-tad-av-té-ṣu).

> *gārgya-tv-éna śl͞ágh-a-te* = *gā́rgya+vuÑ* = *gā́rgØØ+aka+ṬāP* (6.4.148,151; 4.1.4) = *gā́rg-ikØ-ā* (7.3.44): *gā́rg-ikay-ā śla͞gh-a-te/aty-ā́-kur-u-te* 'boasts as belonging to the G. family / shows contempt to others'. Similarly *gā́rg-ika-m ave-tá-ḥ* 'acquired the knowledge of the G. family'.

5.1.135 hótrā-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising cognates of hótrā (names of sacrificial priests) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

> *acchā-vāká-sya bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā* = *acchā-vāká+cha* = *acchā-vākØ-ī́ya-m* 'state or duty of being an A. priest'.

5.1.136 bráhmaṇ-as tvá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tvá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bráhman- 'officiating priest' [forming a cognate of hótrá 135, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

> *bráhmaṇ-aḥ bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā* = *bráhman+tvá* = *brahmØ-tvá-m* 'the state or duties of the Bráhman priest'.

5.2.1 dhānyā́-n-ām bháv-an-e kṣétr-e khaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting names of grains (dhānyā́-n-ām)[ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote the field (kṣétr-e) in which they are grown (bháv-an-e).

mudgā́-n-ām bháv-ana-m kṣétra-m = mudgá+khaÑ = maúdg∅-īna-m 'a field in which Mung beans are grown'; similarly *kulattha+khaÑ = kaúlatth∅-īnam* 'a field in which K. grain is grown'.

5.2.2 [1]vrīhí[2]śāly-or ḍháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vrīhí- 'rice' and śāli- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet [to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

vrīhī́-ṇ-ām bháv-ana-ṁ kṣétra-m = vrīhí+ḍháK = vraih∅-eyá-m/śāl∅-eyá-m 'rice field'.

5.2.3 [1]yáva-[2]yáva-ka-[3]ṣáṣṭi-k-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yáva-, yáva-ka- 'barley' and ṣáṣṭi-ka- 'a variety of rice' (1.90) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

yávā-n-ām bháv-ana-ṁ kṣétra-m = yáva+yàT = yáv∅-ya-m; yáva-ka+yàT : yava-k-yà-m 'barley field'; similarly *ṣaṣṭik∅-yà-m* 'rice field'.

5.2.4 vibhāṣā [1]tilá-[2]mā́ṣa=[3]úmā-[4]bhaṅgā́-[5]áṇu=bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tilá- 'sesamum', mā́ṣa- 'Phaseolus Radiatus', úmā 'flax', bhaṅgā́ 'hemp' and áṇu- 'Panicum Miliatus' [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

tilā́-n-ām bháv-ana-ṁ kṣétra-m = tilá+yàT/khaÑ (1) = *tíl∅-ya-m/taíl∅-īna-m;* similarly: *mā́ṣ-ya-m/mā́ṣ-īṇa-m; úm-ya-m/aúm-īna-m; bháṅg-ya-m/bhā́ṅg-īna-m; aṇav-yà-m/ā́ṇav-īna-m.*

5.2.5 sarva-carmáṇ-aḥ kr̥-tá-ḥ [1]kha-[2]khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kha and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sarva-carmán- 'entire or whole leather' [ending in 1.1.72]the third sUP triplet to denote 'wholly made of' (kr̥-tá-ḥ).

The word [sarvá-°] here is really connected with the verbal derivative[kr̥-tá-] rather than with [cárman-].

sarva-carmáṇ-ā kr̥-tá-ḥ = sarva-carmán+kha/khaÑ = sarva-carm∅-íṇa-ḥ/ sắrva-carm-īṇa-ḥ 'wholly made of leather'.

5.2.6 yathā-mukhá- saṁ-mukhá-sya dárś-ana-ḥ kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yathāmukha-m 'face to face' and saṁ-mukha- 'facing' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (°-sya) to denote a mirror or reflecting surface (dárś-ana-ḥ).

yathā-mukhá-m/saṁ-mukhá-sya dárś-ana-ḥ = yathā+mukhá+kha/ saṁ-mukhá+kha = yathā-mukh∅-ína-ḥ/saṁ-mukh∅-ína-ḥ 'looking straight at (said of a mirror)'.

5.2.7 tát sarvá=āde-ḥ [1]pathi(n)=[2]aṅgá-[3]kárma(n)=[4]páttra-[5]pắtra-ṁ vy-ắp-no-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] páthin- 'path', aṅgá- 'limb', kárman- 'action', páttra- 'conveyance' and pắtra- 'vessel', co-occurring with sarvá-° as a prior member (°-ādé-ḥ in composition) [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tad) to denote 'covers' (vy-ắp-no-ti).

sárva-m pánthān-am = sarvá∅-path-a-m (4.74) *vy-ắp-no-ti = sarva=path∅-ína-ḥ* 'covering or traversing the whole route'; likewise: *sarvāṅg-íṇa-ḥ* (8.4.2) 'covering all limbs'; *sarva-karm-íṇa-ḥ* 'performing all acts'; *sarva-pattr-íṇa-ḥ* 'occupying the whole conveyance'; *sarva=pātr-íṇa-ḥ* 'covering the entire vessel'.

5.2.8 ā-pra-padá-m pr-ắp-no-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ā-pra-padá-m 'up to the forepart of the foot' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'reaches' (prắp-no-ti).

ā-pra-pradá-m pr-ā́p-no-ti = ā-prapadá+kha = ā-prapad∅-ī́na- 'reaching up to the forepart of the foot (said of a cloth)'.

5.2.9 ¹anu-padá-²sarvá-anna=³aya=an-ay-ám ¹baddhā́-²bhakṣ-áy-a-ti-³néye-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] anu-padá- 'length of the foot', sarvā́nna- 'all nourishment' and ayānayá- 'right and left moves in chess' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'bound (baddhā́), eats (bhakṣ-áy-a-ti) and to be led (né-ye-ṣu)'.

1. *anu-padá-m bad-dhā́ = anu-padá+kha = anu-pad∅-ī́na-* 'fitting the foot';
2. *sarvā́nna-m bhakṣ-áy-a-ti = sarvānn-ī́na-* 'who consumes all the food';
3. *ayānayá-ṁ né-ya-ḥ = ayānay∅-ī́na-* 'moving from right to left and from left to right (said of chessmen)'.

5.2.10 ¹parovará-²param-pará-³putra-pautrá-m ánu-bhav-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] parovará- 'higher and lower', param-pará- descendent starting with the greatgrandson' and putra-pautra- 'son and grandson' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'experiences, enjoys' (ánu-bhav-a-ti).

1. *párā-n=ca ávarā-n=ca ánu-bhav-a-ti = parovara+kha = paro-var∅-ī́ṇa-ḥ* 'experiencing the higher and lower (generations)';
2. *párā-n=ca pára-tarā-n=ca ánu-bhav-a-ti = param-pará+kha = param-par∅-ī́na-ḥ* 'enjoying grandsons and greatgrandsons';
3. *putra-pautrā́-n ánu-bhava-ti = putra-pautr∅-ī́ṇa-ḥ* 'experiencing the sons and grandsons'.

5.2.11 ¹avāra-pārá=²aty-antá=³anu-kāmá-m gām-ī́

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] avāra-pārá- 'this and the opposite banks', aty-antá- 'absolute, perfect' and anu-kāmá- 'desire, longing' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote 'proposes to go' (gām-ī́).

1. *avāra-pārá-ṁ gām-ī́ = avāra-pārá+kha = avāra-pār∅-ī́ṇa-ḥ* 'who proposes to cover both shores';

2. *aty-antá-ṁ gām-ī = aty-ant∅-ī́na-ḥ* 'who intends going to the very end'; (c) *anu-kām∅-ī́na-ḥ* 'who is apt to act as he pleases, self-indulgent'.

5.2.12 samā-ṁ-samā́-m ví-jā-ya-te

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] samā-ṁ-samā́-m 'year by year, every year' to denote 'gives birth to' (ví-jā-ya-te).

samā-ṁ-samā́-m ví-jā-ya-te = samā-ṁ-samā́-∅+kha = samā-ṁ-sam∅-ī́na+ṬāP = samā-m-sam-ī́n ∅+ā (gaú-ḥ) '(a cow) bearing a calf every year'.

5.2.13 adya-śv-ī́n-ā ava-ṣṭab-dh-e

The (irregular) expression adya-śv-ī́n-ā is introduced to denote one whose delivery is imminent (áva-ṣṭab-dh-e).

The affix kha is introduced after the irregular compound *adya+śvás* with ∅ replacement of stem-final [s]: *adya-śva∅+kha = adya-śv∅-ī́n-ā (gaú-ḥ)* 'a cow in parturition, about to give birth'. Some interpreters, however, do not accept the recurrence of [ví-jā-ya-te] in this rule, yielding expressions like *adya-śv-ī́na-m már-aṇa-m* 'imminent death', and *adya-śv-ī́na-ḥ vi-yog-á-ḥ* 'imminent separation'.

5.2.14 ā-gav-ī́na-ḥ

The (irregular) expression *ā-gav-ī́na-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6].

āṄ+gó+kha = ā-gav-ī́na-ḥ 'a person who serves in return for the loan of a cow until the debt is repaid'.

5.2.15 anu-gú=alaṁ-gām-ī́

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha 6 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] anu-gú 'behind or following the cow' to denote 'competent to look after or guard (alaṁ-gām-ī́).

anu-gú+kha = anu-gav-ī́na-ḥ '(a cowherd) able to guard the cow he follows'.

5.2.16 ádhvan-aḥ=¹yàT-²kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- 'road' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote 'competent to traverse 15].

ádhvān-am alaṁ-gām-í = ádhvan+yàT/kha = adhvan-yà-ḥ/adhvan-ína-ḥ 'competent to traverse the road, traveler'.

5.2.17 abhy-a-mitr-ā́t=cha ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT and kha 16, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] abhy-a-mitrá-m 'against the enemy' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote 'competent to encounter' 15].

abhy-a-mitrá-m alaṁ-gām-í = abhy-a-mitrá+cha/yàT/kha = abhy-a-mitr∅-íya=ḥ/ °-mitr-yà-ḥ/°-mitr-ína-ḥ 'competent to encounter the enemy'.

5.2.18 goṣṭh-ā́t khaÑ bhū-ta-pūrv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] goṣṭhá- 'cow pen' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'was formerly' (bhūta-pūrv-e).

bhūta-pūrv-á-ḥ goṣṭhá-ḥ = goṣṭha+khaÑ = gaúṣṭh∅-īna-ḥ 'a place which was formerly a cow shed'.

5.2.19 áśva-sya=eka=aha=gamá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] áśva- 'horse' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote '(distance) covered in one day' (ekāha-gam-á-ḥ).

áśva-sya ekāha-gam-á-ḥ = aśva+khaÑ = āśv∅-īna-ḥ 'distance covered by a horse in one day'.

5.2.20 ¹śā́l-īna-²kaúp-īn-e ¹á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-²á-kāryay-oḥ

The expressions śā́l-ina- and kaúp-ína- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'modest' (á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-°) and 'indecent attire' (°-á-kāryay-oh).

śālā-pra-veś-ana-m árh-a-ti = śā́lā+khaÑ = śā́l-īna-ḥ 'worthy of admission to a hall or assembly'; *kūpa=ava-tár-aṇa-m árh-a-ti = kū́pa+khaÑ = kaúp∅-īna-m* 'suitable for going down in a well or hole, cod piece, loin cloth, swim briefs'.

5.2.21 vrā́t-ena jī́v-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vrā́ta- 'group of peripatatic laborers' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'lives by' (jī́v-a-ti).

vrā́t-ena jī́v-a-ti = vrā́ta+khaÑ = vrā́t∅-īna-ḥ 'living by itinerant labor'.

5.2.22 sā́pta-pad-īna-ṁ sakh-yá-m

The expression sā́pta-pad-īna- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18] to denote 'companionship' (sakh-yá-m).

saptá-bhiḥ pad-aíḥ áv-āp-ya-te = sapta-padá+khaÑ = sā́pta-pad∅-īna-m 'amity', *sā́pta-pad-īna-ḥ = sákhā* 'companion'.

5.2.23 haíyaṁ-gav-īna-ṁ saṁjñā́-y-ā

The expression haíyaṁ-gav-īna-ṁ 'clarified butter; biestings' is introduced to form a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

By interpretation this is derived as follows: *hyas-tana-go-dohá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ = hiyaṅ-gu+khaÑ = haíyaṅ-gav-īna-m* (7.3.3) to denote [ghr̥-tá-] 'clarified butter, ghee'.

5.2.24 tá-sya [1]pāká-[2]mū́l-e [1]pīlú=adi-[2]kárṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]kuṇaP=[2]jāháC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kuṇaP and jāháC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pīlú- 'a species of tree' and kárṇa- 'ear' to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'its season for ripening' (pāká-°) and 'its roots' (°-mū́l-e).

pīlū́-n-ām pāká-ḥ = pīlú+kuṇaP = pīlú-kuṇa-ḥ 'season for the ripening of the P. fruit'. *kárṇa-sya mū́la-m = kárṇa+jāháC = karṇa-jāhá-m* 'root of the ear'.

5.2.25 pakṣ-ā́t tí-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tí is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pakṣá- 'lunar fortnight' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its root 24].

pakṣá-sya mū́la-m = pakṣá+tí = pakṣa-tí-ḥ 'beginning or first day of the lunar fortnight'.

5.2.26 t-éna vit-tá-ḥ [1]cuñcuP-[2]caṇaP-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] cuñcuP and caṇaP are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote 'known by it' (vit-tá-ḥ).

vidyáy-ā vit-tá-ḥ = vidyā́-cuñcu-ḥ/vidyā́-caṇa-ḥ 'well-known or renowned by knowledge'.

5.2.27 [1]ví-[2]náÑ-bhyām [1]nā́-[2]nāÑ-au ná-sahá

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] nā́ and nāÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particle ví-° and nāÑ-° to denote the sense of separation (ná-sahá).

vi-nā́ 'without'; *náÑ+nāÑ = nā́-nā* 'variously, diversely'.

5.2.28 vé-ḥ [1]śāláC-[2]śaṅkaṭáC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] śāláC and śaṅkatáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle ví-° to denote a pleonastic sense.

ví+śāláC = ví-śālá- 'extended, wide'; similarly *ví-śaṅkaṭá-*.

5.2.29 [1]sám-[2]prá=[3]úd-as=ca kaṭáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaṭáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particles sám-°, prá-° and úd-° as well as (ca) [vi-° 28 to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

ví-kaṭá-m/saṁ-kaṭá-m/pra-kaṭá-m/ut-kaṭá-m 'dreadful, large/crowded together, contracted/manifest, evident/immense'.

5.2.30 áv-āt kuṭāráC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kuṭāráC, in addition to (ca) [kaṭáC 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle áva-° [to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

áva+kuṭāráC/kaṭáC = ava-kuṭārá-m/ava-kaṭá-m 'deep, profound'.

5.2.31 na-t-é nā́sikā-y-āḥ saṁjñā́-y-āṁ [1]ṭīṭáC-[2]nāṭáC-[3]bhrāṭáC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭīṭáC, nāṭáC and bhrāṭáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle áva-° 30 to denote a snub nose [na-t-é nā́sikā-y-āḥ].

nā́sikā-y-āḥ na-tá-m = ava-ṭīṭá-/ava-naṭá-/ava-bhrāṭá- 'snub-nosed' m., 'snub nose' n.

5.2.32 né-r [1]biḍáC-[2]birīsáC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] biḍáC and birīsáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb ní-° [to denote a snub nose 31].

ni-biḍá-m/ni-birīsá-m = nā́sikā-y-āḥ na-tá-m 'snub nose'.

5.2.33 [1]ináC-[2]piṭáC-[1]cika-[2]ci ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ináC and piṭáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle ní-° 32 [to denote a snub nose 31] and the substitutes cika- and ci- [respectively 1.3.10] replace it before these affixes.

ní+ináC = cika+ináC = cik∅-iná-ḥ; cí+piṭáC = ci+piṭá-ḥ.

5.2.34 [1]úpa=[2]ádhi-bhyām tyakaN [1]ā́-san-na=[2]ā́-rū-ḍhay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyakaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the preverb particles] úpa-° and ádhi-° to denote [respectively 1.3.10] proximity (ā́-san-na-°) and elevation (°-ā́-rū-ḍhay-oḥ).

úpa+tyakaN = úpa-tyaka+ṬāP = úpa-tyak∅-ā 'low land, place near a hill or mountain'; similarly *ádhi-tyak-ā* 'highland, plateau, tableland'. Because of the governing word [saṁjñā́-yām 31] operating here, 7.3.34 does not apply.

5.2.35 kárman-i ghaṭá-ḥ=aṭháC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aṭháC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kárman- 'activity' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'zealously engaged in'.

> *kárman-i ghaṭá-ḥ = kárman+aṭháC = karm∅∅-aṭhá-ḥ* 'zealously engaged in activities'.

5.2.36 tád a-syá sáṁ-jā-ta-ṁ-tā́rakā=ādibhyaḥ itáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] itáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with tā́rakā 'star' [ending in 1.1.72] in the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote where they are manifested (a-syá sáṁ-jā-ta-m).

> *tā́rakā-ḥ sáṁ-jātā-ḥ a-syá (nábhas-aḥ) = tārakā+itáC = tārak∅-itá-ṁ (nábha-ḥ)* 'the sky, studded with stars'; similarly *púṣpā-ṇ-i sáṁ-jā-tā-n-i a-syá (vr̥kṣá-sya) = puṣp∅-itá-ḥ (vr̥kṣá-ḥ)* '(a flowering tree) in full blossom'.

5.2.37 pra-mā́ṇ-e [1]dvayasáC-[2]daghnáC-[3]mātráC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] dvayasáC, daghnáC and mātráC are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'it is the measure of this' (pra-mā́ṇ-e)].

> *ūrú-ḥ pra-mā́ṇa-m a-syá (púruṣa-sya) = ūrú-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°-mātrá-* 'as high as the thigh'.

5.2.38 [1]púruṣa-hastí-bhyām áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ, in addition to (ca) [dvaya-sáC, daghnáC and mātráC 37, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] púruṣa- 'person' and hastín- 'elephant' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'it is the measure of this' 37].

> *púruṣa-ḥ pra-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = puruṣa+áṆ/dvayasác/daghnáC/mātrác = pauruṣ∅-á-/puruṣa-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°mātrá-* 'as high as a person or man'; similarly *hāstin-á-* (6.4.164)/*hasti-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°-mātrá-* 'as tall as an elephant'.

5.2.39 [1]yád=[2]tád=[3]eté-bhyaḥ pari-mā́ṇ-e vatUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yád- 'which', tád- 'that' and etád- 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote its volume (pari-mā́ṇ-e).

yát pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = *yád+vatUP* = *yád-vat-* = *yā́ā-vat* (6.3.91) = *yā́-vat-* 'as large as'; similarly *tā́-vat-/etā́-vat-* 'that large/this large'.

5.2.40 [1]kím=[2]idám-bhyām v-aḥ gha-ḥ

The element gha (=iy) replaces the phoneme [v] of [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vatUP 39 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *kím* 'who, what, which' and *idam* 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote its volume 39].

kím pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = *kím+vatUP* = *kím+gh-atUP* = *kī́+gh-atUP* (6.3.90) = *kī́+iy-a-t* (7.1.2) = *k∅-íy-at* (6.4.64) 'how large (in size or volume)', similarly *idám+vatUP* = *ī́-iy-at* = *∅-íy-at-* 'this large'.

5.2.41 kím-aḥ saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é Ḍáti ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ḍáti, in addition to (ca) [vat-UP 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kím- 'which' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote numerical dimension (saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é).

kā́ saṁ-khyā́ pari-mā́ṇa-m e-ṣā́m = *kím+Ḍáti* = *k∅∅+áti* (6.4.143) = *k-áti+(Jas→∅*[1] 7.1.22) 'how many?': besides *kíyat+Jas* (40) = *kíyant-aḥ*.

5.2.42 saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ=ava-yav-é tayaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tayaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of numerals (saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote 'this is the number of its parts (ava-yav-é).

páñca ava-yav-ā́ḥ a-syá = *páñcan+tayaP* = *páñca∅-taya-* 'consisting of five parts'.

5.2.43 [1]dví-[2]trí-bhyām taya-sya=ayáC=vā

The substitute element ayáC optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taya introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal

stems 4.1.1 consisting of the number words 42] dví- '2' and trí- '3' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'this is the number of its parts' 42].

dv-aú ava-yav-aú a-syá = dví+tayaP = dví+ayáC/tayaP = dv∅-ayá-/dví-taya- 'consisting of two'; similarly *tr-ayá-/trí-taya-* 'consisting of three'.

5.2.44 ubh-ā́t udā́ttaḥ nítya-m

[The substitute element ayáC 43] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tayaP 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ubhá- 'both' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote 'this is the number of its parts' 42] and bears the udā́tta accent (on its first syllable).

ubh-aú pari-mā́ṇa-m a-syá = ubhá+tayaP = ubha+ayaC = ubh∅+áya 'of both kinds'.

5.2.45 tád a-smínn ádhi-ka-m iti dáśa=ant-āt Ḍá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ḍá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in °-dáśa-(°-ant-āt in composition) [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'it is in excess in this' (a-smín=ádhi-ka-m).

ékā-daśa ádhi-ka-m a-sminn = ékā-daśan+Ḍá = ekā-daś∅∅á- (6.4.144) = *ekā-daś-á-m śatá-m* '111'.

5.2.46 [1]śát=anta=[2]viṁśaté-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍá 45] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] °śat and viṁśatí '20' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'it is in excess in this 45'.

triṁśát ádhi-ka-m a-smín śat-é = triṁśát+Ḍá = triṁśát+Ḍá = triṁś∅∅+á-, (6.4.143) = *triṁś-á-m śatá-m* '130'; similarly *viṁśatí+Ḍá = viṁśa∅∅+á* (6.4.142) = *viṁś-á-m śatá-m* '120'.

5.2.47 saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ=guṇá-sya ni-mā́n-e máyaṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of number-words (saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 45] to denote 'equivalent value for barter of this' (guṇá-sya ni-mā́n-e).

yávā-n-ā́ṁ dv-aú bhāg-aú ni-mā́na-m a-syá udaśvit-bhāgá-sya = 'a mixture of water and buttermilk is twice as costly as barley' = *dvi+máyaṬ* = *dvi-máya-m udaśvít yávā-n-ām.*

5.2.48 tá-sya pū́r-aṇ-e ḌáṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌáṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 47 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote an ordinal (pū́r-aṇ-e).

ékā-daśā-n-ām pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = *ékā-daśan+ḌáṬ* = *ekā-daśØØ=á-* (6.4.143) 'eleventh'.

5.2.49 na̱=ant-āt=á-saṁkhyā=āde-r ma̱Ṭ

The initial increment ma̱Ṭ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47] ending in the phoneme [n] (na̱=ant=āt), not co-occurring after another numeral (°-ādeḥ) as a prior member in composition [to denote its ordinal 48].

pañcā-n-ā́m pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = *pañcan+ḌáṬ* = *pancØØ/+m-á-ḥ* (6.4.143) 'fifth'; similarly: *sapta-má-/aṣṭa-má-/nava-má-/daśa-má-* '7th/8th/9th/10th' but *ekā-daś-á-ḥ* (48) '11th'.

In the sū̆tra-s 49-53 the elements introduced are increments instead of affixes, which is proved by 53 where [tithu̱K] indicates its true nature as an increment since the derived form has the accent on the final syllable (53).

5.2.50 tha̱Ṭ ca chándas-i

The initial increment tha̱Ṭ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47 ending in the phoneme /n/ and not co-occurring with other numerals as a prior member in composition 49 and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote an ordinal 48] in the domain of Chandas.

pañcā-n-ā́m pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = pā́ñcan+ḌáT = pañcaØ+th-áT = pañca-th-á-ḥ '5th'; so also *sapta-th-a-h* '7th'. The particle [ca] in the rule denotes that as an alternative [maṬ] also functions as an initial increment and the forms cited under 49 occur optionally.

5.2.51 [1]ṣáṭ-[2]káti-[3]katipayá-[4]catúr-āṁ thuK

The final increment thuK (1.1.46) is inserted at the end of [the nominal stems 4.1.1] ṣáṣ- 'six', káti- 'how many?', katipayá- 'several, some' and catúr- 'four' [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

saṇ-ṇ-ā́m pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = ṣáṣ+ḌáT = ṣaṣ+ṭh-á-ḥ 'sixth'; similarly *kati+th-á-* 'how-manieth?', *katipaya+th-á-* 'so-manieth' and *catur+th-á-* 'fourth'.

5.2.52 [1]bahú-[2]pūga-[3]gaṇá-[4]saṁghá-sya tithuK

The final increment tithuK is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] bahú- 'many', pūga- 'mass', gaṇá- 'series' and saṁghá- 'collection, group' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

bahū́-n-ām pū́r-áṇa-ḥ = bahú+ḌáṬ = bahu+tith-á-ḥ 'manieth'; similarly: *pūga-tith-á* 'who completes a pūga'; *gaṇa-tith-á-/saṁ-gha-tith-á-* 'who completes a gaṇá / saṁ-ghá'.

5.2.53 vatOr ithuK

The final increment ithuk is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] vatU(P), [denoting a numeral 1.1.23, before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ to denote its ordinal 48].

yā́-vat-ām púr-aṇa-ḥ = yā-vat+ith+á-ḥ 'how-manieth' and *tā-vat+ith-á-ḥ* 'that-manieth'.

5.2.54 dvé-s tī́ya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tī́ya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 47] dví- 'two' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

dváy-oḥ pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = dví+tī́ya-ḥ = dvi-tī́ya-ḥ 'second'.

5.2.55 tré-ḥ sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tī́ya 54 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 47] trí- 'three' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48], and sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa (1.1.45) replaces its semi-vowel before that affix.

trayā-ṇ-ā́m pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = trí+tī́ya = tr̥-tī́ya-ḥ (6.1.108) 'third'.

5.2.56 viṁ-śatí=ādi-bhyaḥ tamaṬ=anya-tará-syām

The initial increment tamaṬ is inserted at the head of (1.1.42) [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] consisting of the class of expressions beginning with viṁśatí- '20' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinals 48] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

viṁśaté-ḥ pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = viṁśatí+ḌáṬ (48)/*viṁśati+tamaṬ-ḌáṬ = viṁśa∅∅+á = viṁś-á-ḥ/viṁśati+tama+á = viṁśati-tam-á-ḥ* (6.1.97) '20th'; similarly *triṁś-á-ḥ/triṁśati-tam-á-ḥ* '30th' etc.

5.2.57 nítya-ṁ [1]śatá=ādi-[2]mā́sa=[3]ardha-māsá-[4]saṁ-vatsar-ā́t=ca

[The initial increment tamaṬ 56] is necessarily inserted at the head of [1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] beginning with śatá-'100' and the words mā́sa- 'month', ardha-māsá 'half-month/fortnight' and saṁvatsará- 'year' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet denoting ordinals or completing of it' 48].

śatá-sya pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = śatá+tamaṬ-ḌáṬ = śata-tama+á = śata-tam-á-ḥ '100th', and similarly *sahasra-tam-á-ḥ* '1000th'; *māsa-tam-á-ḥ* 'completing the month, i.e., last day of the month'; *ardha-māsa-tam-á-ḥ* 'last day of the fortnight'; *saṁ-vatsara-tam-á-ḥ* 'end or last day of the year'.

5.2.58 ṣaṣṭí-āde-s=ca=á-saṁkhyā-āde-ḥ

[The initial increment tamaṬ 56 is necessarily 57 inserted at the head of 1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 47] beginning with ṣaṣṭí-'60', not co-occurring with a numeral as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

ṣaṣṭī-n-ām pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = ṣaṣṭi+tamaṬ-ḌáṬ = ṣaṣṭi-tam-á-ḥ '60th'; similarly: *saptati-tam-á-ḥ* '70th', but *eka-ṣaṣṭ-á-ḥ/eka-ṣaṣṭi-tam-á-ḥ* (56) '61st'.

5.2.59 matAU cha-ḥ [1]sūktá-[2]sā́mn-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] to denote the meanings of (affix) matUP for designating a hymn (sūktá-°) or a melody (°-sā́m-oḥ).

1. sūktá: *acchā-vāka-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = acchā-vāká+cha = acchā-vāk-íya-ṁ sūktá-m* 'a hymn in which the word (acchā-vaka) occurs'.
2. sā́man: *vā́ra-vanta-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = vā́ravanta+cha = vāra-vant∅-íya-ṁ sāma* 'a sā́man chant in which the word [vā́ra-vant-] occurs'.

5.2.60 [1]adhy-āyá-[2]anu-vākáy-or luK

The substitute luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 59 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of the affix matUP 59] for designating a chapter (adhy-āyá-°) or a passage or section (°-anu-vākáy-oḥ) [of a sacred text].

By interpretation this replacement is made optional.

gardabhāṇḍa-śábdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = gardabhāṇḍá+cha→luK/cha = gardabhāṇḍá-ḥ/gardabhāṇḍ∅-íya-ḥ adhy-āya-ḥ 'a chapter in which the word (gardabhāṇḍá-) occurs' or *anu-vāko vā*.

5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ví-muk-ta- 'a word occurring in a sacred text' [to denote the meanings of matUP 59 for designating a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 60].

vi-muk-ta-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = ví-muk-ta+áṆ = vai-muk-t∅-á-ḥ adhy-āyá-ḥ/anu-vāká-ḥ 'a chapter or section (of a sacred text) containing the word [ví-muk-ta-]'.

5.2.62 go-ṣád=ādi-bhyaḥ vuN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with go-ṣád- 'a word cited in a sacred text' [to denote the senses of affix matUP 59 to designate a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 69].

go-ṣad=śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = *goṣád+vuN* = *gó-ṣad-aka-ḥ adhy-āyá-ḥ anuvākó vā* 'chapter or section containing the word go-ṣád-'.

5.2.63 ta-´tra kúśala-ḥ path-áḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 62 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] páthin- 'path' [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'skilled in it' (tá-tra kúśala-ḥ).

path-í kúśala-ḥ = *páthin+vuN* = *páth∅∅-aka-ḥ* (6.4.144) 'skilled in roads, guide'.

5.2.64 ā-karṣá=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ā-karṣ-á- 'magnet' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'skilled in it' 63].

There is a variant reading [ā-kaṣ-á- 'touchstone'].

ā-karṣ-é kúśala-ḥ = *ā-karṣ-á+kaN* = *ā́-karṣa-ka-ḥ* 'specialist in magnetism'; with v.l. *ā́-kaṣa-ka-ḥ* 'goldsmith'.

5.2.65 [1]dhána-[2]híraṇy-āt kām-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dhana- 'riches, wealth' and hiraṇya- 'gold' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 83] to denote 'a desire for' (kam-e).

dhán-e kāmá-ḥ = *dhána+kaN* = *dhána-ka-ḥ* 'cupidity, covetousness'. Similarly *híraṇya-ka-ḥ* 'avidity or eagerness for gold'.

The reason for introducing [kaN] while the preceding [vuN] affix would have yielded the required surface forms is with respect to stems of the [ā-karṣ-a-] class ending in [°u] and [°i] which should not come under the operation respectively of 6.4.146,148.

5.2.66 sva=aṅgé-bhyaḥ prá-si-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing limbs of one's body (sva-aṅgé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63] to denote 'is attached to or engaged in it' (prá-si-t-e).

kéśe-ṣu prá-si-ta-ḥ = *kéśa+kaN* = *kéśa-ka-ḥ* 'bestowing care upon the hair'; similarly *dántauṣṭhu-ka-ḥ, kéśa-nakha-ka-ḥ*.

5.2.67 udár-āt=ṭháK=ā-dyū-n-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] udára- 'stomach' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63 to denote 'is attached to or engaged in' 66] for designating 'voraciousness' (ā-dyū-n-é).

udár-e prá-si-ta-ḥ = *udára+ṭháK* = *audar∅-iká-ḥ* 'glutton'.

5.2.68 sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sasyá- 'good quality, merit' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'abundantly provided with' (pári-jā-ta-ḥ)

sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-ḥ = *sasyá+kaN* = *sásya-ka-ḥ* 'richly meritorious'.

5.2.69 áṁśa-ṁ hār-ī́

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] áṁśa- 'share, division' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'necessarily inheriting' (hār-ī́ 3.3.170).

áṁśa-ṁ hārī = *áṁśa+kaN* = *áṁśa-ka-ḥ* 'legal heir'.

5.2.70 tántr-āt=á-cira=apa-hr̥-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tántra- 'loom' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'just taken off or removed from' (á-cira-apa-hr̥-t-e).

tántr-āt ácirāpahr̥-ta-ḥ = *tántra+kaN* = *tántra-ka-ḥ paṭa-ḥ* '(cloth) just removed from the loom, fresh from the loom'.

5.2.71 [1]bráhmaṇa-ka=[2]úṣṇi-k-e saṁjñā-y-ām

The expressions bráhmaṇa-ka- 'n. of a country' and úṣṇi-kā- 'rice broth' are introduced as proper names (saṁjñā-y-ām) [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

ā-yudh-a-jīv-ín-aḥ a-smín déś-e s-ánti = brāhmaṇá+kaN = bráhmaṇa-kā-ḥ; álpa-m ánna-ṁ yá-syām sā́ = uṣṇá+kaN+ṬáP (4.1.4) = *úṣṇi-k∅-ā* (7.3.44) = *yavāgū́-ḥ*.

5.2.72 [1]śītá=[2]uṣṇa-bhyām kāríṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śītá- 'cold' and uṣṇá- 'hot' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'works thus' (kāríṇ-i).

śī-tá-ṁ kar-ó-ti = śī-ta+kaN = śī́-ta-ka-ḥ 'slack or negligent workman'; similarly *uṣ-ṇá-ṁ kar-ó-ti = úṣ-ṇa-ka-ḥ* 'fast or competent worker'.

5.2.73 ádhi-ka-m

The expression ádhi-ka- 'excessive' is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

adhy-ā́-rū́-ḍha-ḥ = adhi+kaN = ádhi-ka- 'grown beyond, more, in excess' as in *ádhi-ka-ḥ dróṇa-ḥ khāry-āḥ* 'the dr. measure is larger than the kh. measure'.

5.2.74 [1]ánu-ka=[2]ábhi-ka=[3]ábhī-ka-ḥ kam-i-tā́

The expressions ánu-ka-, ábhi-ka and ábhī-ka are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote a lover (kam-i-tā́).

ánu-/abhí-/+kaN = ánu-ka-/ábhi-ka/ábhī-ka- = kam-i-tr̥̄-.

5.2.75 pārśv-éna=ánv-icch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pārśvá- 'fraudulent means' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'desires to seek' (ánv-icch-a-ti).

pārśv-éna ánv-icch-a-ti = pārśvá+kaN = pā́rśva-ka-ḥ 'seeking by fraudulent means'.

5.2.76 ¹ayaḥ-śūlá-²daṇḍa=ajiná-bhyāṁ ¹ṭháK-²ṭhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭháK and ṭhaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ayaḥ-śūlá- 'iron dart' and daṇḍa=ajiná- 'a staff and antelope skin' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'desires to seek' 75].

The word [ayaḥ-śūlá-] has a derived meaning of 'a violent or painful act'. *ayaḥ-śūl-éna ánv-icch-a-ti* = *ayaḥ-śūla+ṭháK* = *ayaḥ-śūl∅-iká-ḥ* 'who seeks to gain things by violence'; similarly *daṇḍājiná+ṭhaÑ* = *dáṇḍajin∅-ika-ḥ* = *dámbh-ika-ḥ* 'hypocrite, cheat, rogue' since literally it means 'who seeks to gain things through sham like carrying a staff and deer skin as the marks of an ascetic'.

5.2.77 tāva-tithá-ṁ gráh-aṇa-m iti luK=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (tāva-tith-á-m) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 75] to denote 'acquires after so many efforts' (tāva-tith-á-ṁ gráh-aṇa-m) and optionally (vā) the substitute luK (∅¹) replaces the affix generating the ordinal.

dvi-tī́y-ena rūp-éṇa granthá-ṁ gr̥h-ṇ-ā́-ti = *dvit-īya+kaN/∅¹+kaN* = *dví-∅∅∅∅-ka-m*/dví-tīya-ka-m 'successfully masters the book the second time'.

5.2.78 sá e-ṣā́m grāma-ṇī́-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote 'he is their chief' (e-ṣā́m grāma-ṇī́-ḥ).

deva-dattá-ḥ grāma-ṇī́-r e-ṣā́m te = *deva-dattá+kaN+Jas* = *déva-datta-k-āḥ* 'villagers headed by Deva-dattá'.

5.2.79 śr̥ṅkhala-m a-syá bándh-ana-ṁ karabh-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śr̥ṅkhala- 'shackle or clog' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote 'this is its fetter' (a-syá bándh-ana-m) designating a young camel (karabh-é).

śr̥ṅkhala-m a-syá bándh-ana-m = *śr̥ṅkhala+kaN* = *śr̥ṅkhala-ka-ḥ* 'a young camel which is clogged or shackled or fettered'.

5.2.80 út-ka-ḥ ún-manāḥ

The expression út-ka- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote 'eager, ardently desiring' (un-manāḥ).

ud-ga-tá-m mánaḥ yá-sya = ut+kaN = út-ka-ḥ.

5.2.81 [1]kālá-[2]pra-yój-an-āt=rog-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a time-word (kālá-°) or signifying a cause (°-pra-yój-an-āt) to designate a disease (róg-e).

dvi-tī́y-e áhn-i bháv-a-ḥ = dvi-tī́ya+kaN = dví-tīya-ka-ḥ róga-ḥ '(a fever) which occurs every other day'; similarly *viṣa-puṣp-aír jan-i-tá-ḥ = viṣa-puṣpá+kaN = víṣa-puṣpa-ka-ḥ* 'disease caused by poisonous flowers'.

5.2.82 tád a-smínn ánna-m prāy-é saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an item of food (ánna-m) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet [tád] to denote 'is the main dish [prāy-é] on this occasion (a-smín)' to form a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām)

guḍāpūp-ā́ḥ prāy-éṇa ánna-m a-syā́m = guḍāpūpa+kaN+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *gúḍāpūpi-k-ā paurṇa-mās-ī́* 'a full-moon night when the main dish consists of treacle mixed with cakes'.

5.2.83 kulmāṣ-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulmāṣa- 'sour gruel' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is the main dish on this (occasion)' 82].

kulmāṣ-aḥ prāy-éṇa ánna-m a-syā́m = kulmāṣa+aÑ = kaúlmāṣ∅-a+NīP (4.1.15) = *kaúlmāṣ∅-ī paurṇa-mās-ī́* 'the full-moon night on which the main dish is sour gruel'.

5.2.84 śrótriyaN=chándaḥ=ádhī-te

The expression śrótriyaN is introduced to denote 'one who studies the Veda [chándaḥ=ádhī-te].

Interpretation of this states that in the string *chándaḥ ádhī-te, chándas-* is replaced

by the substitute *śrotra-* before (1.1.66) it: *chándaḥ=ádhī-te = chándas+ghaN = śrotra+ghaN = śrótr∅-iya-ḥ*

5.2.85 śrāddhá-m an-éna bhuk-tá-m [1]íni̲-[2]ṭhaN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] íni̲ and ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śrāddhá- 'food offerings to the deceased ancestors' ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is eaten by him' (bhuk-tám an-éna).

śrāddhá-m an-éna bhuk-tá-m = śrāddhá+ín/ṭhaN = śrāddh∅-ín-/śrā́ddh∅-ika- 'who has eaten the food offered to the deceased ancestors'.

5.2.86 pū́rv-āt=íni̲-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni̲ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pū́rva-m (ind.) 'previously' [to denote 'done by him 82].

The more general expression 'done by him' is derived from the fact that [an-éna] represents the [kartṛ̥́-] by interpretation and extends the meaning from [bhuk-tá-] to other activities. *pū́rva-m an-éna ga-tá-m/bhuk-tá-m/pī-tá-m vā = pūrva+ín- = pūrv∅-ín-* 'who has gone/eaten/drunk previously'.

5.2.87 sá-pūrv-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̲ 86] is also introduced [after 2.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 pū́rva-m 86] when co-occurring with another [nominal stem 4.1.1] as a prior member (sá-pūrv-āt in composition) to denote 'done by him previously' 86.

kr̥-tá-m pū́rv-am an-éna = kr̥ta∅-pūrva+ín- = kr̥ta-pūrv∅-ín- 'who has previously made'; similarly *gata-pūrv-ín, bhukta-pūrv-ín-, pī-ta-pūrv-ín-.*

5.2.88 iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̲ 86] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with iṣ-ṭá- 'offered in sacrifice' [to denote 'by him' 85].

iṣ-ṭá-m an-éna = iṣ-ṭa+ín = iṣ-ṭ∅-ín- 'who has offered a sacrifice'; similarly *pūr-tá-m an-ena = pūrt∅-ín* 'who has fulfilled'.

5.2.89 chándas-i [1]pari-panth-í(n)=[2]pari-paríṇ-au pary-ava-sthā-tár-i

In the domain of Chándas the expressions pari-panth-ín- and pari-par-ín- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̲ 86] to denote an 'antagonist' (pary-ava-sthā-tár-i).

mā́ tvā pari-panth-ín-o vid-an/mā tvā pari-paríṇ-o vid-an 'may your adversaries not recognize you'.

5.2.90 anu-pad-ī́=anv-eṣ-ṭā

The expression anu-pad-ín- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̲ 86] to denote 'one who goes after or searching or follows' (anv-eṣ-ṭā́).

padá-sya paśćāt = *anu-padá-m* (2.1.6; 4.18) *ánv-icch-a-ti* = *anupada+ín* = *anu-pad∅-ín-*.

5.2.91 sākṣ-ā́t draṣṭár-i saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̲ 86 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of the indeclinable sākṣ-ā́t 'with or before one's eyes' to denote the perceiver' (draṣ-ṭā́) for forming a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

sākṣ-ā́t draṣ-ṭā́ = *sākṣa+ín* = *sākṣ∅-ín-* 'witness, spectator'.

5.2.92 kṣetr-iyáC para-kṣetr-é cikit-s-yà-ḥ

The expression kṣetr-iyáC is introduced to denote 'curable in another body' (para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ).

para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ = *∅-kṣetra+gháC*= *kṣetr-iyá-* 'a person suffering from an incurable disease'.

5.2.93 indr-iyá-m=[1]indra-lingá-m=[2]índra-dr̥ṣ-ṭa-m-[3]índra-sr̥ṣ-ṭa-m-[4]índra-juṣ-ṭa-m-[5]índra-dat-ta-m iti vā

The expression indr-iyá- is introduced to denote the following senses: (1) means (lingá-m) by which the self is inferred (índra-°); (2) perceived by the Self (índra-dr̥ṣ-ṭa-m); (3) created by the Self (°-sr̥ṣ-ṭa-m); (4) nourished by the Self (°-juṣ-ṭa-m), or (5) given by the Self (°-dat-ta-m).

The taddhitá (4.1.76) affix (3.1.1) gháC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem (4.1.4)índra- in these senses.

5.2.94 tád a-syá=ás-ti=a-smín=iti matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'belongs to this (a-syá ás-ti) or exists in this (a-smín ás-ti).

gā́v-aḥ a-syá s-ánti = *gó+matUP* = *gó-mat-* 'possessing cows or cattle'; similarly *vr̥kṣ-ā́ḥ a-smín s-ánti* = *vr̥kṣá+matUP vr̥kṣa-vát-* 'abounding in trees' (accent by 6.1.176).

Interpretation gives the following ranges of meaning associated with this affix: (1) bhū́-man- 'richness' as in *gó-mat-* 'rich in cattle'; (2) nindā́ 'censure' as in *kuṣṭh-ín-* 'leprous'; (3) pra-śaṁs-ā́ 'praise' as in *rūpa-vát-ī* (6.1.176 for accent) 'handsome or lovely woman'; (4) nitya-yogá- 'inherence': *kṣīr-íṇ-aḥ vr̥kṣ-ā́ḥ* 'the trees are full of sap'; (5) ati-śā́y-ana- 'excessiveness: *udar-íṇ-ī kanyā̀* 'pregnant damsel'; (6) sam-sarg-á- 'accompaniment, contact': *daṇḍ-ín-* 'holding a staff'; (7) asti-vivak-ṣā́ 'sense of being': *ásti-mat-* 'possessed of properties'.

5.2.95 rása=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix matUP 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with rása- 'taste' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 95].

rása-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = *rása+matUP* = *rása-vat-* (8.2.9) 'tasty, delicious/ full of sap, etc.'; likewise *gandha-vát-/śábda-vat-, sparśa-vát-* 'possessing smell/sound/touch' etc. as functions of the sense organs. In other senses other affixes can be introduced as in *rūp-íṇ-ī kanyā̀* 'beautiful maiden', *rū́p-ika-ḥ dāra-ká-ḥ* (115) 'handsome boy'. In the present rule, the stems included in this class are restricted in meanings to the functions of the sense organs and to monosyllabics only. In other meaning situations other affixes can operate.

5.2.96 prāṇi-sth-ā́t=āTo láC=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] láC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing something found in an animate being (prāṇi-sth-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel phoneme [ā] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

cū́ḍā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = *cū́ḍā+láC* = *cūḍā-lá-/cū́ḍā+matUP* = *cū́ḍā-vat-* 'having a lock of hair on the crown of the head'. Likewise *karṇikā-lá-/kárṇikā-vat-* 'possessing long ears', but *śíkhā-vān pra-dīp-á-ḥ* 'a lamp having a crested flame'.

5.2.97 sidhmá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 láC 96] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sidhmá- 'leper' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94 optionally 96].

sidhmá-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = sidhmá+láC/matUP = sidhma-lá-/sidhma-vát- 'leprous'; *gaḍu-lá-/gáḍu-vat-* 'hump-backed'.

5.2.98 [1]vatsá=[2]áṁsā-bhyām [1]kāmá-[2]bál-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 láC 96 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vatsá- 'calf' and áṁsa- 'shoulder' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] affectionate (kāmá-°) and strong (°-bál-e).

The governing meanings of matUP recur here as in the following sūtra-s also but [láC] alone is operative in these meanings. *vatsa-lá-* 'affectionate, but *vatsa-vát-ī gaú-ḥ* 'a cow having a calf'; *aṁsa-lá-* 'strong, powerful' but *áṁsa-vān dúr-bala-ḥ* 'a person having weak shoulders'.

5.2.99 phén-āt=iláC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] iláC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] phéna- 'foam' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94] in addition to (ca) [affix láC 96].

phéna+iláC/láC = phen∅-ilá-/phena-lá- 'frothy, foamy'.

5.2.100 [1]lóma(n)=ādi-[2]pāma(n)=ādi-[3]picchá=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]śá-[2]ná=[3]iláC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] śá, ná and iláC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with lóman- 'hair', pā́man- 'n. of a disease' and picchá- 'tail feather' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

lómān-i a-syá/a-smín vā sánti = loman+śá = loma∅-śá- 'hairy, hirsute'; *pā́man+ná = pāma∅-ná-* 'suffering from scabies'; *picchá+iláC = picch∅-ilá-* 'having a tail feather'.

5.2.101 [1]pra-jñā́-[2]śrad-dhā́=[3]arc-ā́-[4]vṛ́tti-bhyaḥ Ṇá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pra-jñā́ 'intellect', śrad-dhā́ 'faith', arcā́ 'object of worship' and vṛ́t-ti- 'subsistence' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

pra-jñā́ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = prajñā́=Ṇá = prā-jñ∅-á- 'wise, intelligent'; the expression [anya-tará-syām] recurs in all rules subsequent to 96 and consequently the affix matUP also operates under these meaning conditions: *pra-jñā́-vat-*. Similarly *śrād-dh∅-á-/śrad-dhā́-vat-* 'having faith, true believer'; *ārc∅-á-/arcā́-vat-* 'possessing an object of worship'; *vārt-t∅-á-/vṛ́t-ti-mat-* 'having subsistence'.

5.2.102 [1]tápas-[2]sahásrā-bhyām [1]víni̱=[2]íni̱

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] víni̱ and íni̱ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tápas- 'mortification' and sahásra- '1000' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

tápaḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = tapas+vín- 'an ascetic'; similarly *sahásra+íni̱ = sahasr∅-ín-* 'possessing 1000 pieces'.

5.2.103 áṆ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 tápas- and sahásra- 102, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'having this or existing in this 94].

tapas+áṆ = tāpas-á- 'ascetic, anchorite'; *sahásra+áṆ = sāhasr∅-á-* 'having or containing 1000 pieces'.

5.2.104 [1]síkatā-[2]śárkara-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 103] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] síkatā 'sand' and śárkarā 'gravel' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belongs to this or exists in this' 94].

síkatāḥ a-syá/a-smín vā s-ánti = síkatā+áṆ = saikat∅-á- 'containing sand'; likewise *śárkarā+áṆ = śārkar∅-á-* 'consisting of gravel or sugar candy'.

5.2.105 deś-é [1]luP=[2]iláC=au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luP (=∅[3]) and iláC, in addition to (ca) [áṆ 103 and matUP 94 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 síkatā and śárkarā 104, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'a region having this or existing in this' 94].

luP replacement is of matUP and its allomorphs.

síkatāḥ a-smín deś-é víd-y-ante = síkatā+luP/ilaC/áṆ/matUP = síkatāḥ/ sikat∅-ilá-h/saikat∅-á-ḥ/síkatā-vān deśá-ḥ. Similarly *śárkarāḥ/śarkar∅-ilá-/ śārkar∅-á-ḥ/śárkarā-vān.*

5.2.106 dánta un-na-tá uráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] uráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dánta- 'tooth' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or existing in this' 94] to designate 'prominent' (un-na-t-é).

dántāḥ un-na-tā́ḥ a-syá = dánta+uráC = dant∅-urá- 'having prominent teeth'.

5.2.107 [1]ū́ṣa-[2]suṣi-[3]muṣká-[4]mádho-ḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ū́ṣa- 'salt marsh', suṣi- 'tube, hole', muṣká- 'testicle' and mádhu- 'sweetness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

ūṣa+rá = ūṣa-rá-ṁ kṣétra-m 'a field full of salt, saline field'; similarly *suṣi-rá-* 'containing holes or tubes'; *muṣka-rá-* 'possessing testicles'; *madhu-rá-* 'sweet'.

5.2.108 [1]dyú-[2]drú-bhyām má-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] má is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dyú- 'sky' and drú- 'wood' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

dyaú-ḥ a-syá ás-ti = dyu+má- 'bright day(?)'; similarly *dru-má-* 'consisting of wood, a tree'.

5.2.109 kéś-āt=vá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vá is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kéśa- 'hair' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

The repetition of the word [anya-tará-syām] here when it was already recurring from 96 above is to provide for introduction of affixes [ini, ṭhaN 115 below] and [matUP 94] above.

kéśā-ḥ a-syá víd-y-ante = kéśa+vá/ini/ṭhaN/matUP = keśa-vá-/keś∅-ín-/kéś∅-ika-/ kéśa-vat- 'hairy, hirsute'.

5.2.110 [1]gāṇḍī=[2]ajag-āt saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vá 109 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gāṇḍī/gāṇḍi and ajaga- [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to form proper names (saṁjnā-y-ām).

gāṇḍī-vá-/gāṇḍi-vá- 'name of Arjuna's bow'; similarly *ajaga-vá-* 'name of Siva's bow'.

5.2.111 [1]kā́ṇḍa=[2]āṇḍ-ā́t [1]īraN=[2]īráC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] īraN and īráC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kā́ṇḍa- 'a single joint of a stalk' and āṇḍá- 'egg' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

kāṇḍa+īraN = kā́ṇḍ∅-īra- 'having joints in the stalk'; so also *āṇḍa+īráC = āṇḍ∅-īrá-* 'virile/containing eggs'.

5.2.112 [1]rájas=[2]kr̥ṣí=[3]ā-sutí-[4]pari-ṣád-aḥ valáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] valáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] rájas- 'impurity, menstrual discharge', kr̥ṣí- 'agriculture', ā-su-tí- 'pressing, extraction, distilling' and pari-ṣád 'assembly' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

rájas+valáC+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *rajas-val-ā́* 'a menstruating woman'; so also: *kr̥ṣí+valáC = kr̥ṣí-valá-* (6.3.118) 'cultivator, agriculturist'; *ā-sutī-valá-* 'distiller, brewer'; *pari-ṣad-valá-* 'assembly person, counsellor'.

5.2.113 ¹dánta-²śíkh-āt saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 valáC 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dánta- 'tooth' and śíkhā 'tuft, crest of hair on the head' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to form names (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

dánta+valáC = *dantā-valá-* (6.3.118) 'an elephant'. Similarly *śikhā-valá-* 'a peacock'.

5.2.114 ¹jyotsnā́-²tamisrā́-³śr̥ṅg-iṇá-⁴ūrjas-vín=⁵ūrjas-valá-⁶go-mín-⁷maliná-⁸malīmas-ā́ḥ

The expressions jyot-snā́ 'moon-light', tamisarā́ 'darkness', śr̥ṅg-iṇá- 'horned', ūrjas-vín-, ūrjas-valá- 'vigorous'. go-mín- 'possessing cattle', maliná- and malīmasá- 'soiled, dirty' are introduced [as derived with appropriate taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 denoting 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

jyótis+ná+ṬāP = *jyot∅s-n∅+ā* = *jyots-nā́; támas+rá+Ṭāp* = *tamis+rá+ā* = *tamis-r-ā́; śr̥ṅga+ináC* = *śr̥ṅg∅-iṇá-; ū́rj+asuK+víni/valáC* = *ū́rjas-vín/°valá-; go+míni* = *go-mín-. mala+ináC/īmasáC* = *mal∅-iná-/°-īmasá-.*

5.2.115 aT-aḥ=¹íni-²ṭhaN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] íni and ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme short [a] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

The governing term [anya-tará-syām 96, 109] recurs in these rules to enable the introduction of the general affix matUP 94. *daṇḍá-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti* = *daṇḍá+íni-/ṭhaN/matUP* = *daṇḍ-ín-/dáṇḍ-ika-/daṇḍa-vát-* 'carrying a staff'; *chattr-ín-/cháttr-ika-/cháttra-vat-* 'umbrella bearer', but *khátvā-vat* 'possessing a bedstead'.

5.2.116 vrīhí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 íni and ṭhaN 115] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vrīhí- 'rice' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

vrīháy-aḥ a-syá/a-smín vā s-ánti = vrīhí+íni/ṭhaN = vrīh∅-ín-/vríh∅-ika-/ vrihi-mát- 'consisting of rice'.

This class consists of stems which do not end in phoneme short [a]. [vrīhí-] occurs again in the next class of stems beginning with [tunda-] but there stands for its synonyms only.

5.2.117 túnda=ādi-bhyaḥ=iláC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] iláC is introduced [after 3.1. 2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with túnda- 'protuberant belly' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94.] in addition to (ca) [the affixes íni, ṭhaN 115 and matUP 94].

túnda-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = túnda+iláC/íni/ṭhaN/matUP = tund∅-ilá-/tund-ín-/túnd-ika-/túnda-vat- 'having a protuberant belly'; *udar-ilá-/udar-ín-/údar-ika-/udára-vat-* 'possessing a large belly'; *śāl-ilá-/ śāl-ín-/śā́l-ika-/śāli-mat-* 'containing rice' as a synonym of [vrīhí-] occurring in this class.

5.2.118 [1]éka-[2]gó-pūrv-āt=ṭhaÑ nítya-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is necessarily (nít-ya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with éka-° 'one' and gó-° 'cow/bull' as prior members (°-pū́rv-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

éka-śata-m a-syá/a-smín ás-ti = éka-śata+ṭhaÑ = aíka-śat∅-ika- 'possessing or containing 101 pieces'. Similarly *go-saharā́+ṭhaÑ = gaú-sahasr∅-ika-* 'possessing or containing 1000 cattle'.

5.2.119 [1]śata-[2]sahasra=ant-ā́t=ca niṣk-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 118] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in °śatá- '100' or sahásra- '1000' as final members in composition (°-ant-āt) [after 3.1.2] niṣká- 'name of a coin' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

niṣka-śatá-m a-syá a-smín vā ás-ti = niṣka+śatá+ṭhaÑ = naíṣka-sat-ika- possessing or containing 100 niska-s'. Similarly *naíṣka-sahas-rika-* 'possessing or containing 1000 niṣka pieces'.

5.2.120 rū̆p-at=[1]ā̆-ha-ta-[2]pra-śaṁsáy-oḥ=yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] rūpa- 'shape, form' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a punched coin (ā̆-ha-ta- °) or 'praise, worth' (° -pra-śaṁsáy-oḥ).

ā́-ha-ta-ṁ rū́pa-m a-syá/a-smín vā = *rū́pa+yaP* = *rū́p∅-ya-* 'a punch-marked coin'; *prá-śas-ta-ṁ rū́pa-m a-syá= rū́p-ya-* 'handsome, lovely'.

5.2.121 [1]as-[2]māyā̆-[3]medhā̆-[4]sráj-aḥ=víni̲-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] víni̲ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the element ° -as, and the words māyā̆ 'illusion', medhā̆ 'intellect' and sráj- 'garland' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. ° -as: *yáś-aḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *yaś-as-vín-* 'glorious, renowned'; *tap-as-vín-* 'ascetic'; *pay-as-vín-* 'full of milk or water'; 2. *māyā-vín-* 'magician, sorcerer'; 3. *medhā-vín-* 'intelligent, wise'; 4. *srag-vín-* 'possessing garlands, containing garlands'.

5.2.122 bahulá-ṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 víni̲ 121] is variously (bahulá-,) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. occurs: *ágne tej-as-vín* 'O brilliant Agni!'; *mekhalā-vín-* 'possessing a girdle'; 2. does not occur: *sū́rya-ḥ várcas-vān* 'the powerful sun'.

5.2.123 ū̆rṇā-y-āḥ=yúS

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ū̆rṇā 'wool' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

ū́rṇā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = *ū́rṇā+yúS* = *ūrṇā-yú-* 'woolly, containing wool'. The marker [S] indicates that before this affix the stem is regarded as a padá (1.4.16), blocking out the operation of 6.4.64 whereby stem-final [° -ā] would have been replaced by ∅.

5.2.124 vā́c-o gmíni̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] gmíni̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vā́c- 'speech' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

vā́k a-syá ás-ti = vāc+gmín = vāg-gmín- = vāg-mín- 'eloquent'.

5.2.125 [1]āláC=[2]āṭáC-au bahu-bhāṣ-íṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] āláC and āṭáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 vā́c 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to signify a garrulous person.

vāc-ālá-/vāc-āṭá- 'garrulous person'.

5.2.126 sv-ām-ín=aiśvar-y-e

The expression sv-āmín- is introduced [as derived with the taddhita 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āmína̱C introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 svá-] 'wealth' (aiśvar-ye) to designate 'master of wealth'.

The derivation above is by interpretation: *svá-m a-syá ás-ti = sva+āmína̱C = sv-āmín-*.

5.2.127 árś-as=ādi-bhyaḥ=áC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with árś-as 'hemorrhoids' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

árś-āṁs-i a-syá s-ánti = árś-as+áC = arś-as-á 'one afflicted with hemorrhoids'; *uras+áC = ur-as-á-* 'possessing a strong chest'.

5.2.128 [1]dvaṁdvá=[2]upa-tāp-á-[3]garh-y-ā̀t prāṇi-sth-ā́t íni̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] íni̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of Dvaṁdvá compounds, and words denoting 'disease' (upa-tāp-á-°).'contempt' (garh-yà-°) occurring in animate or living beings (prāṇi-sth-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. *kaṭaka-valay-é a-syā́-ḥ s-táḥ* = *kaṭaka-valayá+ín+NīP* (4.1.5) = *kaṭaka-valay∅-ín-ī* 'lady wearing a bracelet and a girdle'; 2. *kuṣṭha+ín* = *kuṣṭh∅-ín-, kilās∅-ín-* 'leper, leprous'. 3. *kakud-ā-vart-ín-* 'a horse having a curl on its hump'; *kāka-tāluk∅-ín-* 'having the palate of a crow, contemptible', but *puṣpa-phala-vát-* 'possessing flowers and fruit' (said of a tree).

5.2.129 [1]vātá=[2]atī-sār-ā́-bhyām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vā-tá- 'flatulence' and atī-sār-á- 'diarrhea' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this 94] and (ca) final increment kuK is inserted after them (before the affix).

vā-tá-ḥ a-syá/a-smín ás-ti= vāta+kuK+ín = *vā-ta-k-ín-* 'flatulent'; similarly *atī-sār-a-k-ín-* 'afflicted with diarrhea'.

5.2.130 váyas-i pū́r-aṇ-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (pū́r-aṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] indicating age (váyas-i).

pañca-má-ḥ mā́sa-ḥ a-syá = *pañca-ma+íni* = *panca-m∅ín-* 'aged 5 months'.

5.2.131 sukhá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 128 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sukhá- 'happiness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

sukh-ám a-syá ás-ti = *sukhá+íni* = *sukh∅-ín-* 'happy'; *duḥ-kha+íni* = *duḥ-kh-ín-* 'miserable, sad, unhappy'.

5.2.132 [1]dhárma-[2]śī́la-[3]várṇa=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni 128] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-dhárma- 'law', °-śī́la- 'behavior' and °-várṇa- 'caste' as final members (°-ant-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

brāhmaṇā-n-ām dhárma-ḥ a-syá ás-ti = brāhmaṇa-dharmá+íni̱ = brāhmaṇa-dharm∅-ín- 'who follows the laws prescribed for brahmins'; similarly: *brāhmaṇa-śīl∅-ín-/ °varṇ∅-ín-* 'behaving like a br./belonging to the br. caste'.

5.2.133 hást-āt=jāt-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̱ 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] hásta- 'hand' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a species (jā-t-au).

hásta-ḥ a-syá ás-ti = hast∅-ín- 'elephant'.

5.2.134 várṇ-āt=brahma-cār-íṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̱ 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] várṇa- 'caste' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a student of the Veda (brah-ma-cār-íṇ-i).

várṇa-ḥ a-syá ás-ti = varṇ∅-ín- 'a student of the Vedá (belonging to the first three várṇa-s or castes), but in other meanings: *várṇa+matUP* (94) = *várṇa-vat-*.

5.2.135 púṣkara=ādi=bhyaḥ=deś-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̱ 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with púṣkara- 'lotus' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] to designate a locality (deś-é).

púṣkarā-ṇ-i a-syā́m s-ánti = puṣkar∅-ín+NīP (4.1.5) = *puṣkar-íṇ-ī* 'a locality abounding in lotuses'. In other senses: *púṣkara+matUP*.

5.2.136 bála=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with bála- 'strength' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94, in addition to the affix íni̱ 128].

bála-m a-syá ás-ti = bála+matUP/íni̱ = bála-vat-/bal∅-ín- 'powerful, mighty'.

5.2.137 saṁjñā́-y-ām [1]man-[2]mā-bhyām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íni̱ 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] °-mán- and °ma- and [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] when forming a name (saṁjnā-y-ām).

1. °-mán: *prathimā́ a-syá ás-ti* = *prathi-mán+íni̱* = *prathim∅∅+ín-* (6.4.144) = *prathim-ín+ṆīP* (4.1.5) = *prathim-ín-ī* 'the earth (possessing wideness or extent)'.
2. °-ma: *hó-ma-ḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *hom-ín* 'sacrificer'.

5.2.138 [1]kám=[2]śám=bhyāṁ [1]bá-[2]bhá-[3]yúS=[4]tí-[5]tú-[6]tá-[7]yáS-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] bá, bhá, yúS, tí, tú, tá and yáS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kám- 'water' and śám- 'prosperity' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94]

kám a-syá ás-ti = *kam-bá-/kam-bhá-/kaṁ-yú-/kan-tí-/kan-tú-/kan-tá-/kaṁ-yá-* 'a cloud'; similarly: *śáṁ-bá-/śam-bhá-/śáṁ-yú-/śan-tí-/śan-tú-/śan-tá-/śaṁ-yá-* 'happy, fortunate'. The marker [S] in the affixes indicates that the stems are regarded as padá-s and 8.4.58 as well as 8.3.23 operate.

5.2.139 [1]tundi-[2]vali-[3]vaṭe-r bhá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bhá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tundi- 'prominent navel', vali- 'wrinkle, pleat' and vaṭi- 'a species of ant' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

1. *tundi-r a-syá ás-ti* = *tundi-bhá-* 'having a prominent navel'; 2. *vali-bhá-* 'wrinkled, pleated'; 3. *vaṭi-bhá-* 'having or containing a variety of ants'.

5.2.140 [1]ahám=[2]śúbhám-or yúS

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ahám 'I' and śubhám 'good fortune, auspiciousness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

ahám a-syá ás-ti = *aham+yúS* = *ahaṁ-yú-* 'proud, haughty, possessing a strong ego'; similarly *śubham+yúS* = *śubhaṁ-yú-* 'fortunate, lucky, auspicious'.

5.3.1 prā́k=diś-aḥ=vi-bhak-tí-ḥ

The technical term (t.t.) vi-bhak-tí- denotes the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced here-after, prior to (prā́k) 27 below: [dik=śabdé-bhyaḥ sapta-m-ī́=pañca-m-ī́=prathamā́-bhyaḥ díg-deśá-kālé-ṣu=ástāti-ḥ]

This governing rule heads the section 1-26 of this pāda, and the t.t. [vibhaktí-] will recur in each of them.

5.3.2 [1]kím=[2]sarvá-nāma(n)=[3]bahú-bhyaḥ á-dvi=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in this section occur after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of kím- 'who, which, what', all pronominal stems (°-sarvá-nā́ma-°) and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class (of pronominal stems) beginning with dví- '2'.

Since [kím] is normally included in the sub-class of pronominal stems headed by [dví-], its separate mention at the beginning of this rule is to block out the exclusion applying to this sub-class. *kú-tas(iL 7)*, *kú-tra(L 10)* but *dvā́-bhyām, dváy-os*. This excluded sub-class consists of *dví-, yuṣmád-, asmád, bhávatU* and *(kím)*.

5.3.3 idám-aḥ=iŚ

The element iŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] idám- 'this [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes listed in the section 1-26 below 1].

idám+há (11) = *i-há* 'in this, here'.

5.3.4 [1]etá=[2]it-au [1]ra-[2]th-oḥ

The substitute elements (= allomorphs) etá- and /it/ [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 idám 3 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phonemes [r] and [th].

idám+rhiL = *etá+rhiL* = *etá-rhi* (16) 'at this time'; *idam+thámu* = *it+thám* (24) 'thus'.

5.3.5 etád-aḥ=an

The substitute element /an/ [replaces the whole of 1.1.55] etád- 'this' [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 listed hereafter until 26 below 1].

Interpretation divides this rule into two parts by the usual procedure of yoga-vi-bhāg-a-: [etád-aḥ]: "the substitute element etá- and it- replace the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes beginning with [r, th] respectively" *etád+rhiL = etá-rhi; etád+thámu̱ = it-thám.*

Then [an] which replaces the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes: *etad+traL* (10) = *án+tra = a∅-trá* (8.2.7) 'here'.

The reading [aŚ] is a variant found in Kāśikā which serves the same purpose; the present reading is according to Patañjali.

5.3.6 sárva-sya sá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām d-i

The substitute element sá- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' optionally (anya-tará-syām) before vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme [d]

sarvá+da = sa-dā́ 'always, at all times' (15) but not in *sárva-ṁ da-dā-ti = sarva+dā+Ka+Ṭāp* (3.2.3; 4.1.4) = *sarva-d∅-á+ā = sarva-d-∅-ā = sarva-d-ā́ brāhmaṇī́* 'a brahmin lady who gives up everything'.

5.3.7 pañcamy-ā́s=tasi̱L

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] tasi̱L is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú- excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) [optionally 6].

kim+ṄasI/bhyām/bhyas = kim+∅+tasi̱L (2.4.71) = *kú-tas* (7.1.104) 'whence?'; similarly *sarvá-tas* 'from all sides'; *bahú-tas* 'from many sides'.

5.3.8 táse̱-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 tasi̱L 7] also replaces (ca) [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tási̱ (4.44-45) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú-, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2].

kím+tási̱ = kím+tasi̱L = kú-tas 'whence?' and similarly *sarvá-tas, bahú-tas.* The difference between [tási̱] and [tasi̱L] is in accentuation only.

5.3.9 [1]pári=[2]abhí-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 tasiL 7] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the preverbs pári- 'around' and abhí- 'on both sides'

> *pári+tasiL* = *parí-tas* 'on all sides'; *abhí+tasiL* = *abhí-tas* 'on both sides'.

5.3.10 saptamy-ā́s=traL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] traL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú-, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2, ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (sapta-m-y-ā́ḥ).

> *kím+Ṅi/os/suP* = *kím+∅+traL* = *kú-tra* (7.2.104) 'where?'; *sarvá-tra* 'everywhere', *bahú-tra* 'in many places', but *dváy-os*.

5.3.11 idám-aḥ=há-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] há is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

> *idam+Ṅi/os/suP* = *idam+∅+há* = *iŚ́+há* (3) = *i-há* 'here, in this place'.

5.3.12 kím-aḥ=àT

[The taddhitá 1.4.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] àT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] kím- 'which, what, who' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

> *kím+Ṅi/os/suP* = *kím+∅[1]+àT* = *kva+à* (7.2.105) = *kv-à* (6.1.97) 'where?'.

5.3.13 vā há ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.72 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] há is also (ca) optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kím- 12 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

> *kim+Ṅi/os/suP* = *kim+∅[1]+há* = *ku-há/kú-tra* (10).

5.3.14 ítarā-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛś-y-ánte

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with tasiL 7] are also seen (dṛś-y-ante) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 7] other than (ítarābhyaḥ) [the fifth 7 or the seventh 10]

By interpretation this is restricted to co-occurrence with words bhávatU 'your honour', dīrghā́yus- 'long-living', ā́yuṣ-mat- 'enjoying long life' and devā-n-ām-priyá- 'beloved of the gods': *sá bhávān/tá-tra bhávān/tá-to bhávān; tá-m bhávant-am/tá-tra bhávant-am/tá-to bhav- ant-am* etc,.

5.3.15 ¹sarvá=²éka=³anyá=⁴kím-⁵yád=⁶tád-aḥ kāl-é dā́

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all', éka- 'one' anyá- 'another', kím- 'what, who, which', yád 'which' (relative), tád- 'that', [ending in the seventh sUP triplet 10] to denote time (kāl-é).

sárva-smin kāl-é = *sarva-dā́/sa-dā́* (6) 'always, at all times'; *eka-dā́* 'once'; *anya-dā́* 'another time'; *ka-dā́* 'when' and *ta-dā́* 'then, at that time'.

5.3.16 idám-aḥ=rhiL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] rhiL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote the time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = *idám+rhiL* = *eta+$\emptyset^1$+rhil* (4) = *etá-rhi* 'at this time, now'.

5.3.17 adhúnā

The irregular expression adhúnā is introduced as replacement for [the nominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 16 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = *adhúnā* 'now'. According to Patañjali [idám] is replaced by [aŚ] before affix [dhúnā] giving the surface form *a-dhúnā* or [idám] is replaced by $\emptyset$ before affix [ádhunā] yielding *ádhunā*.

5.3.18 dā́nīm ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dā́nīm is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 idám- ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = idám+Ṅi/os/suP = idám+∅¹+dā́nīm = iŚ+dā́nīm = i-dā́nīm 'at this time, now'.

The present rule confirms the position of [ádhuná 17] as a taddhitá vibhaktí affix rather than an irregularly formed expression. In view of the Vedic form *adhunā́* one would have to associate marker [C] with that affix.

5.3.19 tád-aḥ=dā́ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dā́ in addition to (ca) [dā́nīm 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tád- 'that' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

ta-smín kāl-é = tad+∅¹+dā́ = taa+dā́ = ta-dā́ (7.2.102; 6.1.97) 'then, at that time'/ *ta-dā́nīm* (18).

5.3.20 táyor ¹dā́-²rhiL-au ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1] dā́ and rhiL are also (ca) respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 those two (táy-oḥ) [nominal stems 4.1.1 idám- 16 and tád- 19, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

a-smín kāl-é = idám+∅+dā́ = iŚ+dā́ = i-dā́/i-dā́nīm (18).
tá-smin kāl-é = tad+∅¹+rhiL = taa+rhiL = tá-rhi/ta-dā́nīm.

5.3.21 án-adya-tan-e rhiL anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] rhiL is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising kím- 'what, who, which', pronominal stems and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2, [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10] when referring to a period of time not belonging to the current day (án-adya-tan-e).

kím+rhiL/dā́ = ká-rhi/ka-dā́ (7.2.103) 'when? (in the future not belonging to the current day)'. Similarly *yá-rhi/ya-dā́, tá-rhi/ta-dā́.*

5.3.22 [1]sadyás=[2]parút-[3]parā́ri-[4]aiṣámas=[5]paré-dyav-i=[6]adyá=[7]pūrve-dyús=[8]anye-dyús=[9]anya-tar-e-dyús=[10]itar-e-dyús=[11]apar-e-dyús=[12]adhar-e-dyús=[13]ubhay-e-dyús=[14]uttar-e-dyúḥ

The indeclinable expressions sadyás 'on the same day', parút 'last year', parā́ri 'the year before last', aiṣámas 'in the current year', paré-dyav-i 'tomorrow', adyá 'today', pūrv-e-dyús 'on the day before', any-e-dyús 'on another day', anya-tar-e-dyús 'on either of two days', itar-e-dyús 'on a different day', apar-e-dyús 'on the day after', adhar-e-dyús 'on the day before yesterday', ubhay-e-dyús 'on both days' and uttar-e-dyús 'on a subsequent day' are introduced [to denote time 15].

Interpretation attempts to analyze these surface forms as consisting of nominal stems ending in the seventh sUP triplet to indicate the period of time with replacement elements and a variety of vibhaktí affixes which cannot be generalized. The method of nipātana in these cases is the briefest and avoids proliferation of rules.

5.3.23 pra-kār-a-vác-an-e thāL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thāL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising kím- 'what, which, who' and pronominal stems and bahú- 'many', excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2] to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

k-éna pra-kār-éṇa = kim+$\emptyset^1$*+thāL=ka+thámu̱* (25) = *ka-thám* (7.2.103) 'in what manner, by what means?'; similarly *yá-thā tá-thā, sarvá-thā* etc.

5.3.24 idám-as thámu̱-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thámu̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [to denote mode or manner 23].

an-éna pra-kār-éṇa = idám+$\emptyset^1$*+thámu̱ = it-thám* (4) 'this, in this manner'.

5.3.25 kím-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 thámu̱ 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kím- 'what, which, who' [to denote mode or manner 23].

k-éna pra-kār-éṇa = kím+$\emptyset^1$*+thámu̱ = ka-thám* (7.2.103) 'how, in what manner?'.

5.3.26 thā́ het-aú ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thā́ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kím- 'what, who, which?' 25] to denote the cause (het-aú) in addition to (ca) [mode or manner 23].

kím+thā́ = ka-thā́ (7.2.103): (a) *k-éna hetú-nā = ka-thā́ ná pr̥cch-á-si* 'for what reason are you not asking?' (b) *k-éna pra-kār-éṇa = ka-thā́ devā́ ā́s-an* 'in what shape or manner were the gods?'.

5.3.27 dik=śabdé-bhyaḥ [1]sapta-mī́-[2]pañca-mī́-[3]prathamā́-bhyaḥ=[1]díś-[2]deśá-[3]kālé-ṣu=ástāti̲-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ástāti̲ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of direction-words (díś-°) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh (saptamī́-°), fifth (°-pañcamī́-°) or first (°-prathamā́-bhyaḥ) sUP triplets to denote a direction (díś-°) or locality (°-deśá-°) or time (°-kālé-ṣu).

By interpretation the operation of 1.3.10 is not applicable in this rule. *pū́rva-smin vás-a-ti/pū́rva-smāt ā-ga-tá-ḥ/pū́rva-ṁ ram-aṇī́ya-m = pū́rva+ástāti̲ = pur-ástāt* (40) *vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m.*

5.3.28 [1]dákṣiṇa=[2]úttarā-bhyām atásu̲C

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] atásu̲C is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dákṣiṇa- 'south' and út-tara- 'north' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

dakṣiṇa-smin/daksina-smāt/dakṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+∅[1]+atásu̲C = dakṣin∅-atás=vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m; similarly *uttar-atás.*

5.3.29 vibhāṣā [1]pára=[2]ávarā-bhyā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 atásu̲C 28] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.2] pára- 'the one on the other side' and ávara- 'the one on this side' [comprising direction words 27, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

pára-smin/pára-smāt/pára-m = pára+atásu̲C/ástāti̲ = par∅=atás/par∅-ástāt

vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇíya-m; Similarly *avar-atás/avar-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇíya-m.*

5.3.30 añce-r luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ástāti̲ 27 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- [comprising direction words ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

prā́cy-ām diś-í vás-a-ti = prā́cī+$\emptyset^1$+ástāti̲→luK = prā́k vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇíya-m.

5.3.31 upári=upariṣṭāt

The expressions upá-ri and upá-riṣṭāt are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation analyzes these forms from the string *ūrdhvá+riL/riṣṭātiL = upá+ri/upá-riṣṭāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇíya-m.*

5.3.32 paścā́t

The expression paścā́t is introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation again analyzes this form from the string *ápara-smin/ápara-smāt/ápara-m = apara+ā́ti̲ = paśca+ā́t = paśc$\emptyset$-ā́t* where the stem [ápara- 'west'] is replaced by the morpheme [paśca-].

5.3.33 ¹paśca-²paścā́ ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expressions paścá and paścā́ are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

The function of interpretation is to attempt to give the underlying structure of such formations given as nipātana-s in the sūtra-s. Here it indicates that affixes [á], [ā́] are introduced after [ápara- 'west'] which is then replaced by the substitute morpheme [paśca-] as in the previous sūtra: *ápara+á/ā́ = pasca+á/ā́ = pasc$\emptyset$-á/pasc$\emptyset$-ā́* 'western, behind'.

5.3.34 [1]úttara=[2]ádhara=[3]dákṣiṇ-āt=ā́ti̲-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ā́ti̲ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] úttara- 'north', ádhara- 'below' and dákṣiṇa- 'south' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

úttara-smin/úttara-smāt/úttara-m = úttara+ā́ti̲ = uttar∅-ā́t vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ ram-aṇī́ya-m; similarly: *adhar∅-ā́t; dakṣiṇ∅-ā́t vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m.*

5.3.35 enaP=anya-tará-syām á-dūre=á-pañcamy-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] enaP is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27 úttara- 'north', ádhara- 'below' and dákṣiṇa- 'south' 34 ending in the seventh and first sUP triplets 27] excluding the fifth (á-pañcamy-āḥ) to indicate 'vicinity' (á-dūr-e).

úttara-smin/úttaram = úttara+enaP / ā́ti̲ (34) = úttar∅-eṇa / uttar∅-ā́t vás-a-ti/ram-aṇī́ya-m; ádhar-eṇa/adhar=ā́t; dákṣiṇ-ena / dakṣiṇ-ā́t etc.

5.3.36 dákṣiṇ-āt ā́C

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ā́C is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] dákṣiṇa 'south' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh or first sUP triplet 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27].

dákṣiṇa-smin/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+ā́C = dákṣiṇ∅-ā́ vás-a-ti/ramaṇī́yam, but *dakṣiṇa-táḥ ā-ga-tá-ḥ.*

5.3.37 ā́hi ca dūr-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ā́hi, in addition to (ca) [ā́C 36, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27 dákṣiṇa- 'south' 36 ending in the seventh or first sUP triplet 27, excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27] which is distant (dūr-é).

dákṣiṇa-syām/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+ā́hi/ā́C = dakṣiṇ∅-ā́hi/ ° -ā́ vás-a-ti/ ram-aṇī́ya-m.

5.3.38 úttar-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ā́C 36 and ā́hi 37] are also (ca) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] úttara- 'north' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh and first sUP triplets 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote a direction, locality or time 27 which is distant 37].

úttara-syām/úttara-m = uttar∅-ā́hi/uttar∅-ā́ vás-a-ti/ram-aṇī́ya-m.

5.3.39 ^{1}pū́rva=^{2}ádhara=^{3}ávarā-n-ām ási̱ ^{1}pur=^{2}adh=^{3}av-as=ca=e-ṣā́m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ási̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27] pū́rva- 'east', ádhara- 'below' and ávara- 'inferior' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27] and the substitute elements pur-, adh- and av- [respectively 1.3.10] replace these stems (e-ṣā́m).

pū́rva-syām/°-smin, pū́rva-syāḥ/°-smā́t, pū́rv-ā/pū́rva-m = pūrva+ási̱ = pur-ás vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m.
Similarly: *adhara+ási̱ = adh-ás; avara+ási̱ = av-ás.*

5.3.40 ástāt-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ástāti̱ introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27 pū́rva- 'east', ádhara- 'below' and ávara- 'inferior' 39 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 37, the substitute morphemes pur-, adh- and av- (respectively 1.3.10) replace these stems 39].

pū́rva+ástāti̱ = pur-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m; likewise: *adhara+ástāt = adh-ástāt; avara+ástāt= av-ástāt.* In both 39 and 40 since the substitute morphemes consist of more than single phonemes they replace the whole of the substituends by 1.1.55.

5.3.41 vibhāṣā=ávara-sya

[The substitute morpheme av- 39] optionally replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] ávara- 'inferior, below' [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ástāti̱ 40].

avara+ástāti̱ = av-ástāt/avar∅-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-ḥ/ram-aṇī́ya-m.

5.3.42 saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ=-vidhā=arth-é dhā́

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā́ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a numeral (saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ) to denote mode or manner (vidhā=arth-é).

eka-dhā́ 'once'; *dvi-dhā́* 'twice'; *tri-dhā́* 'thrice' etc.

5.3.43 adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā́ 42] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 to denote a modification of a substance (adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é).

dvi-dhā́ ku-rú / sapta-dhā́ ku-rú 'divide (something) into two/seven parts'.

5.3.44 ék-āt=dh-áḥ=dhyamuÑ=anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme dhyamu̱Ñ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix dhā́ 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 42] éka- 'one' to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43.

éka+dhyamu̱Ñ/dhā́ = aíka-dhyam/eka-dhā́ bhuṅk-té/ku-rú 'eats once only/make into a single entry (what was a collection of objects before)'.

5.3.45 [1]dvi-[2]try-os=ca dhamu̱Ñ

The substitute morpheme dhamu̱Ñ [optionally 44 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā́ 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] dví- '2' and trí- '3' [to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

The particle [ca] in the rule implies recurrence of [anya-tará-syām] from the preceding rule: *dví+dhamuÑ/dhā́ = dvaí-dham/dvi-dhā́; traí-dham/tri-dhā́.*

5.3.46 edhā́C ca

The substitute morpheme edhā́C also [optionally 44 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā́ 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 dví- '2' and trí- '3' 45 to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

dví+edhā́C/dhamuÑ/dhā́ = *dv∅-edhā́/dvaí-dham/dvi-dhā́* *tr-edhā́/traí-dham/tri-dhā́.*

5.3.47 yāp-y-è pāśaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] pāśaP is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 pleonastically to denote (something) as insignificant or unimportant (yāp-y-è).

vaiy-ā-kar-aṇá+pāśaP = *vaiyākaraṇá-pāśa-ḥ* = *kuts-i-tá-ḥ vaiyākaraṇá-ḥ* 'an insignificant grammarian'.

5.3.48 pū́raṇāt=bhāg-é tī́y-āt=aN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of an ordinal (pū́raṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] °-tī́ya- (2.54-55) to denote a fraction (bhāg-é).

dvi-tī́ya+aN= dví=tīy∅-a- 'one half'; similarly *tṛ-tī́ya+aN* = *tṛ́-tīy∅-a-* 'one third'.

5.3.49 prā́k=ékā-daśá-bhyaḥ=á-cchandas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48] preceding [prā́k] eleventh (ékā-daśa-) [to denote a fraction 48] excluding the domain of Chándas (á-cchandas-i).

pañca-má+aN = *pánca-m∅-a* 'one-fifth'; *sapta-má+aN* = *sápta-m-a-* 'one-seventh'; *nava-má/daśa-má+aN* = *náva-m-a/dáśa-m-a-* 'one-ninth/one-tenth', but *ékā-daśa+ḌáṬ* (2.48) = *ekā-daś∅-á-* 'one-eleventh'.

5.3.50 [1]ṣaṣṭhá=[2]aṣṭa-mā́-bhyām Ña ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña, in addition to (ca) [aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48]

ṣaṣṭhá 'sixth' and aṣṭa-má 'eighth' [to denote a fraction, excluding the domain of Chándas 49].

ṣaṣṭha+Ña/aN = ṣā́ṣṭh∅-a-/ṣáṣṭh∅-a 'one-sixth'; similarly *aṣṭa-má+Ña/aN = ā́ṣṭa-m∅-a/áṣṭa-m∅-a-* 'one-eighth'.

5.3.51 ¹māna-²paśu=aṅge-bhyaḥ ¹kaN-²luK-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN and luK (∅¹) replacement [of aN 48 or Ña 50] as well as (ca) [aN 48 or Ña 50 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of the ordinals 48 ṣaṣṭhá- '6th' and aṣṭa-má- '8th' 50 to denote fractions 48] relating to a measure (māná-) or limbs of an animal (°-paśu-aṅgé-bhyaḥ) [respectively 1.3.10].

By meta-rule 1.3.10 [kaN] is introduced after [ṣaṣṭhá-] and luK after [aṣṭa-má-] while aN and Ña are valid for both: *ṣaṣṭhá+kaN = ṣáṣṭha-ka-* 'one-sixth of a measure'; elsewhere: *ṣaṣṭhá+aN/Ña = ṣáṣṭh∅-a-/ṣā́ṣṭh∅-a-*.
aṣṭa-má+(aN/Ña→luK) = aṣṭamá- 'one-eighth of an animal limb'; elsewhere: *aṣṭa-má+aN/Ña = áṣṭa-m∅-a-/ā́ṣṭa-m∅-a-*.

5.3.52 ék-āt=ākíniC ca=á-sahāy-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ākíniC is introduced in addition to (ca) [kaN and luK replacement 51 (of kaN or ākíniC) after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] éka- 'one' to denote 'alone, not accompanied by any other' (á-sahāy-e).

éka+ākíniC/kaN/(kaN/ākíniC→luK) = ek∅-ākín-/éka-ka-/éka- 'alone, solo, sole'.

5.3.53 bhū-ta-pūrv-é cáraṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cáraṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying 'was so before' (bhū-ta-pūrv-é).

āḍhyá-ḥ bhū-ta-pūrvá-ḥ = āḍhyá+cáraṬ = āḍhya-cára- (m.)/ *°cár-ī* (f. 4.1.15) 'who was formerly rich'.

5.3.54 ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ rūpya ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya, in addition to (ca) [cáraṬ 53 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ḥ) [to denote 'belonging to him previously or formerly'53].

deva-dattá-sya bhūta-pūrvá-ḥ gaú-ḥ = *devadatta+rūpya-/cáraṬ* = *devadatta=rūpya-ḥ/° cara-ḥ gaú-ḥ* 'a bull formerly belonging to Devadatta'.

5.3.55 ati-śā̃y-an-e [1]tamaP=[2]iṣṭhaN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tamaP and iṣṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'superlative excellence' (ati-śā̃y-an-e).

āḍhyá+tamaP = *āḍhyá-tama-* 'richest, most prosperous'; *paṭu+iṣṭhaN* = *páṭ∅-iṣṭha-* 'most skilled, ablest'.

5.3.56 tiṄ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 tamaP and iṣṭhaN 55] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2] verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] the personal l-substitutes tiṄ [to denote superlative excellence 55]

pác-a-ti+tamaP = *pác-a-t-tama+ā́m* (4.11) = *pac-a-ti-tam-ā́m* 'cooks the best'. The affix [iṣṭhaN], however, is not illustrated as it can occur only after qualifying words [guṇa-vácana-], cf. 58 below.

5.3.57 [1]dvi-vac-aná-[2]vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é [1]taraP=[2]īyasuN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] taraP and īyasuN are introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal l-substitutes tiṄ 56] to express a comparison between two co-occurring objects (dvi-vacaná-°) or that from which something is to be distinguished' (° vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é).

āḍhyá+taraP = *āḍhyá-tara-* 'richer or more opulent of two'; *pac-a-ti-tar-ā́m* 'cooks the better of two'; *paṭu+īyasuN* = *páṭ∅-īyas-* 'cleverer or abler of two'.

5.3.58 áC=ād-ī guṇa-vác-an-āt=evá

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel phoneme (aC=ādī) [= iṣṭhaN 55, īyasuN 57 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are qualifying words (guṇa-vác-an-āt) only (evá).

paṭú+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = *páṭ∅-iṣṭha-/ī́yas-* or alternately *paṭú-tama-/tara-* 'most competent/more competent' but *pā́c-aka-tama/°-tara-* 'best/better of cooks'.

5.3.59 tu-s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme (iṣṭhaN 55, īyasuN 57) 58 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the affixes 3.1.1] °-tṛ- (= tṛN 3.2.135, tṛ́C 3.3.169).

> *kár-tṛ+iṣṭhaN = kárØØ-iṣṭha-* (6.4.154): *ā-su-tí-ṁ kár-iṣṭha-ḥ* 'best distiller of all'; similarly *duh+tṛN/tṛC+ṄīP = dóh+tṛ+ṄīP+īyasuN = dóh+tṛ+Ø+īyasuN* (by vārt. 11 on 6.3.35) = *dóh+ØØ-īyas+ṄīP* (6.4.154) *dóh-īyas-ī dhe-nú-ḥ* 'the better of two milk-cows'.

5.3.60 pra-śás-ya-sya śra-ḥ

The substitute morpheme śra replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pra-śás-ya- 'praiseworthy' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel (iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57) 58].

> *pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = śrá+iṣṭha/īyas = śréṣṭha-/śréyas-* 'most/more praiseworthy, best/better'.

5.3.61 jya ca

The substitute morpheme jya also replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 praśásya- 'praiseworthy' 60 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57).

> *pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN+īyasuN = jya+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = jyéṣṭha-/jyā́-yas-* (6.4.160).

5.3.62 vṛddhá-sya ca

[The substitute morpheme jya 61] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] vṛddhá- 'old, aged' [before 1.4.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57)].

> *vṛddhá+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = jya+iṣṭha/ā-yas* (6.4.160) = *jyéṣṭha-/jyā́yas-* 'eldest, oldest/elder, older'.

5.3.63 ¹antiká-²bāḍhay-or ¹neda-²sādh-au

The substitute morphemes neda- and sādha- respectively 1.3.10 replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] antiká- 'near' and bāḍha- 'good' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57)].

antiká+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = neda+iṣṭha-/īyas- = néd∅-iṣṭha-/īyas- 'nearest/nearer'; *bāḍhá+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = sādha+iṣṭha-/īyas-; sádh∅-iṣṭha-/īyas-* 'best/better'.

5.3.64 ¹yúva(n)=²álpay-oḥ kaN anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme kaN optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yúvan- 'youth' and álpa- 'small' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57)].

yúvan+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = kán-iṣṭha-/kán-īyas- 'youngest/younger'; alternately: *yu-∅∅∅+iṣṭha/iyas* (6.4.156) = *yo+iṣṭha/īyas* (6.4.146) = *yáv-iṣṭha-/yáv-īyas-*; similarly *álpa+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = kán-iṣṭha-/kán-īyas-, álp∅-iṣṭha-/álp-īyas* 'smallest/smaller'.

5.3.65 ¹vin-²matOr luK

luK (∅¹) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] °-vin- (2.21) and matUP (2.94) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and īyasuN 57).

1. °-vín-: *srag-vín+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN = sráj-∅¹+iṣṭha/īyas* 'most/more covered with garlands'.
2. °-matUP-: *tvác+matUP+iṣṭha/īyasuN = tvác+∅¹-iṣṭha- / īyas-* 'possessing the best/better skin'.

5.3.66 pra-śaṁs-ā́-y-ām rūpaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote praise (pra-śaṁs-ā́-y-ām).

prá-śas-ta-ḥ vaiyā-kar-aṇ-á-ḥ = vaiyākaraṇa-rūpa-ḥ 'an excellent grammarian'.

5.3.67 īṣad-a-sam-āp-t-aú [1]kalpaP-[2]déśya-[3]deśī́yaR-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kalpaP, déśya- and deśī́yaR are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'not quite fully' (īṣad-a-sam-āp-t-aú).

īṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-ḥ pā́ṭu-ḥ = paṭú-kalpa-ḥ/°déśya-ḥ/deśī́ya-ḥ 'not quite fully accomplished'. Applicable also in the case of verbal stems ending in personal l-substitutes tiṄ (56): *pác-a-ti-kalpam* 'not quite fully cooks'.

5.3.68 vibhāṣā sUP-aḥ=bahúC pur-ástāt tu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bahúC is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced before (pur-ástāt tu) [a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet [to denote 'not quite fully' 67].

īṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-ḥ pā́ṭu-ḥ = bahú-paṭu-ḥ 'not quite so fully sharp'. Alternate forms can be generated with the affixes listed in 67 above.

5.3.69 pra-kār-a-vác-an-e jātī́yaR

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] jātī́yaR is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a specific characteristic (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

mr̥du-pra-kār-á-ḥ = mr̥du-jātī́ya-ḥ 'belonging to the class of soft objects'.

The affix [thāL] which is also introduced (22 above) to denote a mode or manner differs from this which signifies an object possessing that mode or manner.

5.3.70 prā́k=iv-āt ká-ḥ

In the section beginning here and extending prior to 96 below [iv-e prati-kr̥̄-t-au 96, the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ká- is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 the denote the senses listed in this section].

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) and the affix [ká-] will recur in each subsequent rule prior to 96 below, unless otherwise specified.

5.3.71 [1]ávyaya-[2]sarva-nāmn-ā́m ákaC prā́k ṬE-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ákaC is introduced before the syllable beginning with the last vowel [prā́k ṬE-ḥ, cf. 1.1.64] of [nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of indeclinables (á-vy-aya-°) and pronominal bases

(°-sarva-nāmn-ā́m) [and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal l-substitutes 56 to denote the senses listed in this section 70-95].

Exception to [ká-]. 1. ávy-ay-a: *uccais+ákaC* = *ucc-ák- ais* 'with a high pitch'; 2. sarva-nāmán: *sarva+Jas+ákaC* = *sarva+Śī+ákaC* (7.1.17) = *sarv+ákaC+a+ī* = *sarv-ák-e* 'all'; 3. tiṄ: *pac-a-ti+ákaC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks'.

Since this affix is inserted after the simplex or declined nominal stem sometimes it occurs after the simple stem or sometimes after the declined stem: (a) simple nominal stem: *yuṣmā́-bhis+ákaC* = *yusm-ák-ā-bhis* 'by you (pl.)'; (b) declined nominal stem: *tvay-ā+ákaC* = *tvay-ák-ā* 'by thee'.

5.3.72 ka-sya ca da-ḥ

The phoneme [d] replaces [the final 1.1.72] phoneme [k] of [an indeclinable 71 nominal stem 4.1.1 in the presence of the affix ákaC 71].

dhik+ákaC = *dh-ak-ik* = *dh-ák-id* = *dh-ák-it* (8.4.56); *pṛthak+ákaC* = *pṛth-ák-ak* = *pṛth-ak-ad* = *pṛth-ák-at* 'separately'.

5.3.73 á-jña-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 56] to denote 'unknown' (á-jñā-t-e).

áśva+ká- = *aśva-ká-* 'a certain horse whose ownership is unknown'; *pác-a-ti+ákaC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'does he cook?'.

5.3.74 kuts-i-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 56] pejoratively (kuts-i-t-é).

kuts-i-tá-ḥ áśva-ḥ = *aśva-ká-ḥ* 'a nag'; *pác-a-ti+ákaC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks badly'.

5.3.75 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [pejoratively 74].

kuts-i-tá-ḥ śūdrá-ḥ = *śūdrá+kaN* = *śū́dra-ka-ḥ* 'Name of a person (= contemptible śūdrá)'.

5.3.76 anu-kamp-ā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 56] to denote compassion' (anu-kamp-ā́-y-ām).

> *putrá+ká- = putra-ká-* 'poor son/child'; similarly *vatsa-ká-* 'poor or dear calf'. *svap-i-t-ák-i* 'sleeps poorly'.

5.3.77 nī́-t-au ca tád-yuk-t-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC 71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 56] to denote an act of relief (nī́-t-au) associated with that (compassion 76: tád-yuk-t-āt).

> *hánta te dhāna-ká-ḥ (dhāna+ká+Jas)* 'See! here are barley grains for you'; *e-hi+ákaC = e-h-ák-i* 'please come'.

5.3.78 bahv-áC-aḥ manuṣya-nā́mn=aḥ ṭháC=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháC is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahv-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a personal name (manuṣya-nā́mn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

> The option is with reference to affix [ká-]. *devadattá+ṭháC/ká- = dev∅-iká-* (83) / *devadatta-ká-* 'poor Devadatta!'.

5.3.79 ¹ghaN-²iláC-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ghaN and iláC, in addition to (ca) [ṭháC 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyllabic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78 to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

> *devadattá+ghaN/iláC/ṭháC/ká- = dév∅-iya-/dev∅-ilá-/dev∅-iká-* (83)/*devadatta-ká-*.

5.3.80 prā́c-ām úpa=āde-r ¹aḍáC=²vuC-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aḍáC and vuC, in addition to (ca) [ghaN, iláC 78, ṭháC 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyl-

labic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with úpa-° as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief connected with it 77] according to Eastern Grammarians (prā́c-ām).

upendra-datta+aḍáC/vuC/ghaN/iláC/ṭháC/ká = *up∅∅-aḍá-/úp-aka-/úp-iya-/ up-ilá-/up-iká-/upendra-datta-ká-* (83).

5.3.81 jāti-nā́mn-aḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affx 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 76] expressing a species (jāti-nā́mn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

vyāghrá+kaN = *vyā́ghra-ka-* 'poor Vy.'; similarly *síṁha-ka-, śárabha-ka-* etc.

5.3.82 ajína=anta-sya=uttara-pada-lopás=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 81 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with °-ajína- 'skin' as final member (°-anta-sya in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77] and (ca) lopa (=∅) replaces the final member (uttara-pada-lopá-ḥ).

ánu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ vyāghrā́jina-ḥ = *vyāghrā́jina+kaN* = *vyāghrá-∅+kan* = *vyā́ghra-ka-ḥ*.

5.3.83 [1]ṭha=[2]áC=ād-au=ūrdhvá-ṁ dvi-tī́y-āt=aC-aḥ

[Lopa (∅) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the second one (dvi-tī́y-āt=aC-aḥ) [occurring in this section 70-95 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes ṭháC 78 and those beginning with a vowel (aC=ād-au = ghaN, iláC 79, ṭháC 78, aḍáC, vuC 80)].

ánu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ = *deva-∅+ṭháC/ghaN/iláC* = *dev-iká-/dév-iya-/ dev-ilá-; upendra-dattá+ṭháC/ghan/iláC/aḍáC/vuC* = *upa+iká* = *up∅-iká-/ úp-iya-/up-ilá-/up-aḍá-/up-aká-*.

5.3.84 [1]śévala-[2]suparí-[3]viśālá-[4]váruṇa-[5]aryamán=ādī-n-āṁ tṛ-tī́y-āt

[Lopa (∅) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the third (tṛ-tī́y-āt) [of nominal stems 4.1.1 occurring in this section 70-95 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes ṭháC and those beginning with a vowel 83 (= ghaN, iláC, 79) introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with śévala-°, suparí-°, viśālá-°, váruṇa°- and aryamán-° as prior members (°ādī-n-ām in composition).

anu-kamp-i-tá-ḥ śevala-dattá-ḥ = śevala-dattá+ṭháC/ghaN/iláC = śeval∅-iká-ḥ/śéval-iya-ḥ/śeval-ilá-ḥ; on the same pattern: *supar-iká-/súpar-iya-/supar-ilá-; viśāl-ika-/víśāl-iya-/viśāl-ilá-; varuṇ-iká-/váruṇ-iya-/varuṇ-ilá-; aryam-iká-/áryam-iya-/aryam-ilá-* (6.4.144).

5.3.85 álp-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ka 70 and ákaC71 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 56] to denote 'small' (álp-e).

álpa-m tailá-m = taila+ká = taila-ká-m 'a small quantity of oil'; *pác-a-ti+ákaC = pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks a little'.

5.3.86 hrasv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote 'short' (hrasv-é).

hrasvá-ḥ vṛkṣá-ḥ = vṛkṣa+ká- = vṛkṣa-ká-ḥ 'a short or stunted tree'; *daṇḍá+ká = daṇḍa-ká-* 'a short staff'.

5.3.87 saṁjñā́-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote 'shortness' 86] for deriving a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

hrasvá-ḥ vaṁśá-ḥ = vaṁśá+kaN = váṁśa-ka-ḥ 'n.pr.' and similarly *véṇu-ka-ḥ/dáṇḍa-ka-ḥ* etc.

5.3.88 [1]kuṭī-[2]śámī-[3]śuṇḍā-bhyaḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kuṭī 'hut', śámī 'a species of tree' and śuṇḍā 'trunk of an elephant' [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

hrasvá kuṭī/śámī/śuṇḍā = kuṭī-rá-/śamī-rá-/śuṇḍā-rá- 'low hut / short or stunted S. tree / short trunk of an elephant.

5.3.89 kutv-āḥ ḌupáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌupáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kutū 'a leather oil bottle' [to denote shortness of diminution 86].

hrasvá kutū = kutū+ḌupáC = kut∅+upá- (6.4.143) 'a diminutive leather oil bottle'.

5.3.90 [1]kāsū́-[2]goṇī́-bhyāṁ ṢṭaráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭaráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kāsū́ 'lance' and goṇī́ 'sack' [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

hrasvá kāsū́/goṇī́ = kāsū́/goṇī́+ṢṭaráC+ṄīṢ (4.1.41) = *kāsū-tarī́/goṇī-tarī́* 'diminutive lance/sack'.

5.3.91 [1]vatsá=[2]ukṣá(n)=[3]áśva-[4]ṛṣabhé-bhyaḥ tanu-tv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭaráC 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vatsá- 'calf', ukṣán- 'bull', áśva- 'horse' and ṛṣabhá- 'bull' to denote 'tenderness' (tanu-tv-é).

vatsa-tará- m. (*°-tarī́* f.) 'weaned calf, not yet adult'; so also *ukṣa-tará-* (*°rī́* f.)/*aśva-tará-* (*°rī́* f.)/*ṛṣabha-tará-* (*°rī́* f.) 'young bull/mule/young bull'.

5.3.92 [1]kím=[2]yád-[3]tád-aḥ nir-dhā́r-aṇ-e dváy-or éka-sya ḌataráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ḍatarác is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pronominal bases kím- 'what, which, who', yád- 'who, which (relative)' and tád- 'that' (correlative) for determining (nir-dhā́r-aṇ-e) one among two (dváy-or éka-sya).

kím+ḌataráC = *k∅-atará-* 'which of (any) two?' and similarly *y-atará-/t-atará-* 'which of two'/'that of two'.

5.3.93 vā bahū́-n-āṁ jāti-pari-praśn-é ḌatamáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌatamáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the pronominal bases kím- 'who', yád- 'who' and tád- 'that' to determine one 92] among many (bahū́-n-ām) optionally (vā) in a question involving genus or caste [jāti-pari-praśné].

kím+ḌatamáC = *k∅-atamá-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ?* 'which of many among you is a follower of the K. school?'. Similarly *y-atamá-/t-atamá-*.

The option is with reference to [ákaC 71]. *ya-ká-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ?* When a question involving genus or caste is not pertinent, no affix is required: *yá-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ sá ā́-gacch-a-tu* 'the one who is a follower of K. school among you may come'.

5.3.94 ék-āt=ca prā́c-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌataráC 92 or ḌatamáC 93 is] also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] éka- 'one' [to determine respectively one among two 92 or among many 93] according to Eastern Grammarians (prā́c-ām).

eka+ḌataráC/ḌatamáC = *eka-tará/°-tamá-* 'one of two/many'.

5.3.95 ava-kṣép-aṇ-e kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote derision (ava-kṣép-aṇ-e).

vy-ā-kár-aṇa- + *kaN* = *vyā́-karaṇa-ka-* 'bad grammar, a little knowledge of grammar' as in: *vy-ā́-kar-aṇa-k-éna tváṁ garv-i-tá-ḥ* 'you, boasting of your little knowledge of grammar'.

5.3.96 iv-e prati-kṛ́-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' (iv-e) for signifying an image or likeness or model (prati-kṛ́-t-au).

aśvá-ḥ iva ay-ám = *aśvá-kaN* = *áśva-ka-ḥ* 'a model, image or imitation of a horse'. The expression [iv-e] recurs in the following rules up to 112 below.

5.3.97 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] for deriving a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

aśvá+kaN = *áśva-ka-ḥ* 'n. of an object, similar to a horse'.

5.3.98 lup=manuṣy-è

luP ($\emptyset^3$) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] when deriving the name of a person (manuṣy-è).

cañcā iva manuṣyà-ḥ = *cañcā+(kaN→luP)* = *cancā+$\emptyset^3$* 'straw-man, scarecrow'. Replacement by $\emptyset^3$ luP retains the gender and number of the original underived form (1.2.52).

5.3.99 jīvikā=arth-é ca-á-paṇ-y-e

[luP ($\emptyset^3$) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem to denote the sense of 'like, similar to' 96] when it is made a means of livelihood [jīvikā= arth-é] and is not for sale (á-paṇ-y-e).

vāsudeva-prati-kṛ-tí-ḥ = *vāsudevá+(kaN→luP)* = *vāsudevá-ḥ* 'an image of Vasudeva used as a means of livelihood' but *áśva-kā-n ví-krī-ṇā-ti* 'sells images of horses'.

5.3.100 deva-pathá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP ($\emptyset^3$) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.2 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with deva-path-á- 'heaven, the path of gods' [to denote 'like, similar to' for signifying an image or likeness 96 or to derive a name 97].

deva=patha-prati-kṛ-tí-ḥ = *deva-pathá+(kaN→luP)* = *deva-pathá-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a place'.

5.3.101 vasté-r ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vastí- 'bladder' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

From here the affixes introduced are both for or other than for [prati-kṛ́-t-au] or

general likeness. *vastí-r iva* = *vastí+ḍhaÑ* = *vắst∅+eya-* = *vắst-eya-* 'resembling a bladder, bladder-like'.

5.3.102 śilắ-y-āḥ ḍha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śilắ 'rock' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

śilắ iva = *śilắ+ḍha* = *sil∅-éya-* 'resembling a rock, rock-like'. According to some interpreters this rule is divided into two by the process of [yoga-vi-bhāg-a] yielding two affixes [ḍhaÑ 101], [ḍha 102] yielding an alternate form *śilā+ḍhaÑ* = *śail-eya-*.

5.3.103 śắkhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with śắkhā 'branch' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

śắkhā iva = *śắkhā+yàT* = *śắkh∅-ya-* 'resembling a branch, branch-like'; similarly *múkha-m iva* = *múkha+yàT* = *múkh-ya-* 'resembling a face'.

5.3.104 dráv-ya-ṁ ca bháv-y-e

The expression dráv-ya- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 103] to denote 'good, proper, suitable' (bháv-y-e).

drú-r iva = *drú+yàT* = *dro+yaT* (6.4.146) = *dráv-ya*, (6.1.79) the irregularity being in the meaning of the expression.

5.3.105 kuśa=agr-át=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kuśāgrá- 'tip of the kuśa grass' [to denote 'like, similar to' 96].

kuśāgra-m iva = *kuśāgra+cha* = *kuśắgr∅-íya-* 'sharp like the tip of the kuśá grass'.

5.3.106 sam=ās=ắt=ca tád-vi-ṣay-ắt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 105] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (sam-ās-ắt) to denote 'like, resembling' (96: tád-vi-ṣay-āt).

kāka-tāla iva = *kāka-tāla+cha* = *kāka-tāl∅-íya* 'accidental' (like the alighting of a crow and breaking of a branch simultaneously).

5.3.107 śárkarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with śárkarā 'gravel' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

śárkarā iva = *śárkarā+áṆ* = *śārkar∅-á-* 'resembling gravel'.

5.3.108 aṅgúli=ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with aṅgúli- 'finger' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

aṅgúli-r iva = *aṅgúli+ṭháK* = *āṅguli-ká-* 'finger-like'.

5.3.109 eka-śālā́-yā-s=ṭháC=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháC is optionally (anya-tará- syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] eka-śālā́ 'single hall or room' [to denote 'resembling, like' 96].

eka-śālā́ iva = *eka-śālā́+ṭháC/ṭháK* = *eka-śāl∅-iká-/aika-śāl-iká-* 'resembling a single hall or room'.

5.3.110 [1]karká-[2]lóhit-āt=īkáK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] īkáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] karká- 'white horse' and lóhita- 'red' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

karká iva = *karká+īkáK* = *kārk∅-īká-* 'like or resembling a white horse'; similarly *lauhit-īká-* 'ruddy, reddish'.

5.3.111 [1]pratná-[2]pū́rva-[3]víśva-[4]im-ā́t thāL chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thāL is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] pratná- 'ancient', pū́rva- 'anterior', víśva- 'universal' and imá- 'this' [to denote 'like, resembling' 96].

pratná iva = pratná-thā 'formerly'; similarly: *pūrvá-thā* 'previously'; *viśvá-thā* 'universally'; *imá-thā* 'thus, in this way'.

5.3.112 pūg-āt=Ñya-ḥ=á-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying a peripatetic group of workers [pūg-āt] except when it is derived from the leader of the group (á-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt).

lóhita-dhvaja+Ñya = laúhita-dhvajØ-ya- 'peripatetic group carrying a red flag', but *deva-dattá-ḥ grāma-ṇí-r e-ṣā́m = deva-datta+kaN+Jas = déva-datta-kā-ḥ.*

5.3.113 [1]vrā́ta-[2]CphaÑ-r á-striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing wild tribes [vrā́ta-°] or those [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] CphaÑ (4.1.98) pleonastically, but not in the feminine gender (á-striy-ām).

kapota-pāk-ā́ḥ iva = kapota-pāk-a+Ñya = kā́pota-pākØ-ya- 'n.pr.of a wild tribe eating doves'. *kuñja+CphaÑ* (4.1.98) = *kauñjØ-āyaná+Ñya = kaúñj-āyanØ-ya-ḥ/kaúñj-āyan-y-au/kaunj-āyan-ā́ḥ* (2.4.62). But in the feminine gender: *kapota-pāk-á+ṄīṢ* (4.1.63) = *kapota-pāk-í.*

5.3.114 ā-yudh-a=jīv-i-saṁ-gh-ā́t-ÑyaṬ=vāhīke-ṣu á-[1]brāhmaṇa-[2]rājan-y-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating a mercenary group (ā-yudh-a-jīv-i-saṁ-gh-ā́t) pleonastically, residing in the Vāhīka country, excluding the names of brahmins and warriors (°-rājany-āt).

kṣúdraka+ÑyaṬ = kṣaúdrakØ-ya-ḥ, kṣaúdrak-y-au/kṣúdrak-āḥ (2.4.62). (f. *kṣaúdrak-ya+ṄīP* 4.1.15 = *kṣaúdrakØØ-ī* 6.4.150.)

But 1. brahmins: *gó-pāl-a-k-āḥ* 'N. of a mercenary family of brahmins'; 2. warriors: *śā́laṅk-āyanā-ḥ* 'N. of a mercenary family of warriors residing in Vāhīka region'.

5.3.115 vŕ̥k-āt=ṬéṇyaṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬéṇyaṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vŕ̥ka- [designating a mercenary group 114] pleonastically.

vṛ́ka+ṬéṇyaṆ = vārk∅-éṇya-ḥ/vā́r-/éṇy-au/vṛ́kā-ḥ (2.4.62).

5.3.116 [1]dā́mani=ādi-[2]trí-garta-ṣaṣṭh-āt=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with dā́mani- 'n. of a mercenary group' and those denoting the six Trígarta groups, pleonastically.

1. *dā́mani+cha = dāman∅-íya-ḥ/dāman-íy-au/dā́manay-aḥ* (2.4.62).
2. The six Trígarta groups are constituted by: *Kauṇḍopa-ratha-, Dā́ṇḍaki-, Kraúṣṭaki-, Jā́lamāni-, Bráhma-gupta-* and *Jā́naki-*. *kauṇḍop-ratha+cha = kauṇḍopa-rath∅-íya-ḥ/°-rathíy-au / kauṇḍopa-rathā-ḥ*.

5.3.117 [1]párśu=ādi-[2]yaudhéya=ādi-bhyām [1]áṆ=[2]aÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áṆ and aÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with párśu- and with yaudhéya- [names of mercenary groups 114] pleonastically.

1. *párśu+áṆ = parśo+áṆ = pārśav-á-ḥ/pārśav-aú/párśav-aḥ.*
2. *yaudhéya+aÑ = yaúdhey∅-a-ḥ/yaúdhey-au/yaudhéyā-ḥ*

5.3.118 [1]abhi-jít=[2]vida-bhṛ́t-[3]śā́lā-vat=[4]síkhā-vat=[5]śámī-vat=[6]ū́rṇā-vat=[7]śrú-mat=áṆ-aḥ yaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] abhi-jít-, vida-bhṛ́t-, śā́lā-vat-, śíkhā-vat-, śámī-vat-, ū́rṇā-vat- and śrú-mat- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ pleonastically.

abhijít+áṆ+yaÑ = ābhi-jit-á+yaÑ = ā́bhi-jit-∅-ya-ḥ/°-jity-au / ābhijit-ā́-ḥ (2.4.62); on the same pattern: *vaída-bhṛt-ya-ḥ/°-bhṛty-au / vaida-bhṛtā́-ḥ; śā́lā-vat-ya-ḥ/°-vaty-au / śā́lā-vatā́-ḥ; śaíkhā-vat-ya-ḥ/°-vaty-au / śaikhā-vatā́-ḥ; śā́mī-vat-ya-ḥ/°-vat-y-au / śāmī-vatā́-ḥ; aúrṇā-vat-ya-ḥ/°-vat-y-au / aurṇā-vatā́-ḥ; śraú-mat-ya-ḥ/°-mat-y-au / śrau-matā́-ḥ.*

5.3.119 Ñya-āday-as tad-rājā-ḥ

The technical term tad-rāja denotes [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with Ñya (112).

These affixes are: [Ñya 112, ÑyaṬ 114, ṬéṇyaṆ 115, cha 116, áṆ, aÑ 117, yaÑ

118]. By 2.4.62 these are replaced by $\emptyset^1$ in the plural except after feminine stems.

5.4.1 pādá-śatá-sya saṁkhyā́=āde-r vīpsā́-y-ām vuN lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pādá- or °-śatá co-occurring with a numeral as a preceding member (in composition: saṁkhyā́-āde-ḥ) to denote a distribution (vīpsā́-y-ām) with lopa (∅) replacement of the [stem-final 1.1.52].

> *dvaú dvaú pād-aú dá-dā-ti* = *dvi-pād∅+vuN* = *dvi-pad+vuN+ṬāP* (6.4.130; 4.1.4) = *dví-pad-aka+ṬāP* = *dví-pad-ik∅-ā-ṁ* (7.3.44) *dá-dā-ti* 'he gives two quarters to each'. Similarly *dv-é dv-é śat-é dá-dā-ti* = *dvi-śát-ikā-ṁ dá-dā-ti* 'distributes 200 pieces to each'. Stems ending in the affix [vuN] are generally realized as feminine in gender.

5.4.2 [1]daṇḍá-[2]vy-ava-sarg-áy-os=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 1] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-pādá- 'quarter' or °-śatá- 'hundred' co-occurring with numerals as preceding members in composition 1 to denote a fine (daṇḍá-) or a gift (°-vy-ava-sarg-áy-oḥ) [with ∅ replacement of the stem-final phoneme 1].

> *dv-aú dv-aú pād-aú daṇḍ-i-tá-ḥ/vy-áva-sr̥j-a-ti* = *dví-pad-ikā-ṁ daṇḍ-i-tá-ḥ/ vy-áva-sr̥j-a-ti* 'he is fined/donates two quarters'. Similarly *dví-śat-ikā-ṁ daṇḍitá-ḥ/vyávasr̥jati* 'fined/donates 200 pieces'.

5.4.3 sthū́la=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kār-a-vác-an-e kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sthū́la- 'gross' to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

> *sthūla-pra-kār-á-ḥ* = *sthū́la+kaN* = *sthū́la-ka-* 'possessing grossness'; similarly *áṇu-ka-* 'possessing lightness'

5.4.4 án-aty-anta-ga-t-au Kt-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktá to denote an action not yet completed (án-aty-anta-ga-t-au).

> *bhid+Ktá+kaN* = *bhin-ná+kaN* (8.2.42) = *bhín-na-ka-* 'not yet fully broken'; similarly *chid+Ktá+kaN* = *chín-na-ka-* 'not yet fully split'.

5.4.5 ná sāmi-vác-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 4] when co-occurring with sāmí 'half' as an úpapada (3.1.92).

> *sāmí+kṛ+Ktá = sāmi-kṛ-tá-m* 'half-done or half-finished'; *sāmi-bhuk-tá-m* 'half-eaten'. The expression [°-vác-ana-m] implies synonyms of [sāmí-]: *ardha-bhuk-tá-m/nemi-bhuk-tá-m* etc.

5.4.6 bṛhaty-ā́ ā-cchā́d-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bṛhatī́ 'lofty, high' to denote 'a coverlet' (ācchā́dane).

> *bṛh-at-ī́+kaN = bṛ́h-at-i-k-ā* (7.4.13).

5.4.7 [1]a-ṣaḍ-aks-á=[2]ā́ś-i-tá-ṁ-gu=[3]álaṁ-karman= [4]álam-puruṣa=[5]ádhy-uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-á- 'not containing six eyes', ā́śitaṁ-gú- 'where cows are fed', álaṁ-karman- 'fit for action', álaṁ-puruṣa- 'enough for a man' and expressions [ending in 4.1.72] the indeclinable °-ádhi 'concerning' as a posterior member (in composition).

> 1. *a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-á+kha = a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-∅+ī́na- = a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-ī́ṇa-* 'secret (= not known to six eyes or three persons)'.
>
> Similarly: 2. *ā́ś-i-ta-ṁ-gú+kha = ā́śitaṁ-gav-ī́na-* 'a place where cows are fed'. 3. *alaṁ-karm-ī́ṇa-* 'fit for any work'; *alaṁ-puruṣ-ī́ṇa-* 'sufficient for a man'; 4. *ī́ś-var-e ádhi īśvarādhi+kha = is-var-ādh-ī́na-* 'subservient or dependent on God'.

5.4.8 vibhāṣā=añce-r á-dik-striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 7] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °añc- which is not a direction word in the feminine gender (á-dik-striyām).

> *prā́c+kha = prac-ī́nam/prā́k* 'eastern'; similarly *arvāc-ī́na-m/arvā́k* 'recent', but *prā́c-ī dik, prāc-ī́n-ā brāhmaṇ-ī́* 'aged brahmin lady'.

5.4.9 jā́ti=ant-āt=cha bándhu-n-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-jā́ti- 'genus, caste' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote a connection or appropriateness (bándhu-n-i).

The word [bándhu-] here denotes a sign or item which is appropriate or associated with a specific caste or genus. *brāhmaṇa-jātí+cha* = *brāhmaṇa-jāt∅-ī́ya-* 'proper or associated with a brahmin, belonging to a brahmin'.

5.4.10 sthā́na=ant-āt=vibhāṣā sá-sthān-ena=iti cét

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 9] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-sthā́na- 'place' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote something which is made to take its place (sá-sthān-ena=iti cét) optionally.

pitú-r iva sthā́na-m a-syá = *pitr-ā́ túl-ya-ḥ* = *pitṛ́-sthāna+cha* = *pitṛ-sthān∅-ī́ya-/ pitṛ́-sthāna-* 'who takes the place of the father or stands in the place of the father'.

5.4.11 [1]kím=[2]eT=[3]tiṄ=[4]ávyaya=GH-AT=ā́mu̱=á-dravya-pra-karṣ-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ā́mu̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kím- 'who, what, which', expressions [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [eT], verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] l-substitute tiṄ, indeclinables (ávyaya-), co-occurring with the affix [3.1.1] GHA (1.1.22 = taraP, tamaP) except when (the comparative or superlative degree) refers to the object itself (á-drav-ya-pra-karṣ-e).

1. *kím+taraP/tamaP* = *kím-tara-/°-tama+ā́mu̱* = *kim-tar∅-ā́m/°-tam-ā́m* 'which of two/many?'.
2. *purvāhṇe+taraP/tamaP* = *pūrvāhṇe=tar-ā́m/°-tam-ā́m* 'more/most in the morning'.
3. *pac-a-ti-tar-ā́m/°-tam-ā́m* 'cooks better/best'.
4. *uccais-tar-ā́m/°-tam-ā́m* 'higher/highest' but *uccaís-tara-ḥ párvata-ḥ* 'the mountain is higher'.

5.4.12 ámu̱ ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chandas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ámu̱ in addition to (ca) [ā́mu̱ 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, expressions ending in phoneme /eT/, verbal stems ending in l-substitute tiṄ and indeclinables, co-occurring with the affixes denoted by GHA except when referring to the object itself 11].

prá+taraP = pra-tara+ám/ā́m = pra-tar∅-ám/pra-tar-ā́m náy-ā-maḥ 'we are leading further'.

5.4.13 anu-gād-ín-as=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] anu-gād-ín- 'echoing other's words'.

anu-gād-ín+ṭháK = ānu-gād∅∅-iká- 'repeating another's words'.

5.4.14 ṆáC-as striy-ā́m aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the kr̥t affix 3.3.43] ṆáC in the feminine gender (striy-ā́m).

paras-pará-m vy-áva-kroś-anti = vy-áva-kruś+ṆáC+aÑ+ṆīP (4.1.15) = *vy-āva-kros-á+aÑ+ī = vyā́va-kroś-∅-ī várt-a-te* 'mutual abuse takes place'. Similarly *vy-ā́va-hās-ī* 'mutual laughter'.

5.4.15 áṆ ínu̱Ṇ-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áṆ is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ínu̱Ṇ (3.3.44).

sám+kūṭ+ínuṆ+áṆ = sā̃m-kūṭ-ín+áṆ = sā̃m-kūṭ-in-á-m 'conflagration'; *sā̃m-rāv-iṇ-á-m* 'general uproar'.

5.4.16 vi-sār-íṇ-aḥ mátsy-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 15 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vi-sār-ín 'which slips' to denote a fish (mátsy-e).

vi-sār-ín+áṆ = vai-sār-iṇ-á- 'fish'.

5.4.17 saṁ-khyā́-y-āḥ kriyā=abhy-ā-vr̥t-ti-gáṇ-an-e kr̥tvásu̱C

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kr̥tvásu̱C is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising numerals (saṁkhyā́-y-āḥ) to denote the counting of the repetition of an action (kriyā+abhy-ā-vr̥t-ti-gáṇ-an-e).

páñcan+krtvásu̱C = *pañcaØ=kr̥tvás* 'five times' (8.2.7); so also *sapta-kr̥tvás* 'seven times'.

5.4.18 [1]dví-[2]trí-[3]catúr-bhyām su̱C

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] su̱C is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 17] dví- 'two', trí-'three' and catúr- 'four' [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17].

dví+su̱C = *dví-ḥ* 'twice'; *trí-su̱c* = *trí-ḥ* 'thrice' and *catúr+su̱C* = *catúr-s* = *catur-Ø* (8.2.24) = *catúḥ* (8.3.15) 'four times'.

5.4.19 éka-sya sakŕ̥t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 su̱C 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] éka- 'one' [to denote the counting of an action 17] and the substitute morpheme sakŕ̥t- replaces [the whole (1.1.55)] stem.

éka+su̱C = *sa-kŕ̥-t+su̱C* = *sa-kŕ̥-tØ* (6.1.68) 'once'

5.4.20 vibhāṣā bahó-r dhā́=a-vi-pra-kr̥ṣ-ṭa-kāl-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā́ is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] bahú- 'many, numerous' [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17] in the not too distant time (a-vi-pra-kr̥ṣ-ṭa-kāl-e).

bahú+dhā́/kr̥tvásu̱C = *bahu-dhā́/°-kr̥tvás* 'many times' in: *bahu-dhā́ divasá-sya bhuṅk-té* 'eats several times a day' but *bahu-kr̥tváḥ mā́sa-sya bhuṅk-té* 'eats numerous times in a month'.

5.4.21 tát pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é máyaṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád-°) pleonastically to denote 'made thereof, consisting thereof' (pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é).

ánna-m prá-kṛ-ta-m = anna+máyaṬ = anna-máya-m 'consisting of food'.

5.4.22 sam-ūha-vát=ca bahú-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] introduced after a collection (sam-ūhá-° 4.2.37) are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 21] and in the plural (bahú-su) in addition to (ca) [affix 3.1.1 máyaṬ to denote 'consisting thereof'27].

módakā-ḥ prá-kṛ-tā-ḥ = módaka+ṭháK (4.2.47)/*máyaṬ = maudakØ-iká-m/ modaka-máya-m* 'abounding in or consisting of modaka-s'.

5.4.23 [1]án-anta=[2]ā-vas-athá=[3]itiha=[4]bheṣaj-ā́t=Ñyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-anta- 'endless', ā-vas-athá- 'residence', iti-ha- 'so indeed (it was)' and bheṣajá- 'remedy' pleonastically.

án-anta eva = ánanta+Ñya = ā́n-antØ-ya- 'endless, infinite'; similarly *ā́-vasath-ya-/ aíti-h-ya-/bhaíṣaj-ya-* 'habitation, residence/tradition, history/remedy, medicine'.

5.4.24 devátа=ant-āt tā́d-arth-y-e yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-devátā 'divinity' as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) and ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet (tā́d-arthy-e 2.1.36) to denote 'meant for it'.

agni-devatā́-yai idám = agni-devatā́+yàT= agni-devatØ-yà-m 'meant for or consecrated to the divinity Agni'.

5.4.25 [1]pāda=[2]arghā́-bhyāṁ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pādá- 'foot' and arghá- 'homage, worship' [ending in the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'meant for or consecrated to it 24].

pā́dā-ya idám = pādá+yàT = pā́d∅-ya-m 'water meant for washing the feet as an act of worship'; similarly *arghārtha-m udaka-m = árgh-ya-m* 'water offered at the respectful reception of a guest'.

5.4.26 átithe-r Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] átithi- 'honored guest' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'meant for him' 24].

átithay-e idám = átithi+Ñya = ā́tith∅-ya-m 'hospitality'.

5.4.27 dev-ā́t taL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] devá- 'divinity, god'.

devá evá = devá+taL+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *devá-tā*.

5.4.28 áve-ḥ ká-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ká is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ávi- 'sheep'.

ávi-r evá = ávi+ká = avi-ká-ḥ 'sheep'.

5.4.29 yāvá=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with yāvá- 'a kind of food made from barley'.

yāvá evá = yāvá+kaN = yā́va-ka-ḥ.

5.4.30 lóhit-āt=maṇ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] lóhita- 'red' when designating a gem (maṇ-aú).

lóhita-ḥ evá = *lóhita+kaN* = *lóhita-ka-ḥ* 'a red gem'.

5.4.31 várṇ-e ca=á-nity-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 19 is pleonastically introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lohitá- 'red' 30] to denote a non-permanent color (á-nity-e várṇ-e).

lohitá+kaN = *lóhita-ka-ḥ* 'blushing red (through anger, pressure, etc.) but *lohitá-ḥ gaú-ḥ* 'red bull'.

5.4.32 rak-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lóhita- 'red' 30] for denoting (something) dyed red (rak-t-é).

lóhit-ena rak-tá-ḥ = *lóhita+kaN* = *lóhita-ka-ḥ* '(cloth) dyed red'.

5.4.33 kāl-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālá- 'black' [to denote a non-permanent color 31 or (something) dyed with it 32].

kāl-éna rak-tá-ḥ = *kālá+kaN* = *kā́la-ka-ḥ paṭá-ḥ* 'cloth dyed black'; *kā́la-ka-m múkha-m vaí-lakṣaṇ-y-ena* 'a face turned black through embarassment'.

5.4.34 vi-nay-á=ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.7& affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vi-nay-á- 'good or moral conduct, humility' pleonastically.

vi-nay-á evá = *vi-nay-á+ṭháK* = *vai-nay∅-ika-* 'good behavior, true modesty/ humility'. *samaya eva* = *sāmay-ika-* 'proper time'.

5.4.35 vāc-áḥ vy-ā́-hr̥-ta=arthā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 34 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vā́c- 'speech' to denote conveyance of an oral message (vy-ā́-hr̥-ta=arthā-y-ām).

vā́c+ṭháK = *vāc-iká-* 'an oral communication'.

5.4.36 tád-yuk-t-āt kárman-aḥ=áṆ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kár-man- 'occupation' when it is associated with it (tad-yuk-t-āt) [= the conveyance of an oral message 35].

kár-ma evá = *kár-man+áṆ* = *kārmaṇ-á-* (6.4.167) 'an action in consonance with a verbal message'.

5.4.37 óṣadhe-r á-jā-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ 36 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhi- 'herb' when it is not designated as a genus (á-jā-t-au).

óṣadhi+áṆ = *auṣadh∅-á-m dá-dā-ti/pib-anti* 'gives/drink a herbal remedy', but *óṣadhay-aḥ* 'herbs'.

5.4.38 pra-jñá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pra-jña 'intelligent, wise', pleonastically.

pra-jña-ḥ evá = *pra-jñá+áṆ* = *prājn∅-á-ḥ* 'wise man'; so also *vaṇíg evá* = *vaṇíj+áṆ* = *vāṇij-á-ḥ* 'merchant'.

5.4.39 mŕ̥d-as tikaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tikaN is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mŕ̥d- 'earth, dust, soil, mud'.

mŕ̥d+tikaN+ṬāP (4.1.4) = *mŕ̥t-tik∅-ā*.

5.4.40 ¹sá-²sn-aú pra-śaṁs-ā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] sá and sná are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mṛ́d- 'earth, dust, soil, mud' 39 to denote excellence (pra-śaṁs-ā́-y-ām).

mṛd+sá/sná+ṬāP = mṛt-s-ā́/mṛt-sn-ā́ 'excellent or good quality earth'. Exception to [rūpaP 5.3.66].

5.4.41 ¹vṛ́ka-²jyéṣṭhā-bhyāṁ ¹tiL-²tātiL-au ca=chándas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tiL and tātiL are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vṛ́ka- 'wolf' and jyéṣṭhá- 'most excellent or superior' [to denote excellence 40] in the domain of Chándas.

vṛ́ka + tiL = vṛká-ti-ḥ 'killer-wolf'; similarly *jyéṣṭhá+tātiL = jyeṣṭhá-tāti-ḥ* 'highest excellence, superiority'.

5.4.42 ¹bahú=²álpa=arth-āt=śás kā́rak-ād anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] śás is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] synonymous with bahú- 'many' and álpa- 'a few' [ending in 1.1.72] a case affix (kā́rak-āt).

Since no specific kā́raka is mentioned, all of them beginning with kárman- are relevant here: *bahū́-n-i/bahú-bhiḥ/bahú-bhyaḥ dá-dā-ti* 'gives much/with much/ to many/from many' = *bahu+śás= bahu-śáḥ dá-dā-ti*; the genitive is not a kā́raka: *bahū-n-ām svāmī* 'lord of many'; similarly *álpa-m/álp-ena/álpā-ya/ álp-āt dá-dā-ti = alpa-śáḥ da-dā-ti* 'gives a few/with a few/to a few/from a few'.

5.4.43 ¹saṁkhyā́=²ekavacan-ā́t=ca vīpsā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 śás 42 is] also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] representing number-words (saṁkhyā́-°) and expressions in the singular (°-eka-vac-an-ā́t) to express a distributive sense (vīpsā́-y-ām), [optionally 42].

dv-aú dv-aú = dví+śás = dvi-śáḥ módak-au dá-dā-ti 'distributes two módaka-s each'; similarly *niṣká-ṁ niṣká-ṁ dá-dā-ti niṣká+śás = niṣka-śáḥ dá-dā-ti* 'distributes a niṣka each'.

5.4.44 prati-yog-é pañcamy-ās tási-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tás is [optionally 92 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) co-occurring with the particle práti- °. (2.3.11).

pra-dyumná-ḥ vāsudev-ā́t práti/vásudeva+tás práti 'Pradyumná is the representative of Vāsudevá'.

5.4.45 apa=ā-dā́n-e ca=á-[1]hīya-[2]ruh-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 44] is also (ca) [optionally 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 44] to denote ablation (apa=ā́=dān-e 1.4.24) excluding that associated with (verbal stems) hī-yá 'to be abandoned' and rúh- 'ascend'.

grā́m-āt/grāma-tás ā́-gacch-a-ti 'comes from the village'; *cor-ā́t/cora-tás bí-bhe-ti* 'fears the thief'; *adhy-ay-an-āt/adhy-ay-ana-tás párā-jay-a-te* 'overcome by study'; but *sā́rth-āt hī-yá-te* 'is abandoned from the caravan' and *párvat-ād áva-roh-a-ti* 'descends from the mountain'.

5.4.46 [1]ati-grah-á=[2]á-vyath-ana=[3]kṣépe-ṣu á-kar-tar-i tr̥-tī́yā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.16 affix 3.1.1 tási 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUp triplet (tr̥-tī́yā-y-āḥ) but not denoting the agent (á-kar-tar-i) to express 'excess' (ati-grah-á-∅), 'non-yielding' (°-ávyathana-°) or 'blame' (°-kṣépe-ṣu).

1. *cāritr-éṇa/cāritra-tás áti-gr̥h-ya-te* 'excels (others) through conduct/behavior'; 2. *vr̥t-t-éna/vr̥t-ta-tás ná vyáth-a-te* 'does not yield (to any) through conduct'; 3. *vr̥t-t-éna/vr̥t-ta-tás kṣip-tá-ḥ* 'blamed on account of behavior'. But *deva-datt-éna kṣip-tá-ḥ* 'blamed by D.'

5.4.47 [1]hī-yá-m-āna-[2]pāpa-yog-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 44] is also (ca) introduced [optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet, but not denoting the agent 46], co-occurring with the verbal stem hī-yá- 'be abandoned' or the nominal stem pāpá- 'sin'.

vr̥t-t-éna/cr̄itr-éṇa = vr̥t-ta-tás/cāritra-tás hī-yá-te 'is abandoned on account of behavior'; similarly *vr̥t-ta-tás/cāritra-tás pāpá-ḥ* 'a sinner through behavior'.

5.4.48 ṣaṣ-ṭhy-ā́ vy-ā-śray-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási̱ 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣ-ṭhy-ā́ḥ) to denote 'taking the part of' (vy-ā-śray-é).

dev-ā́ḥ árjunasya/arjuna-tás á-bhav-an 'the gods took the side of Arjuna'.

5.4.49 róg-āt=ca=apa-náy-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási̱ 49] is also (ca) introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating a malady (róg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 48] to denote its removal (apa-nay-an-é) or cure.

pra-vā́h-ik-ā-y-āḥ apa-náy-ana-ṁ kur-ú = pra-vāh-ik-ā-tás kur-ú 'cure diarrhoea'.

5.4.50 [1]kr̥=[2]bhū́=[3]ás-ti-yog-e sam-pad-ya-kar-tár-i Cvi̱ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Cvi̱ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] which is the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 'become', co-occurring with (the verbal stems) kr̥- 'make' (VIII 10), bhū́- 'become (I 1) or as- 'be' (II 56).

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule to [a-bhū-ta-tad-bhāv-é] 'becoming what it was not before'. Kāśikā accepts this as part of the sūtra itself.

á-śuk-la-ḥ śuk-lá-ḥ sám-pad-ya-te = śukla+Cvi̱+bhū = suklī́+bhū́- (7.4.12) 'turn or become white', similarly *suklī́+kr̥-* 'make white'.

5.4.51 [1]árus=[2]mánas=[3]cákṣus=[4]cétas=[5]ráhas=[6]rájas-āṁ lópa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Cvi̱ 50 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] árus- 'wound', mán-as- 'mind', cákṣ-us- 'eye', cét-as- 'awareness, consciousness', ráh-as- 'secrecy, privacy', ráj-as- 'passion' [co-occurring with the verbal stems kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become' or as- 'be', and serves as the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 50] with lopa (∅) replacing the stem-final phoneme [1.1.52].

án-arus=árus=sám-pad-ya-te = árus+Cvi̱+kr̥- = aru∅+Cvi̱+kr̥- = arū́+∅+kr̥- (6.1.67; 7.4.16) 'inflict a wound, wound'. Similarly: *un-man-as+Cvi̱+kr̥- = un-mana∅+Cvi̱+kr̥- = un-manī́+∅-kr̥-* 'cause perplexity'; *un-manī́=bhū-* 'become perplexed'; *uc-cakṣū́-kr̥-/bhū-* 'make one raise the eye/raise the eye; *vi-cetī́+kr̥-/*

bhū- 'make one become aware of/become aware of'; *vi-rahī́+kr̥-/bhū-* 'separate from/become separate'. *vi-rajī́+kr̥-/bhū-* 'render free from passion/become free from passion'.

5.4.52 vibhāṣā sā́ti̲ kā́rt-sn-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] sā́ti̲ is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 which is the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 'become', co-occurring with the verbal stems kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become' or as- 'be' 50] when the transformation is complete (kā́rt-sn-y-e).

bhásman+sā́t/Cvi̲+bhū- bhasmaØ-sā́t (8.2.7)/*bhasmī́-bhū-* 'be fully turned to ashes'.

5.4.53 abhi-vi-dh-aú sám-pad-ā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 sā́ti̲ 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with the verbal stem sám-pad- 'become' as well as (ca) [with kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become' and as- 'be' 50] to denote a partial transformation (abhi-vi-dh-aú),

udaka-sā́t sám-pad-ya-te/udakī́-bhav-a-ti lavaṇá-m 'the salt turns partially into water'.

5.4.54 tad-adh-īna-vác-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 sā́ti̲ 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem sám-pad- 'become' 53 or with kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become' or as- 'be' 50] to denote 'is dependent on him' (tad-adh-īna-vaca-n-e).

rāja-sā́t kar-ó-ti/sám-pad-ya-te = rājādh-ī́na-m kar-ó-ti 'brings under the control of the king'; with *°-bháv-a-ti* 'becomes subject to the king'.

5.4.55 dé-y-e trā́ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] trā́ in addition to (ca) [sā́ti̲ 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem sám-pad- 'become' 53 or with kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become' or as- 'be' 50] to denote 'be given (under the control of that)' (dé-y-e).

brāhmaṇa-trā́/brāhmaṇa-sā́t kar-ó-ti/sám-pad-yate/bháv-a-ti.

5.4.56 [1]devá-[2]manuṣyà-[3]púruṣa-[4]purú-[5]mártye-bhyaḥ dvi-tī́y-ā-sapta-my-ór bahulám

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 trā́ 55] is variously (bahulá-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] devá- 'divine being', manuṣyà- 'man', púruṣa- 'person', purú- 'many' and már-tya- 'mortal' [ending in 1.1.72] the second or seventh sUP triplet (dvi-tī́y-ā-sapta-my-óḥ).

dev-ā́n gácch-a-ti = *deva-trā́ gácch-a-ti* 'goes to the gods'; *devé-ṣu/deva-trā́ vás-a-ti* 'abides with gods'; similarly: *manuṣya-trā́/puruṣa-trā́/puru-trā́/martya-trā́* 'to or among men/persons/many/mortals'.

5.4.57 a-vy-ak-ta-anu-kar-aṇ-´at=dvi-áC=avara=ardh-āt án-it-au Ḍā́C

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ḍā́C is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an echo-word (avyakta=anukaraṇ-ā́t) consisting of at least two syllables in its (constituent) half (dvi=áC=avara=ardh-āt), not followed by the particle [iti] [co-occurring with the verbal stems kr̥- 'make', bhū́- 'become or as- 'be' 50].

paṭat+Ḍā́C = *paṭat-paṭat+Ḍā́C* = *paṭa∅-paṭa∅-ā́* = *paṭa-paṭ-ā́ kar-ó-ti* (6.1.100) 'makes a sound like *paṭpaṭ*'. But *paṭat+iti* = *paṭ∅∅-iti* = *paṭ-iti* (6.4.98).

5.4.58 kr̥ñ-aḥ [1]dvi-tī́ya-[2]tr̥-tī́ya-[3]śámba-[4]bī́j-āt kr̥ṣ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dvi-tī́ya- 'second' tr̥-tī́ya- 'third', śámba- 'opposite direction' and bī́ja- 'seed' co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 'make' to denote ploughing (kr̥ṣ-aú).

dvi-tī́ya-m kárṣ-aṇa-m kar-ó-ti = *dvi-tī́ya+Ḍā́C* = *dvi-tīy∅-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'ploughs a second time'; similarly: *tr̥-tīy-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'ploughs a third time' and *śámb-ā́/bīj-ā́ kar-o-ti* 'ploughs in the reverse or opposite direction/ploughs and seeds simultaneously'.

5.4.59 saṁkhyā́-y-aḥ guṇá=antá-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (saṁkhya-y-āḥ) co-occurring with °-guṇá- 'times' as a final member (°-antā-y-āḥ in composition) [and with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- to denote ploughing 58].

dvi-guṇá-m = dvi-guṇá+ḌáC = dvi-gunØ-ā́ kar-ó-ti 'ploughs twice'.

5.4.60 sam-ay-ā́t=ca yā́p-anā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌāC 57 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-ay-á- 'time' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'neglect, procrastination' (yā́-p-anā-y-ām).

samayá+Ḍā́C = samayØ-ā́ kar-ó-ti 'procrastinates'.

5.4.61 [1]sá-pat-tra-[2]níṣ-pat-tr-āt=ati-vyáth-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sá-pat-tra- 'feathered' and níṣ-pat-tra- 'unfeathered' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'intense pain' (ati-vyáth-an-e).

sá-pat-tra+Ḍā́C = sa-pat-trØ-ā́ kar-ó-ti 'wound with a feathered arrow in such a way that the feather enters the body'; so likewise *niṣ-pat-tr-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'wounds in such a way that the arrow becomes unfeathered when emerging from the other side of the body'.

5.4.62 níṣ-kul-āt=niṣ-kóṣ-aṇ-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌāC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] níṣ-kula- 'without family' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'evisceration or dismemberment' (niṣ-kóṣ-aṇ-e).

níṣ-kula+Ḍā́C = niṣ-kulØ-ā́ kar-ó-ti 'exterminates by dismemberment' but *níṣ-kulā-n kar-ó-ti śatrū-n* 'destroys the families of enemies'.

5.4.63 ¹sukhá-²pri-y-ā́t ā́nu-lom-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sukhá- 'happiness, bliss' and priy-á- 'dear' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'complaisance' (ā́nu-lom-y-e).

> *sukhá+Ḍā́C = sukh∅-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'makes happy, gladdens'; similarly *priy-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'acts friendly towards, endears'.

5.4.64 duḥ-kh-ā́t prā́ti-lom-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] duḥ-kha- 'misery, unhappiness' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'distress, inconvenience, pain' (prā́ti-lom-y-e).

> *duḥ-khá+Ḍā́C = duḥ-kh∅-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'causes pain, distresses'.

5.4.65 śū́l-āt pāk-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śū́la- 'spit' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote 'roasting, cooking' (pāk-e).

> *śū́la+Ḍā́C = śūl∅-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'roasts on the spit'.

5.4.66 sat-y-ā́t á-śap-ath-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sat-yá- 'truth' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] when not signifying an oath (á-śap-ath-e).

> *sat-yá+Ḍā́C = sat-y∅-ā́ kar-ó-ti* 'concludes a bargain' but *sat-yá-ṁ kar-ó-ti brāmaṇá-ḥ* 'the brahmin utters an oath'.

5.4.67 mad-r-ā́t pari-vā́-p-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ḍā́C 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mad-rá- 'auspicious' [co-occurring with the verbal stem kr̥Ñ- 58] to denote shaving of the head (pari-vā́-p-an-e).

mad-rá+ḌāC = *mad-r∅-á kar-ó-ti* 'shaves off (the head), tonsures'.

5.4.68 sam-āsa=ant-ā́ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter, beginning with this section and extending up to the end of this chapter] occur at the end(°-ant-āḥ) of compound expressions (sam-āsá- °,).

This is a governing rule heading this section for forming certain compounds ending in these specific affixes. The word [samāsāntá-] recurs in each of the following rules till the end of this chapter.

5.4.69 ná pū́j-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160] do not occur (ná) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with another as a prior member in composition 68 and] expressing laudation (pū́j-an-āt).

śóbh-an-o rā́jā = *sú+rājan-* 'good king' blocking out the operation of 91 below. Similarly *áti-śay-i-ta-ḥ rā́jā* = *áti-rājan-* 'an extraordinary king'.

5.4.70 kím-aḥ kṣép-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with kím- ° (as a prior member in composition) denoting pejoration (kṣép-e).

kím+rājan- 'a king (who does not protect), an evil ruler'; *kím-go-* 'an ox (which does not carry)', but *ká-sya rājā* = *kim+rājan+ṬáC* = *kim-rāj∅∅-á-* (91; 6.4.144) 'whose king?'.

5.4.71 náÑ-as tatpuruṣ-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound co-occurring with the negative particle náÑ- ° (as a prior member in) a Tatpuruṣá compound.

náN+rājan- = *á-rājan* 'not a king'; similarly *á-sakhi-* 'not a friend or companion'; exception to 91 below.

5.4.72 path-áḥ=vibhāṣā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69] optionally (vibhāṣā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a negative Tatpuruṣa compound 71 ending in 1.1.72] °-páthin- 'path'.

ná pánthā-ḥ = náÑ+páthin- = á-pathin/apathØØ+á (74) = *a-path-á-* 'not a path.'

5.4.73 bahvrīh-aú saṁkhy-éy-e ḌáC á-[1]bahu-[2]gaṇ-āt

[The samāsānta 68 taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound according to 2.2.25 above (sam-khy-éy-e), excluding those ending in (1.1.72) °-bahú- 'many' and °-gaṇá- 'troop,group'.

dáśā-n-āṁ sam-īp-è y-é s-ánti = upa+daśan+ḌáC+Jas = upa-daśØØ-á+Jas = upa-daś-ā́-ḥ 'whose number is approximately 10'; *dv-aú vā tráy-o vā = dvi+tri+ḌáC+Jas = dvi-tr-ā́ḥ* 'two or three', but *bahū́n-n-āṁ sam-īp-é y-é = úpa-bahu+Jas = úpa-bahav-aḥ* 'a good many'; so also *úpa-gaṇ-āḥ* 'constituting a small class or number less than a troop'.

5.4.74 [1]ŕ̥c=[2]púr=[3]áp=[4]dhúr-[5]path-ā́m á=án-akṣ-e

The samāsāntá 68 taddhitá 4.1.76 affix á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 3.1.2] ŕ̥c- 'a stanza of RV', púr- 'fortified city', áp- 'water', dhúr- 'pole of a carriage' excluding one connected with the axle (án-akṣ-e) and páthin- 'path' [occurring as final members of a compound 68].

1. *bahu+r̥c+á = bahv-r̥c-á-* 'pertaining to RV.'; *ardh-ar-c-á-* 'half a r̥c'; 2. *lalāṭa-pur-á-* 'n.pr. of a city'; 3. *dvi+ap+á = dvi-ip-á-* (6.3.97) = *dv-ī-p-á-* 'island'; 4. *rājan+dhur+á- = rājaØ-dhur-á* (8.2.7)+*ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *rāja-dhur-Ø-ā́* 'the yoke or burden of kingship' but *akṣa+dhur = akṣa-dhúr-* 'pole connecting the axle'; 5. *jala-pathin+á = jala-pathØØ+á-* (6.4.144) 'sea-lane'.

5.4.75 áC [1]práti=[2]ánu=[3]áva-pūrv-āt [1]sā́ma(n)=[2]lómn-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced at the end of the compound 68 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-sā́man- 'chant' or °-lóman- 'hair', co-occurring with the particles práti-, ánu-° and áva-° (in composition).

prati-ga-tá-ṁ sā́ma/prati-ga-tá-ṁ vā sáma a-syá = práti-sāman+áC =

prati-sām∅∅-á-m (6.4.144); *sā́ma prati = prati-sāmá-m* (2.1.6); *anu-sām-á-ḥ/ anu-sām-á-m = ánu-ga-ta-ṁ sā́ma an-éna/anu-ga-tá-ṁ sā́ma; áva-ga-ta-m sā́ma an-éna = ava-sām-á-ḥ, ava-ga-tá-m sā́ma = anu-sām-á-m.* Similarly *prati-lom-á-m, anu-lom-á-m, ava-lom-á-m.*

5.4.76 akṣṇ-áḥ=á-darś-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ákṣi- 'eye' [as a final member in composition 68] when it does not imply 'seeing' (á-darś-an-āt).

lavaṇá-m ákṣi iva = lavaṇá+ákṣi+áC = lavaṇākṣ∅-á- 'n.pr.' (2.1.56); similarly *puṣkarākṣ-á-; brāhmaṇa-sya akṣi = brāhmaṇākṣi-.* Patañjali emends this rule by suggesting replacing [a-darś-an-āt] by [á-prāṇy-aṅg-āt] to enable generating forms like *kabarā-kṣ-á-* 'bridle' and *gav-ākṣ-á-* 'window'.

5.4.77 [1]a-catur-á=[2]vi-catur-á-[3]su-catur-á-[4]strī-puṁs-á-[5]dhenv-anaḍuh-á=[6]ṛk-sām-á=[7]vāṅ-manas-á=[8]akṣibhruv-á=[9]dāra-gav-á=[10]ūrv-aṣṭhīv-á-[11]pad-aṣṭhīv-á-[12]nakta-ṁ-div-á-[13]ratri-ṁ-div-á=[14]ahar-div-á-[15]sa-rajas-á-[16]niḥ-śreyas-á-[17]puruṣāyus-á-[18]dvy-āyuṣ-á-[19]try-āyuṣ-á=[20]ṛg-yajuṣ-á-[21]jātokṣ-á-[22]mahokṣ-á-[23]vṛddhokṣ-á=[24]upa-śun-á-[25]goṣṭha-śv-ā́ḥ

The expressions beginning with a-catur-á- and ending with goṣṭha-śv-á- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áC 75]: (1) having less than four, (2) containing various quarters of verses, (3) whose quarters are good, (4) female and male, (5) cow and bull, (6) strophe and melody, (7) speech and mind, (8) eye and eye-brow, (9) a wife and a cow, (10) thigh and knee, (11) foot and thigh, (12) night and day, (13) night and day, (14) day after day, (15) entirely, (16) most excellent, (17) life span of man, (18) two life-spans, (19) three life-spans, (20) RV and YV, (21) young bull, (22) large bull, (23) old bull, (24) near the dog, and (25) dog in the manger respectively.

5.4.78 [1]bráhma(n)=[2]hastí-bhyāṁ várcas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] várcas- 'luster' co-occurring with bráhman-° 'sacred knowledge' and hastín- 'elephant' [in composition 68].

brahma∅-varcaś+áC (8.2.7) = *brahma-varcas-á-m* 'pre-eminence in sacred knowledge'; similarly *hasti-varcas-á-m* 'the strength of an elephant'.

5.4.79 ¹áva-²sám-³andhé-bhyas támas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] támas- 'darkness' co-occurring after áva-°, sám-° or andhá-° 'blind' [in composition 68].

ava-tamas-á-m 'light obscurity or darkness'; *sam-tamas-á-m* 'great obscurity'; *andha-tamas-á-m* 'blind darkness'.

5.4.80 śvás-aḥ ¹vasī́yas=²śréyas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vás-īyas- 'richer' and śréyas- 'better' co-occurring after śvás- 'tomorrow' [in composition 68].

śvo-vas-īyás+áC = *śvo-vas-īyas-á-* 'bestowing future welfare'; *śvaḥ-śreyas-á-* 'progressive improvement'.

5.4.81 ¹ánu=²áva-³tap-t-āt ráhas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ráh-as- 'secret', co-occurring after ánu-°, áva-° or tap-tá- 'hot' [in composition 68].

anu-rah-as-á-m 'clandestinely, secretly'; *ava-rah-as-á-* 'desolate'; *tap-ta-rah-as-á-m* 'a secret which no one knows'.

5.4.82 práte-r úr-as-aḥ sapta-mī-sth-ā́t

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-úras- 'chest, breast', co-occurring after the particle práti-° [in composition 68] when denoting the sense of the seventh sUP triplet (sapta-m-ī-sth-āt).

úras-i várt-a-te = *praty-uras+áC* = *praty-uras-á-m* 'upon or against the breast; but *prati-ga-tá-m úraḥ* = *práty-uras-*.

5.4.83 anu-gav-á-m ā-yām-é

The expression anu-gav-á- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsántá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal compound stem 4.1.1 anu-gú-] to denote the equivalent length of a cow (ā-yā-m-é).

anu-gu+áC (2.1.16) = *anu-go+áC* (6.4.146) = *anu-gav-á-m yā́-na-m* 'a cart having the length of a cow or bull', but *gáv-ām paśc-ā́t* = *anu-gú* (2.1.6; 1.2.48).

5.4.84 dvi-stāvā́ tri-stāvā́ védi-ḥ

The expressions dvis-tāvā́ 'having a double dimension' and tris-tāvā́ 'having a triple dimension' are introduced for denoting a Vedic altar (védi-ḥ) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 69 affix 3.1.1 áC 75].

dvis-tā-vat-ī+áC = *dvis-tā-vat∅+áC* (6.4.148) = *dvis-tāv∅∅+á+ṬāP* = *dvis-tāv-ā́* (irregular ∅ replacement of syllable beginning with the last vowel) and similarly *tris-tā-v-ā́*.

5.4.85 upa-sarg-ā́t ádhvan-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- 'way, route' co-occurring after (1.1.67) a preverb particle (upa-sarg-āt) [in composition 68].

pra-ga-tá-ḥ ádhvān-am = *pra+adhvan+áC* = *prādhv∅∅-á-ḥ rátha-ḥ* 'a chariot which has traversed a long distance', but *para-má-ś ca asaú ádhvā ca* = *paramādhván-* 'high-way'.

5.4.86 tatpuruṣá-sya=aṅgúle-ḥ [1]saṁkhyā́-[2]ávyaya-āde-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Tatpuruṣá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominai stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- 'finger', co-occurring with a numeral (saṁkhyā́-°) or an indeclinable (°-ávyaya-°) as a prior member (°-ade-ḥ).

dv-é aṅgúl-ī pra-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá = *dví+angúli+áC* = *dvy-angul∅+á-* 'having the measure of two fingers'; *nir-ga-tá-m aṅgúli-bhyaḥ* = *nir+aṅgul-á-* 'slipped/ dropped from the fingers'.

5.4.87 [1]áhan=[2]sarvá=[3]eka-deśá-[4]sáṁ-khyā-ta-[5]púṇy-āt=ca rā́tre-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °rā́tri- 'night', co-occurring with °áhan-° 'day', sarvá-° 'all', expressions signifying eka-deśá- 'a portion', sáṁ-khyāta-° 'enumerated, counted' and púṇya-° 'auspicious', as well as (ca) [with numerals and indeclinables in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. *áhan+rā́tri+áC* = *ahar+rātr∅-á-* = *aharU+rātr-á-* (8.2.68) = *aha-u+rātr-á-* (6.1.114) = *aho-rātr-á-ḥ* 'day and night'; 2. *sarva-rātr-á-ḥ* 'whole night'; 3. *pūrva-°/apara-rātr-á-ḥ* 'first part/second part of night'; 4. *saṁ-khyā-ta-rātr-á-ḥ* 'enumerated or counted night'; 5. *puṇya-rātr-á-ḥ* 'auspicious night'; 6. *dv-é rā́trī sam-ā́-hr̥-te* = *dvi-rātr-á-ḥ* 'two nights'; 7. *ati-krān-tá-ḥ rā́tri-m* = *ati-rātr-á-ḥ* 'passed beyond the night'. 3. and 4. are formed according to 2.2.1 and 2.1.57 respectively.

5.4.88 áhn-aḥ ahna-ḥ=eté-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ahna- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °ahan- 'day' [as a final member of a compound 68, co-occurring with] these [eté-bhyaḥ = sarvá-° 'all', expressions signifying eka-deśá- 'portion', sáṁkhyāta-° 'enumerated' and púṇya-° 'auspicious' 87 as well as numerals and indeclinables 86].

1. *sarva+ahan+ṬáC (91)* = *sarva+ahna+á-* = *sarva+ahn∅-á* (6.4.148) = *sarvāhn-á-ḥ* (8.4.7) 'whole day'; 2. *purvā-hṇ-á-ḥ/aparāhṇ-á-ḥ* 'forenoon/afternoon'; 3. *saṁ-khyā-tāhn-á-ḥ* 'enumerated day'; 4. *dvy-ahn-á-ḥ* 'two days'; 5. *nir-ahṇ-á-ḥ* 'passed beyond the day'; the compound with [puṇya-°] is barred by 90 below.

5.4.89 ná saṁkhyā́=āde-ḥ sam-ā-hār-é

[The substitute morpheme ahna- 88] does not (ná) replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áhan- 'day' 88] co-occurring with numerals (saṁkhyā́-°) as prior members (°-āde-ḥ in composition 88) when forming a collective compound (sam-ā-hār-é).

dv-é áhan-ī sam-ā́-hr̥-t-e = *dvi+ahan+ṬáC* (91) = *dvy-ah∅∅-á-ḥ* 'a collection or group of two days'.

5.4.90 [1]ut-tamá=[2]ékā-bhyāṁ ca

[The substitute morpheme ahna- 88 does not 89] also (ca) replace [the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áhan- 'day' 88] co-occurring with the last word (uttamá-° of the group listed in 87) and éka-° 'one'.

púṇya+áhan+áC = *punyāh∅∅/-áC* = *puṇyāh-á-ḥ* 'auspicious day'; similarly *ekāh-á-ḥ* 'a single day'.

5.4.91 [1]rā́ja(n)=[2]áha(n)=[3]sákhi-bhyas=ṬáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ṬáC is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] rā́jan- 'king', áhan- 'day' and sákhi- 'companion, friend' [occurring at the end of a compound 68].

mahā́n rā́jā = *mahát+∅-rā́jan+ṬáC* = *maha-ā+rāj+∅∅-á-* (6.3.46) = *mahā-rājá-* 'great king, emperor'. *paramá+áhan+ṬáC* = *paramāh∅∅-á-* = *parmāh-á-* (6.4.145) 'excellent day'. *rā́jñ-aḥ sákhā* = *rā́jan+sákhi+ṬáC* = *rāja-sakh∅-á-* 'companion or friend of the king'.

5.4.92 gó-r á-taddhita-luK-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] gó- 'cow, bull' [co-occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣá 86 compound] provided it does not occur in one involving a luK (=∅[1]) replacement of a taddhitá affix (á-taddhita-luK-i).

paramá-s=ca asaú gaú-s=ca = *paramá+gó+ṬáC* = *paramá-gav-á-ḥ* 'excellent bull'; *pañcā-n-ā́ṁ gáv-āṁ sam-ā-hār-á-ḥ* = *pañca∅+go+ṬáC* = *pañca-gav-á-m* (2.1.51) 'a herd of five cows/bulls'; But *pañcá-bhir gó-bhih krī-tá-ḥ* = *pañca∅+go+ṭháK* (5.1.37) = *pañca-go+∅*[3] (5.1.28) = *panca-gú-* (1.2.48) 'bought with five cows/bulls'.

5.4.93 agra=ā-khyā́-y-ām úras-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] úras- 'chest, breast' [occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] to denote 'the most excellent (of its kind)' (agra=ā-khyā-y-ām).

áśvā-n-ām úraḥ = *aśva+uras+ṬáC* = *aśvoras-á-ḥ* 'most excellent horse'.

5.4.94 [1]ánas=[2]áśma(n)=[3]áyas-[4]sáras-āṁ [1]jā́-ti-[2]saṁ-jñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-as- 'chariot', áś-man- 'rock', áy-as- 'iron' and sár-as- 'pool' [occurring as final members of 1.1.72 of Tatpuruṣá compounds 86] to denote a genus (jā́ti-°) or a name (°-saṁ-jñā́-y-ām).

1. *úpa+ánas+ṬáC = upānas-á-m* 'space in a chariot'; 2. *a-mr̥-ta+aś-man+ṬáC = a-mr̥-tāś-m00-á-ḥ* 'a variety of rock'; 3. *kāla+ayas+ṬáC = kālāyas-ám* 'a variety of iron'; *lohitāyas-á-m* 'copper'; 4. *maṇḍūka-saras-á-m* 'fish-pond'; *jala-saras-á-m* 'n.pr.'

5.4.95 [1]grā́ma-[2]kauṭā́-bhyāṁ ca tákṣṇ-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tákṣan- 'carpenter' co-occurring [after 31.1.67] grā́ma-° 'village' or kauṭá- 'independent' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

grā́ma-sya tákṣā = grāma0+takṣán+ṬáC = grāma-takṣ00-á-ḥ (6.4.144) 'village carpenter'; similarly *kuṭy-ā́m bháv-a-sya takṣā = kauṭá+takṣan+ṬáC = kauṭa-takṣ-a-ḥ* 'independent or self-employed carpenter' but *rā́jñ-aḥ tákṣā = rāja0-takṣán-* 'king's carpenter'.

5.4.96 át-eḥ śúun-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śván- 'dog' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle áti-° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 88].

ati-krān-tá-ḥ śvā́n-am = áti+śvan+ṬáC = ati-śv0-á-ḥ varāhá-ḥ 'a wild boar which outruns a dog'; *ati-śv-á-ḥ sévaka-ḥ* 'a servant as faithful as a dog'.

5.4.97 upa-mā́-n-āt á-prāṇi-ṣu

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śván- 'dog' 96] when employed as an object of comparison (upa-mā́-n-āt) to denote inanimate objects (á-prāṇi-ṣu).

ā-karṣ-á-ḥ śvā́=iva = ā-karṣ-a+śvan+ṬáC = ā-karṣ-a-śv00-á-ḥ 'a magnet shaped like a dog'; *phalaka-śv-á-ḥ* 'a dice in the shape of a dog', but *náÑ+śvan- = á-śvan-* 'not a dog' and *vā́nara-ḥ śvā́=iva vānara-śván-* 'dog-like ape or monkey'.

5.4.98 ¹út-tara=²mṛgá-pū́rv-āt=ca sákth-n-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sákthi- 'thigh' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] út-tara-° 'left', mṛgá-° 'animal, deer' and pū́rva-° 'anterior' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] as well as (ca) [items denoting an object of comparison 97].

1. *uttara+sakthí+ṬáC = uttara-sakth-á-m* 'left thigh'; 2. *mṛgá-sakthØ-á-m* 'thigh of an animal or deer'; 3. *pūrva-sakthØ-á-m* 'upper part of the thigh'; 4. *phalaka-saktha-n*

5.4.99 nāv-áḥ=dvigó-ḥ

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] naú- 'ship, boat' occurring at the [end of 1.1.72] a Dvigú compound [provided it does not occur in one involving the luK (Ø¹) replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

dv-é nā́v-au sam-ā-hṛ-te = div+nau+ṬáC = div-nāv-á-m 'a convoy of two boats'; *dv-é nā́v-au dhána-m a-syá = dví+naú+ṬáC+dhana = dvi-nāv-á-dhana-ḥ* 'whose assets consist of two boats' (2.1.52); *dvā́-bhyāṁ naú-bhyām ā-ga-tá-m = dvi-nāv-á-rūpya-m* but *rā́jñ-aḥ naú-ḥ = rājaØ-naú-ḥ* 'royal boat' *pañcá-bhir naú-bhiḥ krī-tá-m = pañca+nau+(ṭháK→luK)* (4.1.88) = *pañca-naú-* (5.1.28) 'bought with five boats'.

5.4.100 ardh-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 naú- 'boat' 99] co-occurring with ardhá-° 'half' [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

ardhá-m nāv-áḥ = ardha+nau+ṬáC = ardha-nāv-á-m 'half a boat'.

5.4.101 khāry-ā́ḥ prā́c-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] khārī́ 'n.pr. of a measure, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 ardhá-° 100 in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86 or in a Dvigú compound 99] according to Eastern Grammarians (prā́c-ām).

1. *ardhá-ṁ khāry-ā́ḥ = ardha+khārī+ṬáC = ardha-khārØ-á-m/ardha-khārī́* (1.2.48) 'half a khārī́'.

2. *dv-é khāry-aú sam-ā-hṛ-t-é = dvi+khārI+ṬáC/(ṭháK→luk* 4.1.80; 5.1.28) *div-kharØ-ám/dvi-khārí* (1.2.48) 'a heap of 2 khārī-s'.

5.4.102 ¹dví-²trí-bhyām añjalé-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-añjalí- 'a measure of corn', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] dví-° 'two' and trí- 'three' [in a Dvigú compound 99, but not when involving a luK replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

dv-aú añjal-í sam-ā-hṛ-t-é = dvi+añjali+ṬáC = dvy-añjal°-á-m 'two añjalí measures'; similarly *try-añjal-á-m* 'tree añjali measures'; but *dváy-or añjalí-ḥ = dvy-añjalí-ḥ; dvā́-bhyām añjalí-bhyām krī-tá-ḥ = dvi+anjali+(ṭháK→luk) dvy-añjalí-ḥ* 'bought with two añjalí measures'.

5.4.103 ¹an-²as-ant-āt nápuṁsak-āt=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an or °-as and neuter in gender (nápuṁsak-āt) [occurring at the end of 1.1.172 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. °-an: *hastín-aḥ cár-maṇ-i = hastiØ-carman+Ṅi* (8.2.7) = *hasti-carman+ṬáC+Ṅi = hasti-carmØØ-á+i = hasti-carm-é ju-hó-ti* 'offers an oblation on an elephant hide'.
2. °-as: *devá+chándas+ṬáC+Śi = deva-cchandas-á+Si = deva-cchandas-ā́-n-i* 'n.pr. of a metre'.

5.4.104 bráhmaṇ-aḥ jāna-pada=ākhyā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- 'brahmin' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] when designating someone belonging to that locality (jāna-pada-ā-khyā́-y-ām).

This rule implies that the prior member should be the name of a locality (jana-padá-). *súrāṣṭre-ṣu bráh-mā = súrāṣṭra+bráh-man+ṬáC = surāṣṭra-brah-mØØ-á-ḥ* 'a brahmin resident of Sur.'

5.4.105 [1]kú-[2]mahát=bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samasantá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is] optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- co-occurring [after 1.1.67] kú-° and mahát-° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. *kú-brah-man+ṬáC = ku-brah-m∅∅-á-/kú-brah-man-* 'vile brahmin'; similarly 2. *mahát+bráh-man- = maha-ā-brahm-á-* (6.3.44) = *mahā-brahm-á-/mahā-brah-mán-* 'great brahmin'.

5.4.106 dvaṁdv-ā́t [1]cU-[2]ḏa-[3]ṣa=[4]ḫa-ant-āt sam-ā-hār-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72] a palatal phoneme (cU-°) or [d] or [ṣ] or [h] when denoting a collection (sam-ā-hār-é).

1. cU: *vā́k ca tvák ca = vāk∅=tvac-ṬáC+am = vāk-tvac-á+am* (6.1.97) 'speech and touch'; *íḍ ca ū́rk ca = iḍ-ūrj+ṬáC = iḍ-ūrj-á-m* 'food and strength'; 2. [°d]: *samíd=ca dr̥ṣád=ca = samid-dr̥ṣad-á-m* 'firewood and stone'; *sampad-vipad-á-m* 'good and bad fortune'; 3. [°-ṣ]: *vā́k ca viprúṭ ca = vāg-vipruṣ-á-m* 'speech and drops falling from the mouth'; 4. [°-h]: *chát-tram ca upā-nát=ca = chattro-pānah-á-m* 'umbrella and sandals'.

5.4.107 avyayībhāv-é śarád=pra-bhr̥ti-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with (°-pra-bhr̥-ti-bhyaḥ) °-śarád- 'autumn' occurring [at the end of 1.1.12 of] an Avyayībhāvá compound.

śarád-aḥ sam-īpá-m = upa-śarad+ṬáC = upa-śarad-á-m 'approaching or near autumn', but *parama-śarád-* 'good autumn'.

5.4.108 an-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-an- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

rā́jñ-aḥ sam-īpá-m = upa+rājan+ṬáC = upa=rāj∅∅-á-m (6.4.144) = *upa-rā́j-á-m* 'near the king'; *ātmán-i = adhi+ātman+ṬáC = adhy-ātm-á-m* 'within the Self'.

5.4.109 nápuṁsak-āt=any-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 9.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the syllable °-an- 108] in neuter gender [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

cárman-aḥ sam-īpá-m = upa+carman+ṬáC = upa-carm∅∅-á-m/upa-carmá 'near the skin'; similarly *carman-i = adhi-carm-á/adhi-carm∅∅-á-m* 'in/on the skin'.

5.4.110 ¹nadī́-²paurṇa-māsī́-³āgra-hāy-aṇī́-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] nadī́ 'river', paurṇa-māsī́ 'full-moon night' and āgra-hāy-aṇ-ī́ 'full-moon night of Agra-háy-aṇa-' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

1. *nady-ā́ḥ sam-īpá-m = upa+nadi̱+ṬáC = upa-nad∅-á-m* 'near the river'/*upa-nadí*; similarly 2. *upa-paurṇa-mās-á-m/upa-paurṇa-māsí* 'approaching or near the full-moon night'; 3. *upāgra-hāy-aṇ-á-m/upāgra-hāy-aṇí* 'approaching or near the full-moon night of Agra-hāy-aṇa'

5.4.111 jha̱Y-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum jha̱Y(= all stops) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 1.07].

samídh-aḥ sam-īpá-m = upa+samidh+ṬáC = upa-samidh-á-m 'near the fire-wood' alternately *upa-samít*; similarly *upa-dr̥ṣad-á-m/upa-dr̥ṣát* 'near the rock'.

5.4.112 giré-s=ca senaka-sya

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91] is also (ca) [optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-girí- 'mountain' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107] according to the grammarian Senaka.

The mention of the Senaka is honorific, since the optionality of this rule is provided by the recurring word [anya-tará-syām] from 109 above. *giré-ḥ sam-īpá-m = upa-giri/upa-giri+ṬáC = upa-gir∅-á-m* 'near the mountain'.

5.4.113 bahuvrīh-aú [1]sákthi=[2]akṣṇó-ḥ sva=aṅg-ā́t ṢáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ṢáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' denoting one's limbs (svāṅg-ā́t) when occurring at [the end of 1.1.72] a Bahuvrīhí compound.

The expression [bahuvrīh-aú] is the governing word recurring in each succeeding rule up to the end of this chapter.

dīrghá-ṁ sákthi a-syá = *dīrgha+sakti+ṢáC* = *dīrgha-sakth∅-á-* m.n. 'possessing long thighs'; the difference between affix [ṢáC] and [ṬáC 91-112] is in the accentuation of the feminine derivative, respectively with Ṅī́ṣ and ṄīP: *dīrgha-sakth-á+ṄīṢ* = (4.1.41) = *dīrgha-sakth-∅-ī́*. For further elucidation cf. 6.2.198. Similarly *sahásrā-ṇ-i ákṣī-ṇ-i a-syá* = *sahasra+akṣi+ṢáC* = *sahasrākṣ∅-á-ḥ* 'n.pr. of Indra, possesser of a thousand eyes'.

When the stems do not denote one's limbs: *dī́rghá-sakthi śakaṭa-m* 'a cart with a long shaft' and *sthūlá+akṣi-* = *sthūlā́kṣi-r ikṣu-ḥ* 'sugar-cane with large eye-like protuberances'.

5.4.114 aṅgúle-r dā́ru-ṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṢáC 113 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- 'finger' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to denote a piece of wood (dā́ru-ṇ-i).

dv-é aṅgúl-ī yá-sya tát = *dvi+aṅguli+ṢáC* = *dvy-aṅgul∅-á-m dā́ru* 'a piece of wood measuring 2 fingers in width'. But *páñca aṅgúlay-aḥ a-syá* = *páncāṅguli-r hásta-ḥ* 'hand possessing 5 fingers'.

5.4.115 [1]dví-[2]trí-bhyāṁ Ṣá mūrdhn-áḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] Ṣá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mūrdhán- 'head', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] dví-° '2' and trí-° '3' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

dv-aú mūrdhā́n-au a-syá = *dvi+mūrdhan+Ṣá* = *dvi-mūrdh∅∅/-á-ḥ* 'two-headed'; similarly *tri-mūrdh-á-ḥ* 'three-headed', but *uccaír-mūrdhan-* 'whose head is (held) high'.

Affix [Ṣá] is introduced here in order to provide for the optional final udātta accent by 6.2.197, whereas it would have been blocked by affix [ṢáC 113] which makes the final udātta accent non-optional: *dvi-mūrdh-á-/dví-mūrdh-a-/ dvi-mūrdhán-/dví-mūrdhan-*.

5.4.116 aP [1]pū́r-aṇ-ī-[2]pra-mā́ṇy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] aP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals in the feminine gender (pū́r-aṇ-ī- °) or the word pra-mā́ṇ-ī 'authority' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

kalyāṇī́ pañcamī́ ā-sā́ṁ rā́trī-ṇ-ām = kalyāṇī́+pañcamī+aP+ṬāP+Jas kalyāṇī́-pañcamØ+aP+Jas = kalyāṇī́-pañcam-āḥ rā́tray-aḥ 'nights of which the fifth is auspicious'; similarly *strī́ pramāṇī́ e-ṣā́m = strī́+pramāṇī+aP+Jas = strī́-pramāṇ-āḥ kuṭumb-ín-aḥ* 'members of a family headed by a woman'.

5.4.117 [1]antár-[2]bahír-bhyāṁ ca lómn-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 aP 116 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-lóman- 'hair', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the indeclinables antár- 'within' and bahís- 'outside' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

antar-ga-tā́-n-i lómān-i a-syá = antár+loman+aP = antár-lomØØ+aP (6.4.144) = *antár-lom-a-ḥ pra-vār-á-ḥ* 'a coverlet, whose hairy part is turned inwards'; similarly *bahír-lom-a-ḥ* 'whose hairy part is turned outwards'.

5.4.118 áC=nā́sikā-y-āḥ saṁjñā́-y-āṁ nas-aṁ ca á-sthū-l-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-nā́sikā 'nose' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] not co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the word sthū-lá- 'big, gross' or its synonyms (as a prior member) to derive a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) and the substitute element nas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] nā́sikā.

drú-r iva nā́sikā a-syá = dru+nāsikā+áC = dru-ṇas-á-ḥ 'tree-nosed'; similarly *vadhr-e bhav-ā = vādhr-ī́, sā́ nā́sikā a-syá = vādhrī́+nāsikā+áC = vādhrī-ṇas-á-ḥ* 'rhinoceros'; *gaú-r iva nā́sikā a-syá = go-nas-á-ḥ* 'cow-nosed (i.e., a variety of snake)'. But *tuṅgā/sthūlā nā́sikā a-sya = tuṅga-nāsik-á/sthū-la-nāsik-á-* 'long-nosed/big-nosed (= wild boar)'.

5.4.119 upa-sarg-ā́t=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-nā́sikā 'nose'] co-occurring

[after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (upa-sarg-ā́t) [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113 and the substitute element nas- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the stem nā́sikā 118].

ún-na-t-ā nā́sikā a-syá = un+nas+áC = un-nas-á-ḥ 'having a prominent nose' = *pra-ṇas-á-ḥ.*

5.4.120 [1]su-prāt-á-[2]su-śv-á-[3]su-div-á-[4]śāri-kukṣ-á-[5]catur-aśr-á=[6]eṇī-pad-á=[7]aja-pad-á-[8]proṣṭha-pad-ā́-ḥ

The irregular expressions su-prāt-á- 'early morning', su-śv-á- 'having a happy tomorrow', su-div-á- 'having a bright or good day', śāri-kukṣ-á- 'having a belly like that of the śāri bird', catur-aśr-á- 'four-cornered', eṇī-pad-á- 'possessing feet like those of an antelope', aja-pada-á- 'having feet like those of a goat' and proṣṭha-pad-á- 'having feet like those of a bull, n.pr. of a month' are introduced as [derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118].

1. *śóbh-ana-m prātár a-syá = su+prātar+áC = su-prāt∅-á-* with irregular replacement of stem-final [r] by ∅. Similarly:
2. *śóbh-ana-m śváḥ a-sya = su-śvas+áC = su-śv-á-.*
3. *su+divā a-syá = su-div-á-*; 4. *śā́re-r iva kukṣi-r a=syá śā́ri-kukṣi+áC = śāri-kukṣ-á-*; 5. *cátasr-aḥ áśray-aḥ a-syá = catur-aśr-á-*; 6. *eṇy-ā́ḥ iva/ajá-sya iva/próṣṭha-sya iva/pād-áu a-syá = eṇī-pad-á-/aja-pad-á-/proṣṭha-pad-á-* (6.4.130).

Irregularity refers to the first three expressions; the rest are governed by 6.4.144 for the ∅ replacement of stem finals.

5.4.121 [1]náÑ-[2]dús-[3]sú-bhyaḥ [1]háli-[2]sákthy-or anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-háli- 'plough' and sákthi- 'thigh', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles náÑ-°, dús-° or sú-° [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā hali-r a-syá = náÑ+háli+ác = a-hal∅-á-/a-halí-* (6.2.172) 'lacking a plough'; similarly *dur-hal-á-/dúr-hali-* 'owning a bad plough' and *su-hal-á-/su-halí-* (6.2.172) 'owning a good plough'. Similarly:
2. *á-vid-ya-m-āna-ṁ sákthi a-syá = náÑ+sákthi+áC = a-sakth∅-á-/a-sakthí-* 'thigh-less'; *duḥ-sakth-á-/dúḥ-sakthi-* 'having a bad thigh'; *su-sakth-á-/su-sakthí-* 'possessing a good thigh'.

5.4.122 nítya-m ásiC [1]prajā́-[2]medháy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ásiC is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] prajā́ 'progeny' and medhā́ 'wisdom' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náÑ-°, dús-° or sú-° 121 in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā prajā́ a-syá = náÑ+prajā́+ásiC = a-praj∅-ás-* 'childless, barren'; similarly *dus-praj-ás-/su-praj-ás-* 'possessing bad/good progeny'.
2. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā medhā́ a-syá = náÑ+medhā́+ásic = a-medh∅-ás-* 'lacking wisdom'; *dur-medh-ás-/su-medh-ás-* 'having wrong/right knowledge'.

5.4.123 bahu-prajā́s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expression bahu-praj-ás- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ásiC 122 as a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

bahu-prajā́ nír-r̥ti-m ā́-vi-ve-śa (RV 1.164.32) 'one possessing a large progeny encounters adversity'. Outside Chándas the form is *bahu-prajá-* (6.2.175).

5.4.124 dhárm-āt=ániC kéval-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ániC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dhárma- 'law', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] a single (kéval-āt prior member) [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

kalyā́ṇa-ḥ dhárma-ḥ a-syá = kalyā́ṇa-dharma+ániC = kalynāḍharm∅-án- 'whose law is auspicious', but *para-má-ḥ svá-ḥ dhárma-ḥ a-syá = paramá+svá+dharma-* 'possessor of the highest personal or self-law'.

5.4.125 jambhā́ [1]sú-[2]hár-i-ta-[3]tŕ̥ṇa-[4]sóme-bhyaḥ

The expression jambh-án- occurs as a final member [of a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] sú-°, hári-ta-° or tŕ̥ṇa- and sóma-° respectively denoting 'good, beautiful/green/grass/moon'.

jambh-án is here derived with affix [ániC 124] *śób-ana-ḥ jámbha-ḥ a-syá = su+jambha+án- = su-jambh∅-án-* 'having a well-shaped jaw'; *harita-jambh-án-* 'possessing a green jaw'; *tr̥ṇa-jambh-án-* 'graminivorous, having teeth showing grass'; *soma-jambh-án-* 'possessing a moon-like jaw, n.pr. of a person', but *pat-i-tá-jambha-* 'whose teeth have all fallen'.

5.4.126 dakṣiṇermā́ lub-dha-yog-é

The expression dakṣiṇerm-án 'wounded on the right side' is introduced [as a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to denote a connection with a hunter (lub-dha-yog-é) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ánḻC 124].

> *dakṣiṇa-m īrmá-m (= vraṇa-m) a-syá = dakṣiṇerma+ániC = dakṣiṇermØ-án-* (said of an animal hunted by a hunter), but *dákṣiṇerma-m śakaṭa-m* 'a cart, broken on the right side'.

5.4.127 íC karma-vy-ati-hār-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] íC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of [a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] denoting reciprocity of action (karma-vy-atī-hār-é).

> *kéśe-ṣu kéśe-ṣu gr̥h-ī-tvā́ idám yuddhá-m prá-vr̥t-ta-m = keśa+keśa+íC = keśā-keśØ-í* (6.3.137) 'hair-to-hair/head-to-head fight'.

5.4.128 dvi-daṇḍ-í=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 íC 127] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of Bahuvrīhí compounds 113] beginning with dvi-daṇḍ-í-.

> *dv-aú daṇḍ-aú pra-hár-aṇa-m yá-smin = dvi+daṇḍa+íc = dvi-daṇḍØ-í-* (2.3.27) 'two staffs against two staffs', but *dvi+daṇḍa+ṬāP = dví-daṇḍØ-ā śā́lā* 'a hall measuring two poles'.

5.4.129 [1]prá-[2]sám-bhyāṁ jā́nu-n-or jñu-ḥ

The substitute morpheme jñu- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] jā́nu- 'knee' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles prá-° and sám-° (in composition).

> *prá-kr̥ṣ-ṭ-e jā́nu-n-ī a-syá = prá+jā́nu = prá-jnu-* 'possessing shapely knees' or = *pra-ga-t-é jā́nu-n-ī a-syá* 'bow-legged, having the knees apart'; similarly *sáṁ-jñu-* 'knock-kneed'.

5.4.130 ūrdhv-ā́t vibhāṣā

[The substitute morpheme jñu- 129] optionally replaces (vibhāṣā) [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 jā́nu- 'knee' 129 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] ūrdhvá-° 'high' (in composition).

ūrdhv-é jā́nu-n-ī a-syá = ūrdhvá-jnu-/ūrdhvá-jānu- 'having the knees raised (in a sitting or squatting position)'.

5.4.131 ū́dhas-aḥ=anaṄ

The substitute morpheme anaṄ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53] [of the nominal stem 9.1.1] °-ū́dhas- 'udder' [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

kuṇḍá-m iva ū́dhaḥ a-syā́ḥ = kuṇḍa+ūdha(s→anaṄ)+ṄīṢ (4.1.25) = *kuṇḍodh-an+ṄīṢ* (6.1.97) = *kuṇḍodhØn-ī́* (6.4.134) = *kuṇḍodhn-ī́* 'having udders full'; so also *ghaṭodhn-ī́*, literally 'having udders shaped like a pitcher'.

5.4.132 dhánuṣ-as=ca

[The substitute morpheme anaṄ 131 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °dhánus- 'bow' [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

śā́rṅgá-ṁ dhánur a-syá = śā́rṅgá+dhanu-(s→anaṄ) = śā́rṅgá-dhanv-an- 'who wields the bow called Śārṅgá'; similarly: *gā́ṇḍī-vá- dhanv-an-/púṣpa-dhanv-an-* 'n.pr. of Arjuna/Cupid'.

5.4.133 vā saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme anaṄ 131] optionally (vā) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 dhánus- 'bow' 132 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to derive a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

śatá-dhanus-/śatá-dhanv-an- 'n.pr. of a king'; so also *dṛḍhá-dhanus-/dṛḍhá-dhanv-an-* 'n.pr. of a king'. The present rule, however, does not apply to 132 above although they are proper names.

5.4.134 jāyā́-y-āḥ niṄ

The substitute element niṄ replaces [the stem-final of 1.1.53 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °jāyā́ 'wife' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

yuvatí-r jāyā́ a-syá = yúvan+∅+jāyā (6.3.34) = *yúva∅+jāy-(ā→niṄ)* (8.2.7) = *yúva-jā-ni-* (6.1.66) 'possessing a young wife'; similarly *vr̥d-dhá-jā-ni-* 'having an old wife'.

5.4.135 gandhá-sya iT [1]úd=[2]pū́ti-[3]sú-[4]surabhí-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme iT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-gandhá- 'odor, smell, scent', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] úd-°, pū́ti-° 'foul', sú-° 'good' and surabhí-° 'perfumed, fragrant' [as prior members in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

ud-ga-tá-ḥ gandhá-ḥ a-syá = út+gandh-(a→iT) = údgandh-i 'fragrant' similarly: *pū́ti-gandh-i-* 'foul-smelling'; *sú-gandh-i-* 'sweet-smelling' and *surabhí-gandh-i-* 'strong-smelling; when the compound is not a Bahuvrīhí: *su-gandhá-ḥ* 'sweet smell'; *vyāghra-sya gandhá-ḥ = vyāhra-gandhá-ḥ* 'tiger scent'.

5.4.136 alpa=ā-khyā́-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme iT 135 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 gandhá- 135] signifying 'a little' (alpa-ā-khyā́-y-ām) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

sū́pa-sya gandhá-ḥ (= álpa-ḥ) a-smín = sū́pa-gandh-i bhój-ana-m/(Uṇādi III 26) '(a dinner course) consisting of only a trace of soup'; similarly *ghr̥-tá-gandh-i-* 'having only a trace of clarified butter'.

5.4.137 upa-mā́n-āt=ca

[The substitute morpheme iT 135] also (ca) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominai stem 4.1.1 gandhá- 135] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] another stem denoting an object of comparison (upa-mā́n-āt) [as a prior member in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

pádma-sya iva gandhá-ḥ a-syá = pádma-gandh-i- 'smelling like a lotus' = *út-pala-gandh-i-*.

5.4.138 pādá-sya lopa-ḥ=á-hasti(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ

Lopa (=∅) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pādá- 'foot' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] except when co-occurring [after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] in the class headed by hastín- 'elephant'.

> *vyāghrá-sya iva pād-aú a-syá* = *vyāghrá+pād-(a→∅)* = *vyāghrá-pād-* 'whose feet resemble those of a tiger'. But *hastí-pāda-* 'whose feet resemble those of an elephant'.

5.4.139 kumbhá-pad-ī-ṣu ca

The word-class [comprising Bahuvrīhí compounds 113] beginning with kumbhá-pad-ī is introduced [as derived with a replacement of stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem °-pāda- 'foot' 138 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 the compound 113].

> *kumbhá-sya iva pād-aú a-syā́ḥ* = *kumbhá+pada+ṄīP* = *kumbhá-pad-ī* (6.4.130) (→*kumbhá+pad∅+ṄīP*).

5.4.140 [1]saṁ-khyā́-[2]sú-pūrva-sya

[Lopa (∅) 138 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-pādá- 'foot' 138 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyā́-°) or sú-° [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

> *dv-aú pād-aú a-syá* = *dví-pād-(a→∅)* = *dvi-pād-* 'biped'; so also *trí-pād-* 'triped' and *catúṣ-pād-* 'quadruped'. Similarly *śóbh-an-au pād-aú a-syá* = *su-pā́d-* 'having well-shaped feet'.

5.4.141 váyas-i dánta-sya datṜ

The substitute morpheme datṚ- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dánta- 'tooth' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a numeral or sú-° 140 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to denote age (váyas-i).

> *dv-aú dánt-au a-syá* = *dví+danta-* = *dví-datṜ* 'having two teeth (as an indication of age)', but *dví-danta-ḥ kuñjara-ḥ* 'two-tusker elephant'. *śóbh-an-āḥ dánt-āḥ a-syá* = *su-dátṜ-* 'having a beautiful set of teeth'.

5.4.142 chándas-i ca

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute morpheme datR̥- 141] also (ca) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-dánta- occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

The context here is not one indicative of age and without reference to prior members specified before.

ubhá-ya-dat-a ā-labh-a-te (RV 10.90.10): *ubhá-ya-datR̥-* 'having teeth in both jaws', the RV passage indicating 'sacrifice (an animal) having teeth in both jaws'.

5.4.143 striy-ā́ṁ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme datR̥ 141 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to derive a feminine name (striy-ā́ṁ saṁjñā́-y-ām).

áyaḥ iva dántā-ḥ a-syā́ḥ = áyas+danta+ṄīP (4.1.6) = *áyo-dat-ī* 'n.pr. of a person', but *sama+danta=ṄīṢ* (4.1.55) = *sama-dantØ-ī́* 'whose teeth are even'.

5.4.144 vibhāṣā [1]śyāvá=[2]árokā-bhyām

[The substitute morpheme datR̥ 141] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 dánta- 'tooth', co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śyāvá-° 'dark brown' and ároka-° 'not bright' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

śyāvā́ḥ dánt-āḥ a-syá = śyāvá-danta-/śyāvá-datR̥- 'whose teeth are dark'; similarly *á-roka-danta-/°-datR̥-* 'whose teeth are not bright'.

5.4.145 [1]ágra=anta-[2]śuddhá-[3]śúbhra-[4]vŕ̥ṣa-[5]varāhé-bhyas=ca

[The substitute morpheme datR̥ 141] also (ca) [optionally 144 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (ending in: °-anta-°) °-ágra-° 'tip' and the words śuddhá-° 'pure', śúbhra-° 'bright', vŕ̥ṣa-° 'bull' and varāhá-° 'wild boar' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

The particle [ca] in this rule is for inclusion of other unspecified co-occurring stems preceding [dánta-] in composition.

kuḍmalā́-n-ām = mukulā-n-ām ágrā-ṇ-i iva dántā-ḥ a-syá = kuḍmalāgrá-danta-/°-datR̥- 'possessing teeth like the tips of buds'; *suddhá-danta-/°-datR̥-* 'having pure or clean teeth'; *śúbhra-danta-/°-datR̥-*

'endowed with bright teeth'; *vṛ̥ṣa-danta-/°-datṚ̥-* 'having teeth like those of a bull'; *varāha-danta-/°-datṚ̥-* 'having teeth like those of a wild boar'; and *áhi-danta-/°-datṚ̥-* 'possessing teeth like those of a snake'.

5.4.146 kákuda-sya=ava-sthā́-y-āṁ lópa-ḥ

Lopa ∅ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kákuda- 'hump' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to denote age (ava-sthā́-y-ām) or condition.

á-saṁ-jā-ta-ṁ kákud-am a-syá = á-saṁ-jā-ta-kakud-(a→∅) = á-saṁ-jā-ta-kakud- 'whose hump has not yet manifested (= young, not adult)'; *ún-na-ta-kakud* 'high-humped (= aged, old)' *sthū-lá-kakud-* 'large-humped (= strong)', but *śvetá-kakuda-* 'white-humped' (not indicative of physical condition denoting age etc.).

5.4.147 trí-kakud=párvat-e

The expression trí-kakud- 'three-peaked' is introduced to denote a mountain (párvat-e) [as derived with the ∅ replacement 146 of the stem-final of 1.1 55 the nominal stem °-kákuda- 146 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 of a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

trī́-ṇ-i kákudā-n-i a-syá = trí-kakud∅ = trí-kakud-.

5.4.148 [1]úd=[2]ví-bhyām kākuda-sya

[Lopa ∅ 147 replaces the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kākuda- 'palate' co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles úd-° and ví-° [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

úd-ga-ta-ṁ kākauda-m a-syá = út-kākud-(a→∅) = út-kākud- 'endowed with a high or elevated palate'; similarly *ví-kākud-* 'having a malformed or cleft palate'.

5.4.149 pūrṇ-ā́t vibhāṣā

[Lopa (∅) 146] optionally replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 kākuda- 'palate' 149, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pūrṇá- 'full' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

pūr-ṇá-ṁ kākuda-m a-syá = pūr-ṇá-kākuda-/°-kākud 'whose palate is fully developed'.

5.4.150 [1]su-hṛ́d=[2]dúr-hṛd-au [1]mitrá=[2]a-mítray-oḥ

The expressions su-hṛ́d- and dúr-hṛd- are introduced [respectively 1.3.10] to denote a 'friend' and an 'enemy or adversary'.

This nipātana rule provides for the replacement of the nominal stem [hṛ́daya-] co-occurring after sú-° and dús-° in a Bahuvrīhí compound by the replacement morpheme hṛ́d-. In other senses: *śóbh-ana-m hṛ́daya-m a-sya = su-hṛdayá-ḥ = kāruṇika-ḥ* 'compassionate' and *duṣṭá-m hṛ́daya-m a-sya = dúr-hṛdaya-ḥ* 'cruel, hard-hearted'.

5.4.151 úras=pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ kaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] kaP is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with °-úras- 'chest, breast' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

vy-ū́ḍha-m úraḥ a-syá = vy-ū́ḍha+uras+kaP = vy-ū́ḍhoras-ka-ḥ 'broad-chested'.

5.4.152 ín-aḥ striy-ā́m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °ín- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 112] to derive a feminine stem (striy-ā́m).

baháv-aḥ daṇḍ-ín-aḥ a-syā́m śā́lā-y-ām = bahu+daṇḍ-ín+KaP+ṬāP = bahu-daṇḍi∅ (8.2.7) *+kaP+ṬāP = bahu-daṇḍí-k∅-ā = bahu-daṇḍí-k-ā śā́lā* 'a hall occupied by many carrying staffs' but *bahu-daṇḍ-ín-/bahu-daṇḍí-ka-* m. 'a king'.

5.4.153 [1]nadī́=[2]ṛT-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsānta 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. nadī (1.4.3ff.) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [ṛT] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

(a) *bahvy-áḥ kumāry-áḥ-áḥ a-smín déś-e = bah+kumārī́+kaP+sU = bahu-kumārī́-ka-ḥ déśa-ḥ* '(a locality) abounding in many unmarried girls'; (b) *baháv-aḥ kartā́r-aḥ a-smín déś-e = bahu-kartṛ́-ka-ḥ* '(a place) teeming with active people'.

5.4.154 śéṣ-āt vibhāṣā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a bahuvrīhí compound 113] not covered by the above rules (śeṣ-āt).

bahvy-áḥ khatvā́-ḥ a-smín = bahu-kahaṭvā́-ka(P) = bahu-khaṭvá-ka- (7.4.15)/ *bahu-khaṭvá-* (1.2.48) '(a place) containing many bedsteads'.

5.4.155 ná saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] when denoting a name (saṁjñā-y-ām)

víśv-e devā́-ḥ a-syá = viśvá-deva- 'name of a person'; so also *víśvá-yaśas-*.

5.4.156 īyas-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhí compound 113 ending in 1.1.72] °-īyas-.

baháv-ah śréyā-ṁ-s-aḥ a-syá = bahu-śréyas- 'endowed with many excellences'.

5.4.157 vand-i-t-é bhrā́tu-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 15 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bhrā́tṛ- designating 'praised' (vand-i-t-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

śóbh-ana-ḥ bhrā́tā a-syá = su-bhrātṛ́- 'whose brother is praiseworthy or excellent', but *mūrkhá-bhrātṛ-ka-* 'one who has a foolish brother'.

5.4.158 ṛT-as=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [ṛT] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

ha-t-á mātā́ a-syá = hatá-mātṛ- 'one whose mother is killed'.

5.4.159 ¹nāḍí-²tantry-óḥ sva=aṅg-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °nāḍí- 'artery' and tantrī́ 'ibid' denoting parts of one's body (svāṅg-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

bahvy-áḥ nāḍy-áḥ a-syá = bahu-nāḍí (1.2.48) *kāya-ḥ* 'a body, containing many arteries'; similarly *bahu-tantrí-*. *bahu-nāḍí-ka-ḥ stambhá-ḥ* 'a pillar containing many holes' and *bahu-tantrí-k-ā vī́ṇā* 'many-stringed Indian lute (vī́ṇā)'.

5.4.160 níṣ-pra-vāṇi-s=ca

And (ca) the expression níṣ-pra-vāṇi- 'fresh from the loom' is introduced [to indicate that the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 pra-vā́ṇ-ī 'weavers' shuttle' occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

nir-ga-t-á pra-vā́ṇ-ī yá-smāt = níṣ-pra-vāṇ-i- (1.2.48) '(cloth fresh from the loom)'.

6.1.1 éka=aC-aḥ=dv-é prathamá-sya

Two (dv-é syllables) replace the first [prathamá-sya] syllable (of a verbal stem which contains) a single syllable (ékāC-aḥ).

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) heading this section extending up to 12 below, and the three expressions will recur in each of them. The purport of this rule is to state that the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem is reduplicated under conditions stipulated in the subsequent rules.

6.1.2 áC=āde-r dvi-tī́ya-sya

[Two syllable 1] replace the second (dvi-tī́ya-sya) syllable [of a verbal stem] beginning with (°-āde-ḥ) a vowel (aC-°) (and contains two or more syllables).

This is also a governing rule having the same extension as the above and is an exception to 1 above. The expression [dvi-tī́ya-sya] implies that the verbal stem consists of at least two syllables.

Rule 1 is illustrated by pac-: **pac-pac-*.

Rule 2 is illustrated by: *at+saN* = *at+iṬ-saN* (7.2.35; 3.1.32) = *at-i-sa-* the desiderative derived stem from the simple stem *at-* containing three syllables, beginning with an initial vowel: *a=t-i=sa-: a=ti-ti=ṣa* (8.3.59).

6.1.3 ná=n-d-r-āḥ saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ

The phonemes [n, d, r] constituting the initial of a consonant nexus (saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ) [forming part of the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] are not (ná) [duplicated 1].

und+saN = *und+iṬ-saN* = *un=di-ṣa-* (derived desiderative stem) : *un-di-di-ṣa* (exception to 7.4.60 below) 'desires to wet'; similarly from *aḍ-ḍ-* : *aḍ-ḍi-ḍi-sa-* 'wish to assail' and *arc-* : *ar-ci-ci-ṣa-* 'wish to worship or honor'.

6.1.4 pū́rva-ḥ abhy-ās-á-ḥ

The technical term (t.t.) abhy-ās-á denotes the first [pū́rva-ḥ] of [these two replacements 1].

Thus in *pac-pac-* the first half bears the t.t. abhy-ās-á or reduplicated syllable; similarly in *a-ti-ti-ṣa-, un-di-di-ṣa-, aḍ-ḍi-ḍi-ṣa-, ar-ci-ci-sa-*.

6.1.5 ubh-é abhy-às-ta-m

The t.t. abhy-ás-ta- denotes both [replacement syllables 1 of the verbal stem].

As a t.t. (a) abhy-ās-á- occurs in 1.3.71; 3.2.6; 6.1.7-12, 17,136; 4.78, 119-126; 7.3.55-58; 4.55-97; 8.3.61,54; 4.21,54 and (b) abhy-às-ta- occurs in 3.4.109; 6.1.33, 189, 190, 192; 4.112-13; 7.1.78-79; 3.87.

6.1.6 jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ

[The t.t. abhy-ás-ta- 5] denotes the six (verbal stems) beginning with jákṣ-i-ti (in addition to itself).

These seven verbal stems are: jákṣ- 'eat', jā́gṛ- 'wake up', dáridrā- 'be needy', cákās- 'shine', śā́s- 'chastise', dī́dhī- 'reflect' and vévī- 'move', constituting nos. 62-68 of the second class of verbal stems beginning with ad- 'eat'.

6.1.7 túj-ādī-nāṁ dīrghá-ḥ=abhy-ās-á-sya

The long [vowel 1.2.28] replaces (the vowel) of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of the class of verbal stems similar to túj- 'strike, hurt' (I 163).

In the expression [túj-ādi-] the word [°-ādi-] denotes 'similar to' and the class is to be constituted from actual occurrences in the language, since it is not listed in the Gaṇa- or Dhātu-pāṭha-s. Examples are: *tū́-tuj-āna-, mā́-mah-āna-, dā-dhā́r-a, tū-tā́v-a.* Such forms occur only in the Chándas: *tu-tój-a* etc. in non-Chándas usage.

6.1.8 lIṬ-i dhātór án-abhy-ās-a-sya

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] if the stem does not contain a reduplicated syllable (án-abhy-ās-a-sya) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes 3.4.78] of lIṬ (Perfect Tense).

pac+lIṬ = *pac-pac+ṇaL* (3.4.82) = *pa∅-pác-a* (7.2.116; 7.4.66). = *pa-pā́c-a* 'has cooked'; similarly *pra+ūrṇu+lIṬ* = *prá+ūrṇu-nu+ṆaL* = *prór-ṇu-nā́v-a* 'has covered'.

6.1.9 ¹saN-²yáṄ-oḥ

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2, if the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and yáṄ.

1. *pac+saN* = *pac-pac+saN* = *pa∅-pac+saN* (7.4.60) = *pí-pac+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68; 7.4.83) = *pí-pak-ṣa-ti* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to cook'.
2. *pac+yáṄ* = *pac-pac+yáṄ* = *pa∅-pac-yá+ŚaP+te* = *pā-pac-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.10 Śl-au

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the replacement marker] Ślu (of ŚaP 2.4.75).

By 2.4.75 the substitute marker Ślu replaces the class-marker ŚaP denoting the agent, introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with [hu- III 1]. *hu+ŚaP+tiP* = *hu+Ślu+tiP* = *hu-hu+∅²+tiP* = *ju-hu+tiP* (7.4.62) = *ju-hó-ti* (7.3.84) 'sacrifices'; similarly *bhī+Ślu+tiP* = *bhī-bhī+∅³+ti-bhé-ti* (7.4.59; 8.4.54) 'fears'.

6.1.11 CaṄ-i

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem or the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 1-2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker] CaṄ (3.1.48).

1. *pac+ṆíC+Cli* (3.1.41) = *pac+ṆiC+CáṄ* (3.1.48) = *pāc+∅+CáṄ* (6.4.51) = *pac+CáṄ* (7.4.1) = *pa∅-pac+CáṄ* (7.4.60) = *áṬ+pa-pac+CaṄ* (6.4.71) = *á-pi-pac+CaṄ* (7.4.93) = *á-pī-pac+CaṄ* (7.4.94) = *á-pī-pac-a-* (7.4.94) = *á-pī-pac-a-t* 'caused (someone) to cook'.
2. *áṭ+ṆiC+CaṄ* = *áṬ+aṭ-i+CaṄ* = *á+a-ṭi-ṭi+CaṄ+t* = *á+aṭi-ṭ∅-a-t* = *āṭi-ṭ-a-t* 'caused (someone) to wander'.

6.1.12 dāś-vā́n sāh-vā́n mīḍh-vā́n=ca

(The Perfect Participles) dāś-vás- 'who has given', sāh-vás- 'who has overpowered' and mīḍh-vás- 'who has wetted' are introduced (as irregularly derived forms).

1. *dāś+KvásU = dās-vás(U)* without reduplication (8) and initial increment iṬ before affix KvásU.
2. *sah-KvásU = sāh-vás* with a change of voice from middle to active, replacement of short penultimate by long vowel, and without reduplication or initial increment iṬ for KvásU.
3. *mih+KvásU = mīḍh-vás* without reduplication and increment iṬ and replacement of short penultimate by long vowel.

6.1.13 ṢyáṄ-aḥ sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-m [1]putrá-[2]páty-os tatpuruṣ-é

Samprasā́raṇa (= vocalization 1.1.54) replacement of [the affix 3.1.1] ṢyáṄ takes place in a Tatpuruṣá compound with °-putrá 'son' and °-páti- 'spouse, husband' (as final members 1.1.72).

Kárīṣa-sya iva gandhá-ḥ a-syá = kárīṣa-gandh-i- (5.4.137), *tá-sya ápatya-m = kárīṣa-gandh-i+(áṆ→ṢyáṄ+ṬāP* 4.1.78) = *kārīṣa-gandh∅-y-ā́+putrá = kārīṣa-gandh-iā́+putrá- = kārīṣa-gandh-í+putrá-* (6.1.108) = *kārīṣa-gandh-ī-putrá-* (6.3.139) 'son of Kārīṣa-gandh-y-ā́'. Similarly *kaumuda-gandh-ī́-patí-* 'husband of Kaumuda-gandh-y-ā́'.

6.1.14 bándhu-n-i bahuvrīh-aú

[Samprasā́raṇa (vocalization) replacement of the affix 3.1.1 ṢyaṄ 13 takes place] in a Bahuvrīhí compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ° bándhu- 'kin, relative'.

kaumuda-gandh-y-ā́ bándhu-r a-syá = kúmuda-gandhi+áṆ+ṢyaṄ+ṬāP+bandhu- = kaumudagandh+i+ā+bandhu- = kaumuda-gandh-ī́-bandhu-ḥ (6.3.139) 'a kinsman of Kaumudagandhyā́'.

6.1.15 [1]vaci̲-[2]svapi̲-[3]yajA=ādi-n-ām̐ K-IT-i

[Samprasā́raṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] vac- 'speak' (II 54), svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59) and the class of verbal stems beginning with yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051-59) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker K.

The yaj- class of verbal stems are: yaj- 'sacrifice', vap- 'sow', vah- 'carry, convey', vas- 'reside', ve- 'weave', vye- 'cover' and hve- 'challenge, summon'.

(a) *vac+Ktá* = *uac+Ktá* = *uc+Ktá* (108) = *uk-tá-* (8.2.30) 'spoken, uttered'; similarly (b) *svap+Ktá* = *sup-tá-* 'fallen asleep'; (c) *yaj+Ktá* = *ij-Ktá* (108) = *iṣ-ṭá-* 'sacrificed'; *vap+Ktá* = *up-tá-* 'sown'; *vah+Ktá* = *uh+Ktá* = *uḍh+tá-* (8.2.40) = *uḍh-ḍhá-* (8.4.41) = *ū∅=ḍhá-* (8.3.13; 6.3.21) 'borne'; *vas+iṬ-Ktá* = *uṣ-i-tá-* 'dwelt'; *ve+Ktá-* = *u=tá-* 'woven'; *vye+Ktá* = *vie+Ktá* = *vī-tá-* (4.2; 3.37) 'covered'; *hve+Ktá* = *hue+Ktá* = *hū-tá* (6.4.2) 'challenged'. In the case of *vye-* 37 below blocks further vocalization of the initial semivowel after that of the second. It also is a pointer that when an expression is subject to vocalization and consists of a nexus of two semivowels, the second undergoes that vocalization.

6.1.16 [1]grahi̱-[2]jyā-[3]vayi̱-[4]vyadhi̱-[5]vaṣ-ṭi-[6]vic-á-ti-[7]vr̥ść-á-ti-[8]pr̥chh-á-ti-[9]bhr̥jj-á-tī-n-ām Ṅ-IT-i ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] grah- 'seize' (IX 61), jyā 'grow old' (IX 29), vay- (Substitute morpheme for ve- 'weave' 2.4.41 I 1055), vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 72), vaś- 'desire' (II 70), vyac- 'deceive' (VI 12), vráśc- 'cut' (VI 11), prach- 'ask' (VI 120) and bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker Ṅ in addition to (ca) [K 15].

1. *grah+īṬ+Ktá* (7.2.37; 3.84) = *gr̥h-ī-tá-* 'clasped, seized'; *grah+Śnā́+tiP* = *gr̥h-ṇā́-ti* 'clasps, seizes' since [Śnā] is Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4.
2. *jyā+Ktá* = *jiā+Ktá* = *jī+Kta* (108) = *jī+tá* (4.2) = *jī-ná-* (8.2.44) 'grown old'; *jyā+Śnā́+tiP* = *ji-nā́-ti* 'grows old'.
3. *vay-* being a replacement morpheme for *veÑ* before l-substitutes of lIṬ only K-IT affixes follow it (1.2.5): *vay+lIṬ* = *vay+atus* = *va∅-vay+atus* = *u-uy+atus* (17) = *ūy-atus* 'they two have woven'.
4. *vyadh+Kta* = *viadh+Kta* = *vidh+dhá-* (8.2.40) = *vid-dhá-* 'pierced'; *vyadh+ŚyaN+tiP* = *vídh-ya-ti* 'pierces'.
5. *vaś+iṬ+Ktá* = *uś-i-tá* 'desired'; *vaś+∅[1]+ánti* = *uś-ánti* 'they desire' (1.2.5).
6. *vyac+Ktá* = *vyac+iṬ-KLtá* = *vic-i-tá-* (37) 'deceived'; *vyac+Śá+tiP* = *vic-á-ti* 'deceives'.
7. *vraśc+Kta* = *vr̥sc+ná* (8.2.45) = *vr̥∅c+ná* (8.2.29) = *vr̥k-ṇá-* (8.2.30; 4.1) 'cut'; *vraśc+Śá+tiP* = *vr̥sc-á-ti* 'cuts'.
8. *prach+Ktá* = *pr̥ch+tá* = *pr̥ṣ-ṭa-* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked'; *prach+Śá+tiP* = *pr̥cch-á-ti* 'asks'.
9. *bhrasj+Ktá* = *bhra∅j+Ktá* = *bhr̥ṣ-ṭ-á-* 'roasted'; *bhrasj+Śá+tiP* = *bhr̥jj-á-ti* (8.4.40,53).

6.1.17 lIṬ-i=abhy-ās-á-sya=ubhayé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 l-substitutes 3.4.78] of lIṬ "Perfect Tense" [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of semivowels 13] of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of both (ubhayé-ṣām) [classes of verbal stems enumerated in 15 and 16 above] takes place.

1. *vac+lIṬ* = *vac+ṆaL* (3.4.82) = *va∅-vac+ṆaL* = *u-vắc-ca* (193; 7.2.116), *u-vác-i-tha*; similarly *su-ṣvắp-a, su-ṣváp-i-tha, i-yắj-a, i-yáj-i-tha; u-vắp-a, u-váp-i-tha*; etc.
2. *jyā+lIṬ* = *jyā+au* (7.1.34) = *ji-jy-aú, ji-jy-i-thá* (4.64); similarly *ja-grắh-a, u-váy-i-tha; u-vắś-a, u-váś-i-tha; vi-vyắc-a, vi-vyác-i-tha*; etc.

6.1.18 svāp-é-s=CáṄ-i

[Before 1.1.66 substitute marker] CáṄ [of Cli 3.1.48 samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] svāp-í- (= svap+ṆíC) 'cause to sleep' takes place.

svap+ṆíC+CáṄ = *áṬ+svap-svap+CáṄ* = *á-su-sup+∅+CáṄ* (16) = *a-sū-sup-a* (7.4.94) = *a-sū-ṣup-a-* (8.3.59); *svāp-yá-te, svāp-i-tá-*.

6.1.19 [1]svapi̱-[2]syami̱-[3]vyeÑ-ām yáṄ-i

[Before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yáṄ [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowel of the verbal stems of] svap- 'lie down, sleep' (II 59), syam- 'cry' (I 878) and vyeÑ- 'cover, wrap' (I 1056).

(a) *svap+yáṄ* = *su-sup-yá* = *so-sup-yá* (7.4.82) = *so-ṣup-yá-te* (8.3.59) 'repeatedly sleeps'; (b) *syam+yáṄ* = *se-sim-yá-te* 'cries repeatedly or intensely'; (c) *vye+yáṄ* = *vi+yáṄ* = *vi-vi-yá* = *ve-vī-yáte* (7.4.82; 6.4.2; 7.4.25) 'wraps repeatedly'.

Both in 18 and 19 vocalization takes place before reduplication.

6.1.20 ná vaś-aḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13] does not (ná) [replace the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] vaś- 'desire' (II 70) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáṄ 19].

vaś+yáṄ = *va∅-vaś+yá-* = *vā-vaś-yá-* (7.4.83) 'desire repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.21 cā́y-aḥ kī

The substitute morpheme kī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] cā́y- 'honor' (I 929) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáṄ 19].

cāy+yáṄ = kī+yáṄ: = ce-kī-yá- (7.4.62,92) 'honor repeatedly or intensively'.

6.1.22 sphsā́y-aḥ sphī niṣṭhā́-y-ām

The substitute morpheme sphī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] sphā́y- 'swell' (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (= Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26).

sphā́y+Ktá/KtávatU = sphī-tá/sphī-távat- 'swollen'.

6.1.23 sty-aḥ prá-pūrva-sya

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] styai- 'to sound, crowd' (I 959) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26) 22] when it is preceded (in composition) by the preverb particle prá-°.

prá+stya-Ktá/Ktávat = pra-stī-tá-/°-távat- 'crowded together'; cf. 8.2.54 for the alternate form *pra-stī-ma-*; replacement by vocalization blocks the replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] introduced by 8.2.42. But *sám+styai+Ktá/KtávatU = saṁ-styā-ná-* (45) 'coagulated, condensed'.

6.1.24 [1]drava-mūrtí-[2]spárśay-oḥ śy-aḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] śyai- (= śyā-) 'go' (I 1012) takes place [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā 22] to denote coagulation (drava-mūrti-°) or touch (°-spárśay-oḥ).

śyā+Ktá/KtávatU = śī-ná-/śī-návat- (8.2.47) when denoting 'coagulation', e.g., *ghṛ-tá-* 'ghee, clarified butter'; *śī-tá-/śī-távat-* 'cold' to denote 'touch'. In other senses: *saṁ-śyā-ná-* (8.2.43) 'contracted'.

6.1.25 prátes=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śyā- 'go' 24] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle

práti-° (in composition) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ 22].

prati+śyā+Ktá/KtávatU = prati-śī-ná-/°-návat- to denote not only the senses of coagulation and touch (24) but others also.

6.1.26 vibhāṣā [1]abhí=[2]áva-pūrva-sya

[Samprasā́raṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śyā 'go' 24 takes place] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring [after 1.1.66] the preverb particles abhí-° or áva-° (in composition) [before niṣṭhā́ 22 affixes 3.1.1].

abhí+śyā+Ktá/KtávatU = abhi-śīná/-návat/abhi-śyā-ná/°-návat- 'coagulated' and *abhi-śī-tá-/°śyā-ná-* 'cold'. Similarly *ava-śī-ná-/°-śyā-ná-* 'coagulated'; *ava-śī-tá-/ava-śyā-ná-* 'cold'.

6.1.27 śr̥̥-tá-m pāk-e

The expression śr̥̥-tá- is introduced to denote 'cooked' (pāk-é) [as derived with optional samprasā́raṇa (vocalization) replacement of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śrā́- 'cook' (I 848), co-occurring with or without the causative marker ṆíC].

This is a regulated option (vy-ava-sthi-ta-vibhāṣā): (a) necessarily in the case where milk or sacrificial oblation is indicated and (b) not occurring in other meanings.

śrā+Ktá/śrā+ṆíC+Ktá = śr̥̥-tá- 'cooked' (with reference to milk or sacrificial oblation), but *śrā-ṇá-* (8.2.43) elsewhere. Similarly *śra-p-i-tá-* (4.92).

6.1.28 pyā́y-aḥ pī

The substitute morpheme pī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem] pyā́y 'swell' (I 517) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ 22].

This is also a regulated option, the word (vibhāṣā) continuing to recur from 26 above: (a) necessarily when not co-occurring with preverbs and (b) not at all otherwise.

pyāy+Ktá/KtávatU = pī-ná-/°-návat- 'fat, obese, swollen', but *ā-pyā-ná-ś candrámāḥ* 'waning moon' and nevertheless *ā-pī-ná-* when referring to a well or udder. The replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] of Ktá(-vat-) is by 8.2.45. These forms could also have been realized by the vocalization of the semivowel of [pyā́y-] as: *pyāy+Ktá = piāy+ná- = piy+ná* (108) *= piy+ná- = piØ-ná-* (66) *= pī-ná-* with irregular replacement of the short vowel by the long; it was much

simpler to suggest replacement of the verbal stem itself by the substitute morpheme.

6.1.29 ¹lIṬ=²yáṄ-os=ca

[The substitute morpheme pī replaces the verbal stem pyā́y- 'wax, swell' before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] lIṬ "Perfect Tense" or the intensive marker yáṄ [3.1.22] also (ca).

1. *á-pyāy+lIṬ = ā-pī+eŚ = á-pi-pī+eŚ* (3.4.81; 7.4.56) = *á-pi-py-e* (4.82).
2. *á-pyāy+yáṄ = á-pī+yáṄ = á-pe-pī-ya-te* (7.4.82) 'waxes frequently or intensively'.

6.1.30 vibhāṣā śve-ḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] śvi- 'swell' I 1059 optionally (vibhāṣā) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ or the intensive marker yáṄ 29].

(a) *śvi+lIṬ = śvi+ṆaL = śØi-śvi+ṆaL* (7.4.60) = *śi-śvaī+a* = (7.2.115) *śi-śvā́y-a* (78) 'has swollen'; (b) *śu+ṆaL = śu-śā́v-a*; (c) *śvi/śu+yáṄ = śe-śvī-yá-/śo-śū-ya-* (7.4.25).

By 15 above [śvi] being a member of the [yaj-class] and lIṬ being K-IT (1.2.5), samprasāraṇa replacement of the semivowel which necessarily takes place under that rule is made optional here, while it is made optional before yaṄ where no samprasāraṇa was formerly indicated.

6.1.31 Ṇ-aú ca ¹saN=²CáṄ-oḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel of the verbal stem śvi- 'swell' optionally 30] when co-occurring with the causative marker ṆíC [before 1.1.66] the desiderative marker saN and the substitute Aorist marker CáṄ [replacement of Cli̱ of lUṄ (3.1.48)].

1. *śvi+ṆíC+saN = śvi/śu+ṆiC+saN = ś-i-śvai+ṆíC+iṬ-saN = śi-śvay-e+i-saN = śí-śvāy-ay-i-ṣa- śú-śāv-ay-i-ṣa-* 'wish to swell'.
2. *śvi/śu+ṆíC+CáṄ = a-śi-śvai+Ø+CáṄ=t* (4.51) = *á-śi-śvay-a-t* (7.4.1) *á-śū-śau+Ø-a-t = á-śū-śav-a-t* (7.4.94).

A metarule states that operations connected with samprasāraṇa vocalization have priority over internal operations so that 7.2.115-6 etc. can only operate after the operations connected with vocalization are completed.

6.1.32 hv-aḥ samprasāraṇam

Samprasāraṇa (vocalization of the semivowel of the verbal stem) hvā- (= hveÑ I 1057) 'challenge' takes place [when co-occurring with the causative marker ṆíC before the desiderative marker saN or the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ of Cli̱ 31].

The use of the expression [samprasāraṇa] when it was already recurring from 13 above is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from 30 above.

1. *hvā+ṆíC+saN* = *hu+ṆíC+saN* = *ju-hu+ṆíC+saN* (7.4.62) = *ju+hau+ṆíC+iṬ-saN* = *ju-hāv-e-i-sa-* (7.3.84) = *jú-hāv-ay-i-ṣa-* (8.3.59) 'desire to challenge'.
2. *hvā+ṆíC+CáṄ-t* = *hu+ṆíC+CáṄ-t* = *á-jū-hau-i-a-t* = *á-ju-háv-∅-a-t* (4.51) = *ájū-hav-a-t* (7.4.1,94) 'has caused to challenge'.

6.1.33 abhy-às-ta-sya ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13] of the reduplicated verbal stem (abhyàsta-sya) also [of hvā- 'challenge' 32].

hvā+lIṬ = *hu+lIṬ* = *hu+ṆaL* = *hu-hu+ṆaL* = *ju-hā́v-a* (7.2.115; 4.52) 'has summoned'; *hvā+yáṄ+te* = *hu+yáṄ+te* = *jo-hū-yá-te* (7.4.62.82).

6.1.34 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [samprasāraṇa] (vocalization) replaces the semivowel [of the verbal stem hvā- 'summon, call' 32] variously (bahulá-m).

indrāgnī́ huv-é 'I call upon Indra and Agni': *hvā+ŚaP+é* = *hu+∅*[1]*+é* (2.4.76) *huv-é* (6.4.77); *hváy-ā-mi marút-aḥ śivā́-n* 'I call upon the auspicious or beneficent breezes'.

6.1.35 cā́y-aḥ kī

[In the Chándas 34] the substitute morpheme kī replaces [the whole of the verbal stem] cā́y- 'honor' (I 929) [variously 34].

ny ànyám cikyúr ná ní cikyur anyám (RV 1.164.38) 'they did not worship another': *cāy+lIṬ* = *kī+lIṬ* = *kī+ús* = *ci-kī+ús* = *ci-ky-ús* (4.82; 7.4.62); *ni+cāy+Ktvā́* = *ni-cāy+LyaP* (7.1.37) = *ni-cā́y-ya* 'having worshipped or honored'.

6.1.36 ¹ápa-spr̥dh-e-thām=²ān-r̥c-ús=³ān-r̥h-ús-⁴ci-cyu-ṣé-⁵ti-tyā́j-a-⁶śrātā́-ḥ-⁷śri-tám=⁸ā́śīr-taḥ

[In the Chándas 34] the irregularly derived expressions *ápa-spr̥dh-e-thām* 'you two have competed with each other', *ān-r̥c-uḥ* 'they have worshipped', *ci-cyu-ṣe* 'thou hast shaken', *ti-tyā́j-a* 'has abandoned', *śrātāḥ* 'cooked', *śri-tá-m* 'mixed', *āśī́r, ā́śīrta-* 'milk mixed with Soma' are introduced.

The corresponding regular forms for the first five above are: (a) *apā́-spr̥dh-e-thām/ áspardh-e-thām* (Imperfect); (b) *ān-arc-ús, ān-arh-ús* (Perfect); (c) *cu-cyuv-i-ṣé* (lIṬ Perfect Tense); (d) *ta-tyā́j-a* (Perfect). The remaining four forms are irregular derivatives from the verbal stem śrīÑ 'cook' (IX 3).

6.1.37 na sam-pra-sā́r-aṇ-e sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-m

Sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa (vocalization) replacement of a semivowel does not take place [before 1.1.66] another samprasā́raṇa replacement.

This rule implies that vocalization replacement takes place from right to left; for an exception see 38 below. The repetition of the word [samprasā́raṇa] in this rule while it was already recurring from 18ff. above is to indicate that it is a general rule, not restricted to cases previously discussed; e.g., by 6.4.133 the word *yuvan-* 'youth' undergoes this vocalization before non-taddhita affixes: *yúvan+Śas = yu-un-as = yū́n-as* and no further vocalization takes place. *vyadh+Ktá = vi-a-dh+dhá-* (8.2.40) = *vid-dhá-* (8.4.53) 'pierced'; *vyac+iT-Ktá- = vic-i-tá-* 'deceived'; in both these cases semivowel [v] is not further vocalized before the vocalization of [y].

6.1.38 lIṬ-i vay-o y-aḥ

[Before 1.1.66 l'substitutes of] lIṬ (Perfect Tense) [sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa (vocalization) does not 37 replace the semivowel /y/ of the verbal stem] vay- [substitute for veÑ- 2.4.41].

veÑ+lIṬ = vay+ṆaL = va-vā́y-a = u-vā́y-a/ūy-atus/ūy-us (17).

6.1.39 va-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām K-IT-i

[Before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 38] with IT-marker K, the phoneme [v] replaces [phoneme /y/ of the verbal stem substitute vay- 38] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

ūy-átus (38)/*ūv-átus* but *uvā́y-a, uváy-i-tha* since these l-substitutes are not K-IT (being substitutes for affixes with P as IT).

6.1.40 veÑ-aḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 38 with it marker K 39].

This rule blocks the operation of both 15 and 17 above. *veÑ+lIṬ* = *vā+lIṬ* (45) = *vā+aú* (7.1.34) = *va-vaú, va-v∅-átus, va-v-ús* (4.64).

6.1.41 LyaP-i ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem veÑ- 'weave' (I 1055) 40] also [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix] LyaP (for Ktvā́ 7.1.37).

pra+veÑ+Ktvā = *pra-vā+LyaP* (45; 7.1.37) = *pra-vā́-ya* 'having woven'.

6.1.42 jy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] jyā- 'grow old' (IX 29) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive or gerundial affix 3.1.1 substitute LyaP 41].

pra+jyā+Ktvā́ = *pra-jyā́-ya-* 'having aged'.

6.1.43 vy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] vyā- (= vyeÑ- I 1056) 'wrap, cover' also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 41].

pra-vyeÑ+LyaP = *pra-vyā́-ya* (45) 'having enveloped'.

6.1.44 vibhāṣā páre-ḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem vyā- (= vyeÑ I 1056) 'wrap, envelop, cover' 43] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67 the preverb participle] pári-° optionally.

pari-vyā́-ya/pari-vī́-ya (6.4.2) 'having wrapped around', blocking out the [tuK] increment (61) through 6.4.2 by metarule 1.4.2.

6.1.45 āT=eC-aḥ=upa-déś-e=áŚ-IT-i

The substitute phoneme long vowel āT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 vowels] denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) occurring in verbal stems when first introduced (in the Dhātu-pāṭha) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] not marked by Ś as IT.

> *meṄ pra-ni-dā-ne* (1010) 'trade, exchange, barter' *+tumuN* = *mā́-tum*; but *meṄ+ŚaP+te* = *máy-a-te* (78); *glai+tumuN* = *glā́=tum* 'to be wearied' but *glā+ŚaP+tiP* = *glā́y-a-ti; śo+tumuN* = *śā́-tum* 'to whet'; *śo+ŚyaN+tiP* = *ś-yá-ti* (7.3.71) 'whets'.

6.1.46 ná vy-aḥ=lIṬ-i

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] does not (ná) replace [the stem-final vowel (e) 45 of the verbal stem] vyā (= vyeÑ I 1056) 'wrap, envelop, cover' [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lIṬ "Perfect Tense".

> *sam+vye+lIṬ* = *sam-vi-vye+ṆaL* = *sam-vi-vyā́y-a* (78; 7.2.115) 'has enveloped securely'; *sam-vi-vyáy-i-tha* 'thou hast wrapped well'.

6.1.47 [1]sphur-á-ti-[2]sphul-á-ty-or GHaÑ-i

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme /o/ 46 of the verbal stems] sphúr-, sphúl- 'throb' (VI 95-96) [before 1.1.66 the kr̥t 3.1.93 affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ.

> *vi-sphur-/sphul+GHaÑ* = *vi-sphār-á-/vi-sphāl-á-* (7.2.115; 6.2.144) 'trembling, throbbing'.

6.1.48 [1]krī-[2]íṄ-[3]jí-n-ām Ṇ-au

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stems] krī- 'buy' (IX 1), íṄ- 'study' (II 37) and jí- 'win' (I 593), co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] ṆíC.

1. *krī+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *krai+í+a+ti* = *krā-puK+i+a+ti* (7.3.36) = *krāp-é+ti* (7.3.84) = *krāp-áy-a-ti* (78) 'causes to buy'.
2. *ádhi+iṄ+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ádhi+ā-puK+í+a+ti* = *ádhy-āp-ay-a-ti* 'teaches, instructs'.
3. *ji+ṆíC+ŚaP+ti* = *jā-p-áy-a-ti* 'causes to win'.

6.1.49 sídh-ya-te-r á-pāra-laukik-e

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme e of the verbal stem 45] sidh- 'accomplish, succeed' (IV 83) [co-occurring with the causative marker ṆíC 48] when no reference is made to the other world (á-pāra-laukik-e).

sidh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = sedh+é+a+ti = sā́dh-áy-a-ti 'succeeds, accomplishes', but *sedh-áy-a-ti táp-as tāpasá-m* 'asceticism enlightens the ascetic (with reference to the other world)'.

6.1.50 [1]mī-nā́-ti-[2]mi-nó-ti-[3]dīṄ-āṁ LyaP-i ca

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the vowel phoneme of the verbal stems 45] mī- 'injure' (IX 4), mi- 'scatter' (V 4) and dīṄ- 'decay, perish' (IV 26) [before 1.1.66 the substitute absolutive affix 3.1.1] LyaP [of Ktvā́] and [affixes not marked by Ś as IT 45].

1. *pra+mī+tumuN = pra-mā́-tum* 'to injure'; *pra+mī+LyaP = pra-mā́-ya* 'having injured'.
2. *ni+mi+tumuN/+LyaP = ni-mā́-tum/pra-mā́-ya* 'to scatter/having scattered'.
3. *upa+dī+tumuN/LyaP = upa=dā́-tum/upa-dā́ya* 'to destroy/having destroyed'.

6.1.51 vibhāṣā lī́-ya-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [phoneme e 45 of the verbal stems] lī(Ṅ IV 31) and lī- (IX 31) 'adhere, stick' [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix LyaP 50 and those which are not marked by Ś as IT 45].

vi+lī+LyaP = vi-lā́-ya/vi-lī́-ya 'having adhered or stuck'; *vi-lā́-tum/vi-lé-tum* 'to stick or adhere'.

6.1.52 khide-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute phoneme ā 45 optionally 51 replaces the phoneme e 45 of the verbal stem] khid- 'be distressed' (IV 61).

khid+lIṬ = ci-khid+ṆaL = ci-khéd-a/ci-khā́d-a 'has been distressed'; in non-Chándas: *khed-áy-a-ti* 'causes distress'.

6.1.53 apa-gur-o ṆamuL-i

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme o 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] apa+gur- (gurĪ ud-yám-an-e VI 103) 'exert' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ṆamuL.

apa-gur+ṆamuL = apa-gór-am apa-gor-am/apa-gā́r-am apa-gār-am (3.4.22; 8.1.4); *asy-apa-gā́r-am/°apa-gór-am yudh-ya-nte* (3.4.53) 'they fight, brandishing swords'.

6.1.54 [1]ci-[2]sphúr-or Ṇ-au

[The substitute phoneme ā 45 optionally 51 replaces the phonemes denoted by the siglum eC 45 of the verbal stems] ci- 'pile, collect' (V 5) and sphúr- 'throb' (VI 95) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] ṆíC.

1. *ci+ṆíC = cai+é+ŚaP+tiP = cāy-áy-a-ti/cā-p+áy-a-ti* (7.3.36) 'causes (someone) to pile or gather'.
2. *sphúr+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = sphor-áy-a-ti/sphār-áy-a-ti* causes to throb'.

6.1.55 pra-ján-e vī-ya-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] vī- (II 39) when denoting the sense of 'become enciente or pregnant' (pra-ján-e) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 54].

pra-vī+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = pra-vāy-áy-a-ti/pra-vā-p-áy-a-ti 'make pregnant, inseminate'.

6.1.56 bí-bhe-te-r hetu-bhay-é

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] bhī 'fear' (III 2) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 54] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhay-é 1.3.68).

bhī+ṆiC+ŚaP+tiP = bhā-p-áy-a-te 'frightens, causes fear', alternating with *bhī+ṣuK+ṆíC+ŚaP+te = bhīṣ-áy-a-te* (7.3.40). When the cause of the fear is other than the agent of the causative verb: *kuñcikay-ā enám bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'causes fear with a bamboo stick'.

6.1.57 nítya-ṁ smay-a-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] necessarily (nítya-m) [replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stem] smi- 'smile' (I 996) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 54 to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative verb 56].

vi+smi+ṆíC+ŚaP+te = *vi-smā-p-ay-a-te* but when fear is not so denoted: *vi-smāy-ay-a-ti* 'causes wonder, astonishes'.

6.1.58 ¹sr̥ji-²dr̥ś-or jha̱L-i=aM=á-K-IT-i

The infixed increment aM is inserted after the [last vowel 1.1.47 of the verbal stems] sr̥j- 'project' (VI 121) and dr̥ś- 'see' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with non-nasal consonaants (jha̱L-i) excluding those marked with K as IT.

1. *sr̥j+tumu̱N* = *sr-á-j+tumu̱N* (77) = *sráṣ-ṭum* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'to project', but *sr̥j+Kta* = *sr̥ṣ-ṭá-* 'projected, created'.
2. *dr̥ś+tumu̱N* = *dr-á-ṣṭum; dr̥ś+Kta* = *dr̥ṣ-ṭá-*.

6.1.59 ánudātta-sya ca=ŕ̥T=upadha-sya=anya-tará-syām

[The infixed increment aM 58] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ánudātta-sya) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.)] and contain the short vowel r̥(T) as penultimate (°=upa-dhá-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with non-nasal consonants excluding those with K as IT 58].

tr̥p+tumu̱N = *tr-á-p+tum/tárp-tum/tárp-i-tum* (7.2.45) 'to please'; similarly: *dr-á-p-tum/dárp-tum/dárp-i-tum* 'to be foolish'; but from *vr̥̀hŪ ud-yam-e* (VI 57): *vr̥h+tumu̱N* = *várh+tum* = *várḍh+tum* (7.3.84; 8.2.31) = *várḍh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *várḍh+ḍhum* (8.4.41) *várØ=ḍhum* (6.3.111) 'to raise, elevate'.

6.1.60 śīrṣán=chandas-i

In the Chándas the expression śīrṣan- is introduced (as a synonym of śíras- 'head').

śīrṣṇ-ā́ hi tátra sóma-m krī-tám hár-a-nti 'they carry the Soma purchased on the head'.

6.1.61 y-e ca taddhit-e

[The substitute morpheme śīrṣán- 60 replaces the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem śíras- 'head' before 1.1.66] a taddhitá affix [3.1.1] beginning with phoneme y- °.

śíras-i bháv-a-ḥ = *śíras+yàT* (4.3.55) = *śīrṣaṇ-yà-ḥ* (4.168; 8.4.2) 'chief, foremost, at the head', but *śíraḥ icch-áti* = *śíras+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *śiras-yá-ti* (97).

6.1.62 aC-i śīrṣá-ḥ

The substitiute morpheme śīrṣá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śíras- 'head' before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix 61] beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

hastín-aḥ iva śíraḥ asyá = *hastí∅-śiras-* 'elephant-faced'; *hastí-śiras-aḥ ápatya-m* = *hasti-śīrṣa+iÑ* (4.1.96) = *hā́sti-śīrṣ∅-i-ḥ* 'descendant of Hastíśiras'.

6.1.63 [1]pád-[2]dát=[3]nás=[4]mā́s=[5]hṛ̥́d=[6]níś=[7]asán=[8]yūṣán=[9]doṣán=[10]yakán=[11]śakán-[12]udán=[13]āsán Śas-pra-bhṛ̥-ti-ṣu

The substitute morphemes pád-, dát-, nás-, mā́s-, hṛ̥́d-, níś- asán-, yūṣán-, doṣán-, yakán-, śakán-, udán- and āsán- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (pādá- 'foot', dánta- 'tooth', nā́sikā 'nose', mā́sa- 'month', hṛ̥́daya- 'heart', níśā 'night', ásṛ̥j- 'blood', yūṣa- 'soup', dós- 'arm', yákṛ̥t- 'liver', śákṛ̥t- 'ordure, dung', udaká- 'water' and āsyà- 'oral cavity') [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with Śas (4.1.2).

pādá+Śas/Tā/bhyām/bhis, etc. = *pád-aḥ/pad-á/pad-bhyā́m/pad-bhíḥ*, etc.; similarly: *dát-aḥ/°-á/°-bhyā́m/°-bhyā́m/°-bhíḥ; nāsikā+Śas* = *nás-aḥ; mā́sa+Śas* = *mā́s-aḥ; hṛ̥́daya-Śas* = *hṛ̥́d-aḥ; níśā+Śas* = *níś-aḥ; asṛ̥k+Śas* = *as∅n-áḥ; yūṣa+Śas* = *yūs∅n-áḥ; dós+Śas* = *doṣ∅n-áḥ; yákṛ̥t+Śas* = *yak∅n-áḥ; āsya+yàT* = *āsan-yà-m prāṇá-m ūc-uḥ* 'they spoke of the air within the oral region'. In the case of 7-13 of the examples above (4.134) operates to replace penultimate vowel of the stem before an affix beginning with y- or a vowel.

Kāsikā has the reading [ā́sana-] for [āsyà], cf. Siddhānta-Kaumudī where Kāśikā has been criticized for a wrong reading.

6.1.64 dhātv=ādéḥ ṣ-aḥ sa-ḥ

The substitute dental phoneme s replaces the retroflex phoneme ṣ-° occurring as the initial of a verbal stem (dhātv-āde-ḥ) [when first introduced in the Dhp. 45].

ṣáhA márṣ-aṇ-e I 905: *sáh+ŚaP+te = sáh-a-te* 'bears, endures'; *ṣicÀ kṣár-aṇ-e* VI 140: *sic+Śá+tiP = si-nuM-c+á-ti* (7.1.59) = *siñc-á-ti* 'sprinkles'.

The purpose of representing verbal stems with initial retroflex sibilant [ṣ-] is in connection with the operation of 8.3.59. Such verbal stems are also listed by another enumeration: all verbal stems with initial s-°, followed by a vowel or dental stops are introduced in the Dhp. with initial retroflex [ṣ], in addition to the following: smi- 'smile', svid- 'sweat', svad- 'taste', svanj- 'clasp', svap- 'sleep', and excluding sṛp- 'creep, crawl', sṛj- 'project', stṛ- 'strew, cover', stṝ- 'ib.', styai- 'coagulate', sek- 'go, move' and sṛ- 'move'.

6.1.65 ṇ-aḥ na-ḥ

The substitute phoneme dental n replaces retroflex phoneme ṇ- [occurring as initial of a verbal stem when first introduced in the Dh. 45],

ṇīÑ prā́p-aṇ-e I 950 'lead': *nī́+ŚaP+tiP = náy-a-ti; ṇamÁ pra-hav-tvé* I 1030: *nám-a-ti* 'bows, bends'.

The purpose of so representing such verbal stems in the Dhp. is in connection with the operation of 8.4.14. The exceptions are nṛt- 'dance', nand- 'be pleased', nard- 'sound', nakk- 'disappear', naṭ- 'fall down', nath- 'seek' and nadh- 'help'.

6.1.66 lópo v-y-or vaL-i

Lópa (= ∅) replaces phonemes [v] or [y] [before 1.1.66] the phonemes denoted by the siglum vaL (= all consonants excluding [y]).

div+lIṬ = div+KvásU (3.2.107) = *di∅-div+KvásU = di-di∅-vas- = di-di-vás-* 'who has sported'; similarly *ūy+Ktá- = ū∅-tá-* 'woven', but *ūy-yá-te* 'is woven' and *div+ŚyaN+tiP = dī́v-ya-ti,* but *dív-am icchāti = div+KyaC+ŚaP+tiP = div-yá-ti* 'desires heaven'.

6.1.67 ve-r á-pṛk-ta-sya

[Lópa (∅) 66 replaces the single phoneme affix 3.1.1] (á-pṛk-ta-sya 1.2.41) vi.

[vi] is the cover term for the following affixes: (a) kṛt: KviN, KviP, Ṅvi, ṄviN, viC and viṬ; (b) taddhita: Cvi.

ghr̥-tá-m spr̥-śá-ti = *ghr̥-ta+spr̥ś+KviN* (3.2.87) = *ghr̥-ta-spr̥ś+∅* 'touching clarified butter'; *bráhmāṇ-aṁ hán-ti* = *bráhman+han+KviP* = *brahma∅+han+∅* (8.2.7) = *brahma-hán-* 'slayer of bráhman' (3.2.87). *árdha-m bháj-a-te* = *árdha+bhaj+Ṇvi* = *ardha-bhāj+∅* 'sharing half' (3.2.62). *śvetā-ḥ enam váh-a-nti* = *śveta+vah+ṆviN* (3.2.71) = *śveta-vāh+∅* 'borne by white steeds'; *úpa-yaj-a-te* = *upa-jay+viC* (3.2.73) = *upa+yáj+∅* 'additional formula at an animal sacrifice'; *kravyá-m át-ti* = *kravya+ad+viṬ* (3.2.69) = *kravyād+∅* 'flesh-eater'.

6.1.68 [1]haL=[2]Ṅī=[3]āP=bhyaḥ dīrgh-āt [1]sU-[2]ti-[3]si=á-pr̥k-ta-m haL

[Lópa (∅) 66 replaces] a single phoneme consonantal (á-pr̥k-ta-m haL affix) sU (4.1.2) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-°) or the long vowel (dirgh-āt) [of the feminine affixes 3.1.1] Ṅī or āP as well as the [affixes 3.1.1] t(i) and s(i) (3.4.78) introduced [after 3.1.2 a verbal stem 3.1.91] ending in a consonant.

[Ṅī] and [āP] are cover terms respectively for affixes ṄīN, ṄīP, ṄīṢ and CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP.

1. haL: *rājan+sU* = *rājān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rājān+∅* = *rājā+∅* (8.2.7) = *rājā; nadī+sU* = *nadī+∅* = *nadī; ramā+sU* = *ramā+∅* = *ramā.*
2. *bhr̥Ñ+lAṄ* = *áṬ+bhr̥+Ślu+tiP/siP* = *á-bi-bhar+t/s* (4.71; 7.4.76; 7.3.84; 3.4.100) = *á-bi-bhar+∅* = *á-bi-bhar.* But in the case of *grāma-ṁ+náy-a-ti* = *grāma+nī+KviP* = *grāma-ṇī+sU* = *grama-ṇī-ḥ* 'village-head' and *niṣ-krān-tá-ḥ kauśāmby-āḥ* = *níṣ-kauśāmbi+sU* = *níṣ-kauśāmbi-ḥ* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbī'.

6.1.69 [1]eṄ=[2]hrasv-āt sam-búd-dhe-ḥ

[Lópa (∅) replaces 86 a consonantal phoneme 68] of the vocative singular (sam-búd-dhe-ḥ) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel denoted by the siglum eṄ (= e, o) or a short (vowel hrasv-āt 1.2.28).

1. eṄ: *agní+sU* (voc.) = *ágne+sU* (7.3.108) = *ágne+∅* = *ágne* 'O Agni'; similarly *vāyu+sU* = *vāyo+s* = *vāyo+∅* = *vāyo.*
2. short vowel: *devá+sU* = *déva+∅* = *déva!; nadī+sU* = *nádi+s* (7.3.107) *nádi+∅* = *nádi; vadhū+sU* = *vádhu+s* = *vádhu+∅* = *vádhu.*

6.1.70 Śe-s=chándas-i bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chándas lópa ∅ 66] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] Śi (7.1.20).

yád+Śi kṣétra+Śi = *yaa+Śi* (7.2.102) = *ya+Śi* (97) = *ya+nuM+Śi* (7.1.72) = *yā́-n-i kṣétrā-ṇ-i* = *yā́∅ kṣetrā́∅* with ∅ replacement of Śi along with its operation of the infixed increment (by 8.2.7).

6.1.71 hrasvá-sya P-IT-i kr̥t-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is inserted [at the end of 1.1.46 a verbal stem before 1.1.66] a kr̥t [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT when the stem (ends in 1.1.72) a short (vowel 1.2.28).

sóma-ṁ su-távān = *sóma+su+KviP* (3.2.90) = *soma-sú-t+∅* = *soma-sút-* 'who has pressed Soma'; similarly *agní-ṁ ci-távān* = *agni-cí-t+∅* = *agni-cít-* 'who has piled the sacrificial fireplace'; *pra+kr̥+Ktvā* = *pra-kr̥-LyaP* = *pra-kŕ̥-t-ya* 'having taken up'. Here LyaP replacement of Ktvā, being a P-IT operates the final increment tuK.

6.1.72 sáṁ-hitā-y-ām

In the domain of continuous utterance (sáṁ-hitā-y-ām).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á-] heading this section up to and including 157 below, and the expression [sáṁ-hitā-y-ām] recurs in each of the subsequent rules dealing with euphonic combination in continuous speech.

6.1.73 ch-e ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at th end of a short vowel 71 before 1.1.66] the phoneme ch [in continuous utterance 72].

gám+ŚaP+tiP = *gách-a-ti* (7.3.77) = *gá-tuK-ch-a-ti* = *ga-c-ch-á-ti* (8.4.40) = *gácch-a-ti* 'goes'.

6.1.74 [1]ā́Ṅ-[2]mā́Ṅ-os=ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at the end of particles] ā́Ṅ and mā́Ṅ [before 1.1.66 the phoneme ch 73 in continuous utterance 72].

ā́Ṅ+chāyā = *ā́+tuK+chāyā* = *ā́-c-chāyā* (8.4.40) = *ī́ṣac-chāyā* 'a little shadow'; *ā́Ṅ+chād-áy-a-ti* = *ā́-t+chād-ay-a-ti* = *ā́-c-chād-ay-a-ti* 'covers, wraps, envelopes'.

máṄ+aṬ-chait-s-īt/aṬ+chid-a-t (lUṄ 3rd sing.) = *má+∅chait-s-ī-t/chid-a-t* (6.4.74) = *má+tuK+chait-s-īt/chid-a-t* = *mác-chait-s-īt/mác-chid-a-t* 'let him not cut'.
By denoting the particle ā with marker Ṅ, this operation is blocked in the case of its counterpart without that marker denoting either a sentence or remembrance (vākyà- or smár-aṇa-) as a necessary operation (76 below): *á chāyā/āc-chāyā* 'oh! the shadow'.

6.1.75 dīrgh-ā́t

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28: dīrgh-ā́t) [before 1.1.66 the phoneme ch in continuous utterance 72].

hrīch+SaP+tiP = *hrī́-t-ch-a-ti* = *hrī́cch-a-ti* (8.4.40) 'feels shy'; so also *mlech-: mlécch-a-ti* 'speaks indistinctly'; *ápa+cho+yaṄ+ŚaP+te* = *apa+chā+ya+te* = *apa-cā-chā-ya-te* (45) = *apa-cā+t+chā-ya-te* = *apa-cāc-chā-ya-te* 'continuously breaks'.

6.1.76 padá=ant-āt=vā

[The final increment tuK 71] is optionally (vā) inserted [after 1.1.67 a long vowel 75] occurring at the end of a padá [before 1.1.66 the phoneme ch 75 in continuous utterance 72].

kuṭī-chāyā́ = *kuṭī-tuK+chāyā́* = *kuṭī-c-chāyā/kuṭī-chāyā́* 'shadow of a hut'.

6.1.77 iK-aḥ yaṆ aC-i

The substitute semivowel phonemes denoted by the siglum yaṆ (=y, v, r, l) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) (before 1.1.66) a vowel phoneme (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

dádhi/mádhu+átra = *dádhy-/mádhv-átra* 'curds/honey here'. *nadī́/vadhū́+Ṭā* = *nady-ā́/vadhv-ā́* 'by the river/by the daughter-in-law'. *mātŕ̥+Ṭā* = *mātr-ā́* 'by the mother'. *l̥+ā-kr̥-ti-ḥ* = *l-ā-kr̥-ti-ḥ* 'configuration of the phoneme l̥'.
For an exception to this rule cf. 101 below.

6.1.78 eC-aḥ=¹ay-²av-³āy-⁴āv-aḥ

The substitute elements ay, av, āy and āv [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowels denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [before 1.1.66 a vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

cí+LyuṬ = *cé+LyuṬ* (7.3.84) = *cé+ana-* (7.1.1) = *cáy-ana-* 'piling up'; *lū́+LyuṬ* = *ló+ana-* = *láv-ana-* 'cutting, reaping'; *cí+ṆvuL* = *caí+aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115) = *cā́y-aka-* 'gatherer'; similarly *lū́+ṆvuL* = *laú+aka-* = *lā́v-aka* 'reaper'.

6.1.79 va̲=anta-ḥ y-i praty-ay-é

[Before 1.1.66] an affix (praty-ay-é) with initial phoneme y-° (y-i) elements ending in phoneme °-v (= av, āv 78: va̲=anta-ḥ) [respectively replace the vowels o and au of eC 78].

babhró-r ápatyam = *babhrú+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *babhro+yaÑ* (4.146) = *bā́bhrav-ya-ḥ* (7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú'. *nā́v-ā́ tār-yà-m* = *naú+yàT* (4.4.91) = *nāv-yà-m* 'navigable'.

6.1.80 dhā́to-s tán-nimitta-sya=evá

[Before 1.1.66 an affix with initial phoneme y-° the substitute elements ending in °-v (= av, āv) 79 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels o and au of eC 78] provided (evá) only that these vowels are replacements caused by that affix itself of the verbal stem-final (dhā́to-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

lū+yàT (3.1.97) = *lo+yàT* (7.3.84) = *láv-ya-* 'reapable'; *lū+ṆyàT* (3.1.125) = *lau+yà* (7.2.117) = *lāv-yà-* 'necessarily to be cut'. But *āṄ+veÑ+yaK+te* 3rd p. sg. passive of the Pres. Tense = *ā́-ū-ya-te* = *o-ya-te* 'is woven', with the corresponding Imperfect *ā́Ṭ+ū+yaK+ta* = *aú-ya-ta* (90) 'was woven'; in both situations the initial diphthongs are not caused by the affix yáK and thus do not come under the operation of this rule.

6.1.81 [1]kṣáy-ya-[2]jáy-ya-au śakya=arth-é

The expressions kṣáy-ya- and jáy-ya- are introduced to denote the sense of 'capable of' (śak-ya=arth-e).

kṣé-tuṁ śák-ya-m = *kṣi+yàT* = *kṣé+yaT* = *kṣáy-ya-m* 'capable of being destroyed' where /e/ is replaced irregularly by /ay/. Similarly *jé-tuṁ śák-ya-m* = *jáy-ya-m* 'capable of being conquered', against the regular forms *kṣé-ya-/jé-ya-* 'to be destroyed'/'to be conquered'.

6.1.82 kráy-ya-s tad-arth-é

The expression kráy-ya- is introduced to denote 'exhibited for the purpose of sale' (tad-arth-é).

krī+yaT = *kré+ya-* = *kráy-ya-* 'displayed for the purpose of sale', but *kré-ya-* 'vendible, purchaseable'.

6.1.83 bháy-ya- pra-váy-y-e ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expressions bháy-ya and pra-váy-yā are introduced as special forms.

bí-bhe-ti a-smā́t = *bhī+yàT* (3.3.113) = *bhe+yàT* = *bháy-ya-* 'should be afraid of'; in opposition to non-Chándas *bhé-ya-* 'to be feared or dreaded'; *pra+vī+yàT* = *pra-ve+yàT+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *pra-váy-y-ā* 'fit for impregnation' versus non-Chándas *pra-vé-y-ā* 'to be impregnated'.

6.1.84 éka-ḥ pūrva-paráy-oḥ

A single substitute replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes (pūrva-paráy-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

This is a governing rule (1.3.11) heading this section which extends up to and including 112 below. This will, therefore, recur in the subsequent rules of this section.

6.1.85 anta=ādi-vát=ca

[A single substitute element which replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] functions as the final (anta-°) of the preceding unit and the initial (ādi-vat) of the following unit.

In the expression *vr̥kṣ-aú (vr̥kṣá+au/auṬ),* resulting from the single replacement [au] of stem-final [a] and the affix [au] of sUP, [au] is considered as the initial of sUP and the final of [vr̥kṣá-] so that by 1.4.14 one can define *vr̥kṣaú* as a Padá. Similarly in the expression *brahma-bandh-ū́ (= brahma-bandhú+ūṄ)* f. the single replacement [ū] resulting from the replacement-final [u] of *brahma-bandhú-* m. and the feminine affix [ū́Ṅ] is considered as the final of the nominal stem and therefore sUP can be introduced after it by 4.1.1.

6.1.86 ¹ṣa-tva-²tuK-or á-sid-dha-ḥ

[A single substitute element replacing the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] is deemed inoperative for the purpose of replacement by retroflex /ṣ/ or for the final augment tuK.

In *kím+sU á-sic-a-t* = *ká+s* (7.2.103)+*á-sic-a-t* = *kárU+á-sic-a-t* (8.2.66) = *ká-u+á-sic-a-t* (113) = *kó+á-sic-a-t* (87) = *kó-sic-a-t* (109), dental /s/ is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant, since by this rule the single replacement of padá-final /o/ and the following /a/ blocks out the operation of 8.3.59.

In *ádhi+iṄ+Ktvā́* = *adhi+i+LyaP* = *adh-ī-LyaP* (7.1.37), the single substitute /ī/ of the preverb final /i/ and the initial /i/ of the verbal stem /iṄ/ is considered inoperative and thus does not block out the operation of 71 above: *adh-ī́-t-ya* 'having studied'.

6.1.87 āt=guṇá-ḥ

[A single phoneme 84] denoted by the t.t. guṇá (1.1.2 = a, e, o) replaces [both the vowel following 1.1.67] the phoneme-class /a/ as well as the phoneme-class /a/ [preceding 1.1.66 that vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

devá+índra- = *dev-e-ndrá-* 'king of gods'; *nár-air ī́ḍ-ya-ḥ nára+ī́ḍya-* = *nár-e-ḍya-* 'to be praised by men'; *ā́+i-táḥ* = *é-taḥ* 'they two come'; *prá+ī́kṣ-a-te* = *pr-é-kṣ-a-te* 'sees'; *párā+īkṣ-e-ta* = *par-e-kṣ-e-ta* 'one should look at'; *uṣṇa+udaka-* = *uṣṇ-o-daká-* 'hot water'; *kutsā́+úk-ti* = *kuts-o-k-tí-* 'slander, contemptuous speech'; *karabhá+ūrú-* = *karbh-óru-* 'whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant'; *jihvā́+ūrdhva-bhāgá-* = *jihv-o-rdhva-bhāgá-* 'upper part of the tongue'; *devá+ṛ́ṣi* = *dev-ar-ṣí* (1.1.51) 'divine seer' (Nārada); in this case /a/ being the most proximate to both phonemes among the guṇá vowels, replaces them and by 1.1.51 a vowel replacement of vocalic /ṛ/ by a simple vowel (a, i, u) is always accompanied by the phoneme /r/ which gives the working rule that the guṇá and vṛddhi grades of /ṛ/ are respectively /ar/ and /ār/ and of /ḷ/ are /al/ and /āl/: *tava+ḷ kāraḥ* = *tav-al-kār-a-ḥ* 'your sonant lateral /ḷ/'.

6.1.88 vṛ́d-dhi-r eC-i

[A single substitute 84] denoted by the t.t. vṛ́d-dhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replaces [both 84 the vowel 77 following the vowel-class /a/ 87] represented by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [and the vowel phoneme-class /a/ preceding 1.1.66 it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

śveta+eḍaka- = *śvet-ai-ḍaká-* 'white ram'; *brahma+odana-* = *brahm-au-daná-* 'rice meant for a brahman'; *brahma+aitikā-yana-* = *brahm-ai-tikāyaná-* 'brahmin descendant of Itika'; *tīkṣṇá+auṣadhá-* = *tīkṣṇ-au-ṣadhá-* 'bitter medicine'.

6.1.89 [1]é-ti=[2]édh-a-ti=[3]ūṬH-su

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vṛ́ddhi 88 replaces both 84 the preceding 1.1.66 phoneme-class /a/ and the following 1.1.67 eC 84,88 before 1.1.66] the expressions é-ti 'goes', édh-a-ti 'grows' and the substitute element ūṬH (of °-vāh- 4.132 below) [in continuous utterance 72].

úpa+e-mi/e-ṣi/e-ti = *úp-ai-mi/°-ṣí/°-ti* but *úpa+i-tas* = *up-e-tas* 'they two approach'; *úpa+édh-a-te* = *úp-ai-dh-a-te* 'grows'; *praṣṭha-vāh+Śas* = *praṣṭha-ūṬH-h+Śas* (4.132) = *praṣṭh-au-h-as* = *praṣṭhauh-aḥ* acc. plur. 'young bulls trained for the plough'.

The (recurrent expression) [eC-i] applies here properly only to the strong forms of the verbal stem [iṄ gat-au II 36] since in the weaker forms guṇá does not take place. Also it is not relevant to [ūṬH].

6.1.90 ā́Ṭ-as=ca

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vṛ́ddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84 the vowel denoted by the siglum aC 77 occurring after 1.1.67] the initial increment ā́Ṭ and ā́Ṭ (4.72) [preceding it 84, in continuous utterance 72].

ā́Ṭ+īkṣ+ŚaP+ta = *aí-kṣ-a-ta* 'saw'; *ubh+lUṄ* = *áṬ+ubh+siC+t* (3.1.44) = *ā́-ubh+iṬ-s+īṬ+t* (7.2.35; 3.96) = *aú-bh-i-∅-ī-t* (8.2.28) = *aú-bh-ī-t* 'has filled with'; *ṛdh+lAṄ* = *ā́Ṭ+ṛdh+Śnu+t* = *ā́r-dh-no-t* 'prospered'.

6.1.91 upa-sarg-ā́t ṛT-i dhā́t-au

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vṛ́ddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84] the preverb [final 1.1.52 phoneme-class /a/ 87] and the (initial 1.1.54) syllabic resonant /ṛ/ of a verbal stem (dhā́t-au) [occurring after 1.1.67 it in continuous utterance 72].

úpa+ṛcch-a-t- = *úp-ār-cch-a-ti* 'importunes'.

6.1.92 vā sUP-y ā́piśale-ḥ

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vṛ́ddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88] optionally (vā) replaces [both 84 the pre-verb final 91 phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the initial syllabic resonant /ṛ/ 91] of a denominative (sUP-i) [verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72] according to the grammarian Āpiśali.

ṛṣabhá-m ātmán-aḥ icch-á-ti = *ṛṣabhá+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ṛṣabhī-yáti* (7.4.33) 'desires a bull for one's self': with the preverb *prá+ṛṣabhī-ya-ti* = *pr-ár-ṣabhī-ya-ti/pr-ár-ṣabhīya-ti*. Since option is indicated by the indeclinable /vā/ Āpiśali's name is for honorific purpose only.

6.1.93 ā=oT-aḥ=[1]am-[2]Śas-oḥ

[The single substitute phoneme 84] /ā/ replaces [both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme /o/ [and the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am and Śas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

gó+am/Śas = *g-ā́-m/g-ā́-ḥ* (8.3.15) acc. sing./plur. of *gó-* 'cow, bull'.

6.1.94 eṄ-i para-rūpá-m

[A single substitute 84] consisting of the second of two (contiguous phonemes para-°) [replaces both the preceding 84 pre-verb-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following 84] vowel denoted by the siglum eṄ (= e, o) [of a verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to 88 above. *úpa+el-ay-a-ti* = *úp-e-l-ay-a-ti* impels towards; *úpa+oṣ-ay-a-ti* = *úp-o-ṣ-ay-a-ti* 'burns down'.

6.1.95 [1]óm=[2]ā́Ṅ-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces both the preceding 84 stem-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following vowel 84] of the particles óm and āṄ [in continuous utterance 72].

kā́ oóm ity á-voc-a-t = *k-óm ity á-voc-a-t* 'who uttered Óm?'. *ā́Ṅ+vah+tṛ-* = *ā́+uḍh+dhṛ-* (8.2.40) = *ā́+uḍh+ḍhṛ-* (8.4.41) = *ā́+o∅-ḍhṛ-* (8.3.13) = *ó-ḍhṛ-* 'harbinger'; so also *adyá+oḍhṛ́-* = *ady-o-ḍhṛ́-* 'harbinger of today'.

6.1.96 us-i á-pada=ant-āt

[A single substitute 86 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces] a non-padá-final (á-pada=ant-ā) [phoneme-class /a/ 87 preceding the substitute affix 3.1.1] °-us [and the initial vowel of °-us following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

dā+lUṄ = *áṬ+dā+(Cli→siC→∅* 3.1.43.44; 2.4.77)+*us* (3.4.108) = *á+dā+us* =

á-d-us 'they have given'; *chid+lIṄ* = *chid+ŚnaM+yā́s+Jus* (3.4.103,108) = *chi-n∅-d+yā́∅+us* (4.11; 7.2.79) = *chind-yā́+us* = *chind-y-ús* 'they should cut off'.

6.1.97 aT-aḥ=guṇ-é

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two continuous phonemes 94 replaces a non-padá-final 96] short vowel /a(T)/ [preceding 84] a guṇá vowel (= a,e,o) [and the guṇa vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

pác+ŚaP+jhi = *pác-a+anti* (7.1.3) = *pac-a-nti* 'they are cooking'; *yáj+ŚaP+íṬ* = *jáj-a+e* (3.4.79) = *yáj-e* 'I am sacrificing'.

6.1.98 a-vyak-ta=anu-kár-aṇa-sya=at-aḥ it-au

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces the final 1.1.52] element /at/ of an echo-word (a-vyak-ta=anu-kár-aṇa-sya) [preceding (1.1.66) 84] the indeclinable iti [and the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of iti following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

paṭat+iti = *paṭ-i-ti; jhaṭat+iti* = *jhaṭ-i-ti.*

6.1.99 ná=ā́-mreḍ-i-ta-sya=ánt-ya-sya tu vā

[A single substitute 84, consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] does not (ná) replace [the element /at/ 99] of a reduplicated (ā́-mreḍ-i-ta-sya) [echo-word 98 and the following initial 1.1.54 phoneme of iti 98], but (tu) will optionally (vā) replace [the final 1.1.52] phoneme [of the echo-word and the initial of iti 98 in continuous utterance 72].

paṭ-at-paṭ-ad-iti/paṭ-at-paṭa+ti = *paṭ-at-paṭ-e-ti.*

6.1.100 nítya-m ā́-mreḍ-i-t-e Ḍā́C-i

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the element /at/ 99 of the first half as well as the second half] of the echo-word co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] Ḍā́C.

By 5.4.57 affix Ḍā́C is introduced after echo-words, with re-duplication of the echo-

word; this rule operates prior to the operation of ∅ replacement of the syllable beginning with the last vowel (6.4.143): *paṭ-at+Ḍā́C = paṭ-at-paṭ-at+Ḍā́C = paṭ-at-paṭ-∅∅+ā́* (97) = *paṭ-at-paṭ-ā́ kar-o-ti = paṭ-a∅-paṭ-ā́ kar-o-ti*.

6.1.101 aK-aḥ sá-varṇ-e dīrghá-ḥ

[A single substitute 94] long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) replaces [both 84] a vowel denoted by the siglum aK (= a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ) and [the following 84] homogeneous vowel (sá-varṇ-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to the general rule 77 with reference to [iK]. *daṇḍá+ágra- = daṇḍ-ā-grá* 'tip of a staff'; *kaví+índra = kav-ī-ndrá-* 'poet laureate'; *mádhu+udaká- = madh-ū-daká-* 'honey and water'; *pitṛ́+ṛṇá- = pit-ṝ-ṇa-* 'debt owed to the father'.

6.1.102 prathamáy-oḥ pūrva-savarṇá-ḥ

[The single substitute 84 long vowel 101] homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels (pūrva-sa-varṇá-ḥ) [denoted by the siglum /aK/ 101] replaces [both the nominal stem-final 1.1.52 vowel aK 101 and the initial aC vowel 77 of the affixes 3.1.1] of the first and second (prathamáy-oḥ) sUP triplets introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

agní+au = agn-ī́ 'two fires'; similarly *vāyú+au = vāy-ū́* 'two winds'; *hará+Jas = har-ā́-ḥ* 'Hara-s'; in this instance both 101 and 102 can operate to give the expected surface form, but by metarule 1.4.2 the later rule prevails. Though 97 can also cover the situation it blocks the operation of 101 but not of 102, by a general metarule that a prior exception blocks the operation of an immediately following rule and not one which follows it later.

6.1.103 tá-smāt=Śas-aḥ=na-ḥ puṁs-í

After (tá-smāt) [that single substitute 84 long vowel replaces both the stem-final aK and initial vowel of affix 3.1.1] Śas, phoneme /n/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of Śas [in continuous utterance] in the case of masculine [nominal stems 4.1.1] (puṁs-í).

hará+Śas = har-ā́-s = har-ā́-n; hári+Śas = hár-ī-s = hár-ī-n; vāyú+Śas = vāy-ū́-n; pitṛ́+Śas = pit-ṝ́-n.

6.1.104 ná=āt=iC-i

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 102] does not (ná) replace [both 84] the phoneme-class /a/ [and the following vowel 84 denoted by the siglum] iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme-class /a/) [before 1.1.66 the first and second sUP triplets 102 introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.52] the phoneme-class /a/.

hará+au = *har-aú* (88); *śā́lā+Śī* (7.1.18) = *śā́l-e* (87) 'two halls'; *vána+Śī* (7.1.19) = *ván-e* 'two forests', *sárva+Śī* (7.1.17) = *sárv-e* 'all'.

6.1.105 dīrgh-ā́t=Jas-i ca

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not replace 104 both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] long vowel (dīrgh-ā́t) [and the following 84 initial vowel 77 of the affix 3.1.1] Jas and (ca) [the initial vowels denoted by the siglum iC 102 in continuous utterance 72].

nadī́+Jas = *nady-áḥ* (77) 'rivers'; *nadī́+au* = *nady-aú* 'two rivers'. Rules 102-107 deal only with the first and second sUP triplets.

6.1.106 vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [a single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not 105] optionally (vā) replace [both the stem-final long vowel and the following initial vowel 84 of Jas 105 or the first and second sUP triplets 102 beginning with iC 104 in continuous utterance 72].

mārutī́+Jas = *mārut-ī́-ḥ/māruty-áḥ* *cátasr-aḥ* 'four Mārutī-s'; similarly *vārāh-ī́/vārāhy-aú* 'two V. sāman-s'.

6.1.107 am-i pū́rva-ḥ

[A single substitute 84] homologous to the first (pūrva-ḥ) [of two contiguous vowels denoted by the siglum aK 101 replaces that vowel as well as the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am [of the second sUP triplet 102 in continuous speech 72].

devá+am = *dev-á-m; mā́lā+am* = *mā́l-ā-m; hári+am* = *hár-i-m; nadī́+am* = *nad-ī́-m; dhenú+am* = *dhen-ú-m; vadhū́+am* = *vadh-ū́-m*. In the case of nominal

stems ending in /-ṛ/ 7.3.110 replaces the stem-final with guṇá and being a later rule, takes precedence over this by virtue of the metarule 1.4.2.

6.1.108 sam-pra-sā́r-aṇ-āt=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] also (ca) replaces [both 84] the sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa vowel (=iK) [and the vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

yaj+Ktá = *iaj+tá* (15) = *ij+tá* = *iṣ-ṭá-* (cf. 15 above).

6.1.109 eṄ-aḥ pada=ant-ā́t=aT-i

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] denoted by the siglum /eṄ/ (= e,o) replaces [both 84] padá-final eṄ and [the following 84] short initial /a/ of (the following padá) [in continuous utterance 72].

ágne+átra = *ágn-e-tra* 'O Agni! here'; similarly *vandé+ahám* = *vand-é-hám* 'I salute'; *vā́yo+atra* = *vā́y-o-tra.*

6.1.110 ṄasI-Ṅas-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel denoted by the siglum eṄ 109] replaces [both itself and the following short initial /a/ 109 of the affixes 3.1.1] ṄasI and Ṅas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

agní+ṄasI/Ṅas = *agné+as* (7.3.111) = *agn-é-s* = *agn-é-ḥ* (8.3.15); similarly *vāyú+ṄasI/Ṅas* = *vāy-ó-s* = *vāy-óḥ.*

6.1.111 r̥T-aḥ=uT

[A single substitute 84 vowel] short /u/ replaces [both the stem-final 1.1.52] short vowel /r̥/ [and the following 84 initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ṄasI and Ṅas 110 in continuous utterance 72].

mātŕ̥+Ṅas(I) = *māt-úr-s* = *māt-úr∅* (8.2.24) = *māt-úḥ* (8.3.15).

6.1.112 khya̱-ty-ā̱t pára-sya

[A single substitute 84 vowel short /u/ 111 replaces the initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ṄasI and Ṅas 110 after 1.1.67] °-khy- and °-ty- [of nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

> *sákhi+ṄasI/Ṅas = sákhy+as = sakhy-us* (77) = *sakhy-uḥ; páti+ṄasI/Ṅas = páty+as = páty-us = páty-uḥ.*

6.1.113 aT-aḥ=rO-ḥ=á-plut-āt=á-plut-e

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111 replaces] rU (8.2.66) when it is preceded and followed by (1.1.66-67) a non-prolated (á-plut-āt+á-plut-e) short phoneme /a/ [in continuous utterance 72].

> *hará+sU+á-tra = hará-rU+á-tra = hará+u+átra = haró+átra* (87) = *har-ó-tra* (109).

6.1.114 ha̱Ś-i ca

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111] also (ca) replaces [rU when it is preceded by a non-prolated short vowel a 113 before 1.1.66] a voiced consonant (ha̱Ś-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

> *hará+sU+hás-a-ti = hará+rU+hás-a-ti = hará-u+hás-a-ti = haró hás-a-ti* 'Hará laughs'.

6.1.115 pra-kṛ́-ty-ā=antaḥ-pādá-m á-v-y-a̱-par-e

[A padá-final vowel denoted by the siglum eṄ (= e,o) and short /a/ following it 109] retain their forms (pra-kṛ́-ty-ā) when occurring within a quarter of the ṛk-verse (antaḥ-pādá-m), provided it is not followed by phonemes /v/ or /y/ [in continuous utterance 72].

> *sú-jāt-e áśva-sūnṛt-e* (RV 5.79.1) 'O well-born one, who art pleased with horses'; *ádhvaryo ádri-bhih su-tá-m* (RV 9.51.1) 'O Adhvaryu! (the soma) has been pressed with stones', but *té á-vad-an = t-é-vad-an* 'they spoke'. *té-yaj-anta (= té á-yaj-anta)* 'they sacrificed'.

6.1.116 [1]avyā́t=[2]avadyā́t=[3]áva-kramus=[4]á-vrata=[5]ayám=[6]ávantu=[7]avas-yú-ṣu

[Pada-final eṄ (= e,o) 109 occurring within a ṛk-verse quarter 115 and

the following short vowel /a/ retain their forms 115] also when [short vowel /a/ occurs as initial 1.1.54] of av-yā́t 'may he assist', a-vad-y-ā́t 'from disgrace', áva-kram-us 'they have trampled underfoot', á-vrata- 'impiety', ayám 'this', áv-a-ntu 'may they protect' and avas-yú- 'desiring assistance' [in continuous utterance 72].

These are exceptions to the constraints placed on the phoneme /a/ by the preceding rule of not being followed by phoneme /v/ or /y/.

1. *ágniḥ prathamó vásu-bhir no avyā́t* 'May Agni, the foremost, assist us with wealth' (T.S. 2.1.11.3).
2. *mitra-m aho a-vady-ā́t* (R.V. 4.4.15).
3. *mā́ śivā́so áva-kram-uḥ* (R.V. 7.32.27) 'may happiness not overcome'.
4. *té no á-vrat-ā-ḥ* 'they behave impiously towards us'.
5. *śatá-dhāro ayám maṇí-ḥ* 'this jewel has a hundred edges'.
6. *té no av-a-ntu pitár-aḥ* (R.V. 10.15.1) 'may the Manes protect us.
7. *kuśikā́-so av-as-yáv-aḥ* (R.V. 3.42.9) 'descendants of Kuśika, desirous of assistance'.

6.1.117 yájuṣ-i=uraḥ

In the domain of Yajur-Veda [padá-final /o/ of the nominal stem 4.1.1] úras- 'chest, breast' [and following short phoneme /a/ 109 retain their form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

úro antárikṣa-m (V.S. 3.42.9) 'the chest is the intermediate region'.

6.1.118 [1]āpo=[2]juṣāṇó=[3]vṛ̥́ṣṇo=[4]várṣ-iṣṭhe=[5]ámbe=[6]ámbāle=[7]ámbike-pūrv-e

[In the domain of Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final vowels denoted by the siglum eṄ (=e,o) 109 of the expressions] ā́p-o 'waters', juṣ-āṇ-ó 'pleasing', vṛ̥́ṣṇ-o 'man's', várṣ-iṣṭh-e 'in the highest', and ámbe/ámbāle preceding ámbike [retain their shape 115 before 1.1.66 short vowel /a/ 119 in continuous utterance 72].

1. *ā́p-o asmā́n mātár-aḥ śundh-ay-a-ntu* (V.S. 4.2) 'may the motherly waters purify us'.
2. *juṣ-āṇo aptúr ā́jya-sya* (V.S. 5.35) 'busy loving clarified butter'.
3. *vṛ̥́ṣṇ-o aṁśú-bhyāṁ gábhasti-pū-taḥ* (V.S. 7.1) 'purified by a man's hands with two Soma libations'.
4. *várṣ-iṣṭh-e ádhi nā́k-e* (T.S. 1.1.8.1) 'in the highest heaven'.
5. *ámbe ámbāle ámbike* 'O mothers!'. These vocatives are not subject to the operation of 7.3.107 in YV.

6.1.119 áṅga ity-ād-au ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eṄ (= e,o) of the nominal stem 4.1.1] áṅga- 'limb' (i.e., áṅg-e) and (ca) initial /a/ of the following expression aṅge (tad-ād-au) [both retain their shape in continuous utterance 72].

aindrá-ḥ prāṇ-ó áṅge aṅge ní-dīdhy-at 'the breath of Indra meditated on each limb'.

6.1.120 ánu-dātt-e ca [1]kU-[2]dhá̱-par-e

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eṄ 109] and (ca) [the following 1.1.66] low-pitched (án-udātt-e) [short vowel /a/ 109] preceding velar stops (kU-° 1.1.69) or phoneme /dh/ [both retain their original shapes 115 in continuous utterance 72].

ayám só agní-ḥ 'this is that Agni' (V.S. 5.37) but *adhás+ágr-e adhó+ágre = adh-ó-gre* (109).

6.1.121 á-vap-a-thās-i ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eṄ (= e,o) 109 and the following ánudātta short vowel /a/ 109 of the verbal form] á-vap-a-thās 'thou hast sown' [both retain their original form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

trī́ rudré-bhyo a-váp-a-thās (K.S. 30.6.32) 'thou has sown thrice for the Rudra-s'. The verbal form [á-vap-a-thās] loses its high-pitched accent when following a non-verbal form by 8.1.28, but by 8.1.30 *yád rudré+bhyas á-vap-a-thās=yád rudré-bhy-ó-vap-a-thās* the verbal padá retains its original accent and is thus subject to 109.

6.1.122 sarvá-tra vibhāṣā go-ḥ

[Pada-final eṄ 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] go- 'cow f., bull m.' and [the following short vowel /a/ 109 both retain their original form] optionally (vibhāṣā) everywhere (sarvá-tra) [i.e., in the Chándas and elsewhere in current speech, in continuous utterance 72].

gó+ágra-m = gó-agram/g-ó-gram 'headed by cattle'.

6.1.123 avaṄ sphóṭāyana-sya

According to the grammarian Sphóṭāyana the substitute avaṄ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 go- 'cow, bull' 122 before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

gó+ágra-m = gava+ágra-m = gav-ā́-gra-m/gó-agram/g-ó-gra-m; go+ajiná-m = gav-ā-jinám/g-o-jiná-m 'cow-hide'; *go+odaná-m gav-au-daná-m/gav-o-daná-m* 'cattle-feed'; *go+uṣṭrá- gav-o-ṣṭrá-m* 'cows and camels'. But *gó+akṣa- = gav-ā́-kṣa-* 'window' without option.

6.1.124 índr-e (nítya-m*)

[The substitute element avaṄ 123] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 go- 'cow, bull' 123 before 1.1.66] índra- [in continuous utterance 72].

gó+índra- = gava+indrá = gav-e-ndrá- 'lord of cattle (= bull)'.

6.1.125 plu-tá=pra-gṝh-y-ā-ḥ aC-i nítya-m

Prolated (plu-tá-°) vowels and pra-gṝh-ya vowels (1.1.11) necessarily (nítya-m) [retain their original form 115 before 1.1.66] vowels (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

According to Patañjali the word [nítya-m] occurs only in this rule and not in 124 above, since its separate mention following 123 itself indicates the absence of option. The use of this word here is to block the operation of 127 below.

dévadatta!3 ihá ā́s-ana-m alam-kur-u 'Devadatta! please grace this seat'; *agní+au = agn-ī́ (102)+iti, vāy-ū́ iti, śā́l-e iti.*

6.1.126 ā́Ṅ-aḥ=ánu-nās-ika-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas a nasalized (ánu-nās-ika-ḥ) particle /ā̃/ replaces ā́Ṅ [before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

ā́Ṅ+ap-áḥ = ā̃ ap-áḥ.

6.1.127 iK-aḥ=á-sa-varṇ-e śā́kalya-sya hrasvaś=ca

According to the grammarian Śā́kalya [a padá-final 109 vowel denoted by the siglum] iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [retains its form 115 before 1.1.66] non-

homogeneous [vowels 77] (á-sa-varṇ-e) and the (corresponding) short vowel replaces it [in continuous utterance 72].

dádhi+átra = dádhi átra/dádhy-átra, mádhu átra/mádhv-atra; kumārī́+átra = kumārí átra/kumāry-átra; vadhū́+atra = vadhú átra/vadhv-á-tra.

6.1.128 r̥T-y aK-aḥ

[According to the grammarian Śā́kalya 127 padá-final vowel 109 denoted by the siglum] aK (= a, i, u, r̥, l̥) [retains its form 115 and the corresponding short vowel replaces it 127 before 1.1.66] the short vowel /r̥/ [in continuous utterance 72].

brahma+r̥ṣí = brahma-r̥ṣí-/brahmar-ṣí 'brahmin sage'; *khátvā+r̥śya-h = khátva-ŕ̥śya-ḥ/khátv-ár-śya-ḥ.*

6.1.129 á-plu-ta-vat=upa-sthi-t-é

[A prolated vowel (plu-tá) 125] is treated like a non-prolated one (á-plu-ta-vat) [before 1.1.66] the indeclinable iti (upa-sthi-t-é) used in the Padapāṭha (for separating padá-s).

su-ślokā́3+iti (8.2.84)/*su-ślok-é-ti* (87).

6.1.130 ī3 cākra-varmaṇ-á-sya

According to the grammarian Cākra-varmaṇ-á [the prolated vowel 125] ī3 [is treated like a non-prolated vowel 123 before 1.1.66 vowels 77 in continuous utterance 72].

This is an optional rule: *ás-tu hī́3 iti/as-tu h-ī́-ti; ci-nú hī́3 idam = cinú-h-ī́-dam.*

6.1.131 div-aḥ=uT

The substitute short vowel /u/ replaces [padá-final 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'heaven, sky'.

div-í kām-ó+a-syá = dív+∅+kāma-ḥ = dí-u-kāma-ḥ = dyú-kāma-ḥ 'n.pr. (lit. whose desire is in heaven)'; *dív+bhis = dyú-bhis; vímalā dyaú-r a-smín = vímala+div- = vimala-dyu (= di-u)* 'bright day'. But when not padá-final: *div+au/Jas/am/Śas = dív-au, dív-as, dív-am/dív-as.*

6.1.132 etád=tád-oḥ sU-lopá-ḥ=á-k-oḥ á-naÑ-sam-ās-e haL-i

Lopa (∅) [zero affix 3.1.1] replaces [the first sUP triplet 4.1.1] sU introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems] etád- 'this' and tád- 'that' not co-occurring with [the affix ák(aC) 5.3.71] or with the privative particle náÑ in composition (á-naÑ-sam-as-e) [before 1.1.66] a consonant (haL-i).

> *etád+sU* = *etáa+sU* (7.2.102) = *et-á+sU* (97) = *eṣá+sU* (7.2.106) = *eṣá-sU* (8.3.57)+*dá-dā-ti* = *eṣá∅ da-dā-ti* 'this one gives'; so also *tád+sU ná dá-dā-ti* = *sá-∅ ná dá-dā-ti* 'he does not give'; but *eṣá-ka+sU dá-dā-ti* = *eṣá-ka+rU dá-dā-ti* (8.2.66) = *eṣá-ka+u dá-dā-ti* (113) = *eṣá-ko dá-dā-ti; náÑ+etád+sU dá-dā-ti* = *án-eṣa+sU* = *án-eṣo dá-dā-ti.*

6.1.133 sya-ś chándas-i bahulá-m

In the Chándas [lópa (∅) replaces the first sUP triplet sU 132] variously, [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] syá- (= tyád-) 'that one' [in continuous utterance 72].

> *eṣá syá te paav-a-ta indra sóma-ḥ* (R.V. 9.97.46) 'here, O Indra, that soma flows off clearly for you', contra *yá-tra syó ni-pat-et* 'where that one may fall down'.

6.1.134 s-aḥ=aC-i lóp-e cét pāda-pūr-aṇá-m

[In the Chándas 133 lópa (∅) replaces the first sUP triplet sU, introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1 tád- 132 before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i), if by that replacement (cét) the quarter-verse can become complete (pāda-pūr-aṇá-m) [in continuous utterance 72].

> *sédu rā́jā kṣay-a-ti carṣaṇī-nā́m* (R.V. 1.32.15) for *sá-ḥ íd.* This rule is extended to the epic language on the basis of the maxim *chando-vát kaváy-aḥ kur-v-ánti: sáiṣá dā́śarathī rāmá-ḥ* for *sá+sU+eṣá+sU.*

6.1.135 suṬ k-at pū́rva-ḥ

The initial increment suṬ is inserted before (pū́rva-ḥ) the phoneme /k/ [in continuous utterance 72].

> This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to and including 157 below, and recurs in the subsequent rules in this section.

6.1.136 ¹aṬ=²abhyāsa-vy-av-āy-é=ápi

[The initial increment sṳṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135] even (ápi) when there is intervention (between them vy-av-āy-é) by áṬ (4.72) or the reduplicated syllable (° -abhy-ās-á- °) [in continuous utterance 72].

sám+kar-ó-ti = *sáṁ-skar-o-ti* 'adorns' (137); *sám+kr̥+lAṄ* = *sam+áṬ+kr̥+u+t* = *sam-á-suṬ-kar-o-t* (7.3.84) = *sam-á-skar-o-t; sam+kr̥+lIṬ* = *sáṁ+ca-s-kār-a; sam+kr̥+lUṄ* = *sam-á-s-kār-ṣ-ī-t*. This is also a governing rule along with 136.

6.1.137 ¹sám-²pári=³úpe-bhyḥ kar-ó-t-au bhū́ṣ-aṇ-e

[The initial increment sṳṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem] kar-ó-ti (= kr̥- 'do, produce' VIII 10), co-occurring with the pre-verbs sám- ° , pári- ° and úpa- ° to denote 'adorn, beautify' [even with the intervention of áṬ or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72].

sáṁ-s-kar-o-ti, sam-á-s-kar-o-t, sáṁ-ca-s-kār-a; saṁ-s-kár-tum, saṁ-s-kar-tŕ̥-, saṁ-s-kar-távya-m; pari-ṣ-kar-tŕ̥- (8.3.70), *pari-ṣ-kár-tum; upa-s-kár-tum, upa-s-kar-tŕ̥-.*

6.1.138 sam-av-āy-é ca

[The initial increment sṳṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem kar-ó-ti, co-occurring with the preverbs sám- ° , pári- ° and úpa- ° 137, even with the intervention between them by áṬ or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72] also (ca) to denote 'assemblage, collection' (sam-av-āy-é).

sáṁ+kr̥ta- = *sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-* 'assembled, put together'; so also *pári-ṣ-kr̥-ta-* 'combined'; *úpa-s-kr̥-ta-* 'assembled'.

6.1.139 úp-āt ¹prati-yat-ná-²vai-kr̥-tá-³vākya= adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu

[The initial increment sṳṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem kar-ó-ti 137] co-occurring with the preverb úpa- ° [in continuous utterance 72] to denote the senses of 'make an effort' (prati-yat-ná- °), 'transform' (° vai-kr̥-tá- °) and 'fill an ellipsis in a sentence' (° -vākya=adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu).

1. *edho-daká-sya úpa-s-kur-u-te* 'makes an effort to prepare fuel and water (for the sacrifice)'.

2. *úpa-s-kṛ̥-ta-m bhu-ñ-k-té* 'eats stale food'.
3. *úpaa-s-kṛ̥-ta-m adh-ī-té* 'studies (the text) with elaboration (i.e., filling the gaps)'.

6.1.140 kir-á-t-au láv-an-e

[The initial increment suṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem] kir-á-ti (= kṝ VI 116) 'scatter' [co-occurring with the preverb úpa- ° 139 in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'reap, cut, split' (láv-an-e).

upa+kṝ+ṆamuL = upa-suṬ+kā́r-am mádrakā lu-n-ánti 'the citizens of Madrá scatter and cut' but *deva-dattá-ḥ úpa-kir-a-ti* 'D. scatters'.

6.1.141 hiṁsā́-y-ām práte-s=ca

[The initial increment suṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem kir-á-ti 'scatters' 140] co-occurring with the preverb práti- ° and also (ca) [úpa- ° 139] to denote 'hurt, injure' (hiṁsā́-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 72].

práti+kṝ+Ktá = práti-s-kīr-ṇa- (7.1.10; 8.2.42,83) = *úpa-s-kīr-ṇa-* 'hurt, injured, violated', but *úpa-kīr-ṇa-* 'bestrewed', *práti-kīr-ṇa-* 'scattered'.

6.1.142 áp-āt=[1]cátuṣ-pād=[2]śakúni-ṣu=ā-lékh-an-e

[The initial increment suṬ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem kir-á-ti 140] co-occurring with the preverb ápa- ° [in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'the scraping of the earth (vi-lékh-an-e) by quadrupeds (cátuṣ-pād- °) and birds (° -śakúni-ṣu)'.

ápa-s-kir-a-te vṛ̥ṣabhá-ḥ 'the bull scratches the ground'. *ápa-s-kir-a-te bhakṣy-ā-rthī́ kukkuṭá-ḥ* 'the rooster scratches the earth in search of food', but *ápa-kir-a-ti Devadattá=ḥ* 'Devadattá scatters'.

6.1.143 ku-s-tumburū-ṇ-i jā́-ti-ḥ

The expression kústumburu- 'coriander' is introduced [with the initial increment suṬ inserted before the phoneme /t/] to denote a genus (jā́-ti-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

kú-s-tumburu- m. 'coriander or cilantro plant', n. 'its seed' but *kuts-i-tā́-n-i tumburū-ṇ-i = kú-tumburū-ṇ-i* 'fruit of Diospyros embriopteris = *indukī́*'.

6.1.144 a-para-s-par-ā́-ḥ kriy-ā-sātat-y-é

The expression a-para-s-par-ā́-ḥ is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote 'continuity of action' (sā-tat-y-é) [in continuous utterance 72].

a-para-s-par-ā́-ḥ gácch-a-nti 'they go one after another (= in succession)' but *apara-par-ā́ḥ (sā́rth-ā-ḥ) gácch-a-nti* 'the ones and the others (traders) go (simultaneously)'.

6.1.145 go-ṣ-padá-m [1]sevitá=[2]á-sevita-[3]pramā́ṇe-ṣu

The expression go-ṣ-padá-m is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a locality which is occupied (sevitá-°) or not occupied (°-á-sev-i-ta-°) or a measure of quantity (°=pra-mā́-ṇe-su) [in continuous utterance 72].

gā́v-aḥ pád-y-a-nte a-smín = go+pad+GHá (3.3.118) = *go-ṣ-padá-m* 'a locality frequented by cattle'; *á-goṣpadam áraṇyam* 'a forest not frequented by cattle'; *go-ṣ-pada-mātrá-m kṣétra-m* 'a part of a field the size of a cow's hoof' but *gó-ḥ padám = go-padá-m* 'impression of a cow's hoof in soil'.

6.1.146 ā-s-padá-m prati-ṣṭhā́-y-ām

The expression ā-s-padá-m is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a fixed place (prati-ṣṭhā́-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 72].

ā́+pad-ya-te a-smín = ā-s-pad+GHá (3.3.118) = *ā-s-padá-m* 'place, seat, abode, dignity', but *ā́ pad-ā́t* (2.1.13; 3.10) = *ā-padá-m* ind. 'up to the foot'.

6.1.147 ā-ś-cár-ya-m á-ni-ty-e

The expression ā-ś-cár-ya-m is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 inserted before phoneme /c/] to denote 'something unusual' (á-ni-ty-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

ā́Ṅ+car+yàT = ā-ś-cár-ya-m 'wonderful, marvellous, astonishing' but *ā-cár-ya-* 'to be practiced or performed'.

6.1.148 várc-as-k-e=ava-s-kar-á-ḥ

The expression ava-s-kár-a- is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote 'ordure, excrement' (várc-as-k-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

ava+kṝ+aP (3.3.57) = *ava-s-kar-á-* 'excrement, ordure' but *ava-kar-á-* 'dust, sweepings'.

6.1.149 apa-s-kar-ó ratha=aṅgá-m

The expression apa-s-kár-a is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before phoneme /k/] to denote a part of a chariot (rathāṅgám) [in continuous utterance 72].

apa+kṝ+aP = *apa-s-kar-á-* 'any part of a chariot' but *apa-kar-á-* 'scattering'.

6.1.150 vi-ṣ-kir-á-ḥ śakúni-r vā

The expression vi-ṣ-kir-á- is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the phoneme /k/] optionally (vā) to denote a bird (śakúni-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

vi+kṝ+Ká (3.1.135) = *vi-ṣ-kir-á-/vi-kir-á-* 'a gallinaceous bird such as domestic fowl, partridge, quail' etc., while *vi-kir-á-* has also the general sense of 'scattering'.

6.1.151 hrasv-ā́t=candrá=ut-tara-pad-e mántr-e

[The initial increment suṬ 135 is inserted before the nominal stem 4.1.1] °cándra- as a final member (in composition: °uttara-pad-é), co-occurring with [a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28), in the domain of Mántra [in continuous utterance 72].

sú+cándra- = *su+suṬ+candra-* = *su-ś-candrá-* (8.4.40); *hari+candra-* = *hári-ś-candra-* 'n.pr.' (cf. 153 below), but *sūryā́-candra-más-au* 'sun and moon' but in non-Chands *su-candrā́ paurṇa-māsī́, hári-candra-*.

6.1.152 práti-ṣ-kaśa-s=ca kaśe-ḥ

The expression prati-ṣkaś-á- is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the phoneme /k/] of the verbal stem kaś- 'move' (II 14) co-occurring with the preverb práti-° [in continuous utterance 72].

práti+kaś+áC (3.1.134) = *prati+suṬ+kaś-á-* 'emissary, agent', but *prati-ga-tá-ḥ káś-ām* = *práti-kaś-a-ḥ* 'a horse not responding to or obeying the whip'.

6.1.153 [1]prá-s-kaṇva-[2]harí-s-candr-au=ṛ́ṣ-ī

The expressions prá-s-kaṇva- and hári-ś-candra- are introduced [with initial suṬ 135 respectively before 1.2.10 phonemes /k/ and /c/] to denote names of Vedic seers (ṛ́-ī) [in continuous utterance 72].

hari-ś-candra- is included here for the purpose of showing its occurrence outside the domain of Mántra also (cf. 151).

6.1.154 [1]má-s-kar-a-[2]ma-s-kar-íṇ-au [1]véṇu-[2]pari-vrā́j-akay-oḥ

The expressions má-s-kar-a and ma-s-kar-ín- are introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 inserted before the phoneme /k/] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a bamboo (véṇu-°) and a wandering monk (°-pari-vrā́j-akay-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

In other senses: *mákara-* 'sea monster, whale, shark'; *makar-ín-* 'ocean'.

6.1.155 [1]kā́-s-tīra=[2]ajá-s-tund-e nágar-e

The expressions kā́-s-tīra- and ajá-s-tunda are introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the phoneme /t/] to denote the names of cities [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kā́-tīra-* 'bad shore or bank'; *aja-tundá-* 'protruding belly of a ram'.

6.1.156 kār-a-s-kar-ó vṛkṣá-ḥ

The expression kār-a-s-kar-á is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote a tree [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kār-a-kar-á-* (3.2.21) 'acting as agent'.

6.1.157 pāra-s-kar-á=pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca saṁjñā́-y-ām

The class of expressions beginning with pāra-s-kar-á- is introduced [with initial increment suṬ 135 before the initial consonantal phoneme of the posterior member in composition] to form names (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 72].

pārá-ṁ kar-ó-ti = pāra+kṛ+Ṭa (3.2.20) = *pāra+suṬ+kar-á- = pāra-s-kar-á-; rátha-m pā́-ti = rátha+pā+Ká+ṬāP* (3.2.3) *ratha-s-pā́ (nad-ī́).*

6.1.158 án-udatta-m padá-m eka-várja-m

With the exception of one syllable (eka-várja-m) [for which an udā́tta 'high-pitch' or svaritá 'circumflex, high and low pitch' accent is introduced] a padá (1.4.14ff.) bears the ánudātta 'low pitch' accent.

This is a metarule governing accentuation. Accent rules introduce either an udā́tta or svaritá- accent on a particular syllable of a padá, the rest bearing the anudātta accent. A nominal stem (prātipadiká) or a verbal stem (dhā́tu) or an affix (praty-ayá) has its particular udā́tta or svaritá accent, and when a padá is generated by a combination of stem and affix, the padá bears the udā́tta or svaritá accent on a single syllable, the rest being ánudātta. Thus by 162 below the final syllable of a verbal stem is considered to bear the udā́tta accent in general. Thus from the verbal stem *lū́-* 'cut' (IX 13) we derive the theme *lū́+Śnā́* where the class-marker also bears the udā́tta accent, so that the theme will be *lu-nā́-* before l-substitutes *tiP, tás, ánti,* generating the Present Indicative forms *lu-nā́-ti* (*tiP* being anudātta by 3.1.4), *lu-nī-tás, lu-n-ánti*; further if we derive the comparative form *lu-nī-tás+taraP+ā́m* we arrive at *lu-nītas-tar-ā́-m.* A grammatical form or padá may consist of stems (pra-kṛ́-ti), increments (ā́gama), replacements (ādeśá) and affixes (praty-ay-á), each of which may be bearing its own accent, but when the surface form emerges it can have only one accented syllable, leaving all others without accent. The last step in the successive derivation will determine the final position of the accent in the padá.

6.1.159 [1]karṣ-á=[2]ā́T-vat-aḥ GHaÑ-aḥ=ánta=udā́tta-ḥ

The final syllable (ánta-ḥ) of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the kṛt 3.1.93 affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ bears the udā́tta accent when it is derived from [the verbal stem 3.1.91] kṛṣ- 'draw, drag' (VI 6) or from those containing the vowel phoneme long /ā/ (ā́T-vat-aḥ).

This is a prior exception to 197 below. Under normal conditions the marker Ñ of GHaÑ introduces the udā́tta accent on the initial syllable of the derived form.

kṛṣ+GHaÑ = karṣ-á- (7.2.86) 'dragging, ploughing'; *pac+GHaÑ = pāk-á-* (7.2.116;

3.52) 'cooking'; *rañj+GHaÑ = rāg-á-* (4.27) 'dying, coloring'; *dā+GHaÑ = dā+yuK+á* (7.3.33) *dā-y-á-* 'donation, presenting'; *dhā-y-á-* 'bea•ing'.

6.1.160 uñch-á=ādī-n-ām ca

[The final syllable 159 of the class of derived nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with uñch-á- 'gleaning' [derived with various affixes 3.1.1 such as GHaÑ, aP, etc. bears the udā́tta accent 159].

uñch+GHaÑ = uñch-á-; gr̥̄+aP = gar-á- 'poison' but in other meanings regularly *gár-a-* (197).

6.1.161 án-udātta-sya ca yátra=udātta-lopá-ḥ

[The udā́tta accent 159 replaces] an ánudātta syllable when the preceding udā́tta syllable is replaced by lopa (∅) on account of it.

kumārá+ṄīP** = **kumār∅+ī** = **kumār-ī́ 'maiden' (4.1.20; 6.4.148); ***path-ín+Śas** = **path∅∅+as*** (7.1.88) = ***path-ás, path-ā́, path-é*** etc.; ***kumudá+ḌmatUP*** (4.2.87) = ***kumud∅+mat-** = **kumud-vát*** (8.2.10) 'abounding in lotuses'.

6.1.162 dhā́to-ḥ

[The final syllable 159] of a verbal stem [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

ḌU-pac-AṢ pāk-é (I 1045): *pác+ŚaP+tiP = pác-a-ti* 'cooks'; *ūrṇúÑ ācchād-an-e* (II 30): *ūrṇú+∅²+tiP = ūrṇó-ti* 'covers'; *gup+āya+ŚaP+tiP = gop-āyá+a+ti = gop-āy-á-ti* (97) 'protects'.

6.1.163 C-IT=aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] marked with C as IT or [ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 so marked bears the udā́tta accent 159].

kṣetriyáC = kṣetriyá- 'incurable in the present life' (5.2.92). *bhās+GHuráC = bhās-urá* (3.2.161) 'shining'; similarly *bhañj+GHuráC = bhaṅg-urá-* (7.3.52) 'fragile'.

6.1.164 taddhitá-sya

[The final syllable 159] of a taddhitá derivative [i.e., a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá affix 3.1.1 marked with C as IT 163 bears the udā́tta accent 159].

kuñja+CphaÑ (4.1.98)+*Ñya* (5.3.113) = ***kauñjØ-āyaná+Ñya*** = ***kaúñj-āyanØ-ya-ḥ*** 'descendant of Kuñja', but in the plural affix [Ñya] is replaced by Ø[1] (2.4.62): ***kuñja+CphaÑ+Ø¹+Jas*** = ***kunj-āyan-áḥ*** since affix [CphaÑ] remains in position, marker [Ñ] functioning to operate 7.1.117 and C the present rule; [Ñya] becomes inoperative by 1.1.63.

6.1.165 K-IT-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá 164 affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

naḍá+phaK = ***nāḍØ-āyaná-*** (7.1.2; 2.118) 'descendant of Naḍá'.

6.1.166 tisŕ̥-bhyaḥ Jas-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of the sUP triplet 4.1.2] Jas introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tisŕ̥- f. 'three' [bears the udātta accent 159].

This is a prior exception to 8.2.4. ***tisŕ̥+Jas*** = ***tisr-áḥ*** f. '3'. By 8.2.4 the semivowel substitute of an udātta or svaritá vowel operates a svaritá on the following vowel, and since Jas is ánudātta (3.1.4) and /r/ is the substitute for /r̥/ which bears the udātta accent, the form realized by the operation of that rule would have been ****tisr-àḥ***, but this prior exception blocks that rule. Cf. also 174 and 179 below.

6.1.167 cátur-aḥ Śas-i

[The final syllable 159 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] cátur- 'four' [bears the udātta accent 150 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet 4.1.2] Śas.

cátur+Śas = ***catúr-aḥ paśya*** 'look at the four', but ***cátasr-aḥ paśya*** f.

6.1.168 s-au éka=aC-as=tr̥-tī́yā=ādir vi-bhák-ti-ḥ

sUP triplets (vi-bhák-ti-ḥ) beginning with the third (tr̥-tī́yādi-ḥ) [bear the udātta accent 159] when introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are monosyllabic (éka=aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet] su.

The binding condition here is that the nominal stem should be monosyllabic before the locative plural affix su.

vā́c+su = ***vāk-ṣú*** whence ***vāc-ā́, vāg-bhyā́m, vāg-bhíḥ*** but ***vā́k, vā́c-au, vā́c-aḥ, vā́c-am*** and ***rā́jan+suP*** = ***rā́jaØ-su: rā́jñ-ā, rā́jñ-e*** etc.; similarly ***tváy-ā, máy-ā*** since the locative plural forms are ***yuṣmā́-su, asmā́-su*** (dissyllabic).

6.1.169 ánta=udatt-āt=uittara-pad-ā́t=anya-tará-syām á-nitya-sam-ās-e

[sUP triplets beginning with the third 168, introduced after 3.1.2 a monosyllabic 168 nominal stem 4.1.1] constituting the final member of a compound which is not obligatory (á-ni-tya-sam-ās-e) and bears the udā́tta accent on its final syllable, optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bear the udā́tta accent 159].

> *para-m-ā́ vā́k = paramaØ+vā́c-* 'highest speech' *+Ṭā = parama-vā́c-ā/parama-vāc-ā́,* but *á-vāc-* 'absence of speech; dumbness' generates *á-vāc-ā, á-vāc-e,* etc. (6.2.2); on the other hand *a-vā́c* (2.172) 'speechless, dumb': *a-vā́c-ā/a-vāc-ā́ brāhmaṇ-éna* 'by a non-speaking brahmin' which is a non-obligatory compound (2.2.11). In the case of obligatory compounds: *agni-cít-ā, soma-sút-ā,* etc., since these are not governed by (2.2.11).

6.1.170 añce-s=chándas-i=á-sarva-nāma-sthā-ne

[sUP triplets] excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna (1.1.42-43 Śi, sUṬ) [bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- in the domain of Chándas.

> By 222 below a nominal stem ending in °-añc- bears the udā́tta accent on the last syllable of the prior member when Ø-replacement reduces it to °-c- only: *dadhī́-c* (3.138)+*Śas = dadhī-c-áḥ' dadhī-c-ā́, dadhī-c-é,* etc.

6.1.171 [1]ūṬH=[2]idám=[3]pád-ādi=[4]áp-[5]púm-[6]raí-[7]dyú-bhyaḥ

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna 170 (= Śi, sUṬ: weak declensional endings) bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ūṬH (4.132) and idám- 'this', word-class beginning with °-pád- (63 above up to niś-). °-áp- 'water', °-púṁs- 'male', °-raí- 'riches' and °dív- 'heaven'.

> 1. *praṣṭha-vā́h+Śas = praṣṭha+ūṬHāh+Śas* (4.132) = *praṣṭhauh-áḥ* (89), *praṣṭhauh-é,* etc.; 2. *ā-bhyā́m, ā-bhíḥ,* etc.; 3. *ni-pad-áḥ/ni-pad-ā́; dat-áḥ, dat-ā́,* etc. 4. *ap+Śas = ap-áḥ, ap-sú*; 5. *puṁs-áḥ, puṁs-ā́* etc.; 6. *rāy-áḥ, rāy-é,* etc.; 7. *div-ā́, div-é, div-áḥ* etc.

6.1.172 aṣṭán-o dīrgh-ā́t

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanamasthāna 170 bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṣṭán- 'eight' [ending in 1.1.72] a long (vowel 1.2.28: dīrgh-ā́t 7.2.84).

aṣṭā-bhíḥ/°-bhyáḥ etc., but when not ending in a long vowel: *aṣṭá-su*.

6.1.173 Śátu-r á-nuM-aḥ [1]nadī́=[2]áC=ādī

The feminine (nadī́) [affix ṄīP 4.1.6 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ŚátR̥ without the infixed increment nuM (a-nuM-aḥ) (7.1.80) [and bearing the udā́tta accent on the final syllable 169] as well as [sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna 170] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādī) [bear the udātta accent 159].

tud+Śá+ŚatR̥+ṄīP = *tud-á-at+ṄīP* = *tud-á-t+ī* (97) = *tudat-ī́* contra *tud-ánt-ī* 'piercing' (7.1.80). *tudát+Śas* = *tudat-áḥ/°-ā́/°-é* etc., but *tud-ánt-aḥ*; likewise *dá-d-at-aḥ, dád-at-ā* since this has the udātta accent on the initial syllable.

6.1.174 udā́tta-yaṆ-aḥ haL-pūrv-āt

[The feminine affix (ṄīP) 173 as well as sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-asthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] whose (final 1.1.72) udā́tta vowel is replaced by a semivowel (udā́tta-yaṆ-aḥ) preceded by a consonant (haL-pūrv-āt).

kr̥+tŕ̥C+ṄīP = *kar-tŕ̥+ī* = *kar-tr-ī́* f. 'doer, agent', but *kr̥+tr̥N+Ṭā/Ṅe* = *kár-tr-ā/kár-tr-e* etc.

This rule is a prior exception to 8.2.4. In the Bahuvrīhi compound *bahu-tita-ú brāhmaṇ-ī́* 'a brahmin lady possessing many sieves', the udā́tta accent falls on the final syllable by 2.175 below and *bahu-tita-ú+Ṭā* = *bahu-dtita v-ā́,* since the semivowel replacement of the udātta vowel is not preceded by a consonant, the present rule does not operate and by 8.2.4 the following anudā́tta vowel of the sUP triplet bears the svaritá accent.

6.1.175 ná=¹ūṄ-²dhā̆tv-oḥ

[sUP triplets excluding those indicated by the t.t. sarvanāmasthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 whose final udā̆tta vowel of the feminine affix 3.1.1] ūṄ (4.1.66) or of a verbal stem (°dhāto-ḥ) [is replaced by a semivowel preceded by a consonant 174] does not (ná) [bear the udā̆tta accent 159].

> *brahma-bandhu+ūCanu(N)* = *brahma-bandh-ū́+Ṭā* = *brahma-bandhv-ā̀* (8.2.4) 'by a brahmin-like lady'; *khala-pū́+Ṭā* = *khalapv-ā̀* (6.4.83; 8.2.4) 'by a sweeper'.

6.1.176 ¹hrasvá-²nuṬ=bhyām matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matuP [bears the udā̆tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28: hrasvá-°) [bearing the udā̆tta accent 169] or the initial increment nuṬ (8.2.16).

1. *agní+matUP* = *agni-mát-* 'maintaining a sacrificial fire'; similarly *kr̥+tŕ̥C+matUP* = *kar-tr̥-mát-* 'active', but *kr̥+tr̥N+matUP* = *kár-tr̥-mat-*.
2. *akṣí+matUP* = *akṣ-án+matUP* (7.1.76) = *akṣán+nuṬ+matUP* (8.2.16) = *akṣá∅-n=mat* (8.2.7) *akṣa-ṇ-vát-* (8.2.9; 4.2) 'having eyes'; similarly *astha-n-vát-* 'possessing bones' or *śī́rṣa-ṇ-vát-* 'having a head', but *vásu-mat* 'rich, wealthy'.

6.1.177 n-ām anya-tará-syām

[The sixth sUP triplet 4.1.2] n-ām optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udā̆tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short udā̆tta vowel 176 before affix matUP 176].

> *agní+ām* = *agní+nuṬ-ām* (7.1.54) = *agnī-n-ā́m/agnī́-n-ām* (7.3.102) since this stem ends ind a short udā̆tta vowel before the matUP. But *vásū-n-ām*.

6.1.178 Ṅy-ās=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet n-ām 177 bears the udā̆tta accent 159] variously (bahulá-m) [when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 3.1.1] Ṅī.

> *bahú+ṄīP* (4.1.45) = *bahv-ī́+ām* = *bahv-ī-n-ā́m pitā́* (RV 6.75.5) 'father of many (daughters)', but *jáy-ant-ī-n-ām marút-aḥ* (RV 10.103.8).

6.1.179 ¹ṣáṣ-²trí-³catúr-bhyaḥ ha̱L=ādi-ḥ

[A sUP triplet] beginning with a consonant (ha̱L-ādi-ḥ) [bears the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting number words covered by the t.t.] ṣáṣ (1.1.24) and trí- 'three' and catúr- 'four'.

ṣáṣ+bhis = *ṣáḍ+bhis* (8.4.53) = *ṣaḍ-bhíḥ; ṣaḍ-bhyáḥ, ṣaṇ-ṇ-ā́m; pañcā-n-ā́m, saptā-n-ā́m,* etc.

tri-bhíḥ, tri-bhyáḥ, trayā-ṇ-ā́m catur-bhíḥ, catur-bhyáḥ etc. For an exception see 172 above: *aṣṭá-su.*

6.1.180 jha̱L-i úpottama-m

The penultimate (úpa=uttama-m) [of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. ṣáṣ as well as tri- and catúr- 179 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with] non-nasal consonantal phonemes (jha̱L-i) [bears the udātta accent 159].

1. *páñcan+bhis* = *pañcáØ-bhis* = *pañcá-bhiḥ/°-bhyaḥ; saptá-bhiḥ saptá-bhyaḥ;* but before initial nasal phoneme: *saptā-n-ā́m, pañcā-n-ā́m.*
2. *tisṛ̥́-bhiḥ; catúr-bhyaḥ;* in the case of non-polysyllabic padás: *ṣaḍ-bhíḥ, tri-bhyáḥ.*

6.1.181 vibhāṣā bhāṣā́-y-ām

In the domain of current speech (bhāṣā́-y-ām) [the penultimate syllable of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. ṣáṣ as well as trí- '3' and catúr '4' 179 with sUP triplets beginning with non-nasal consonants 180 bears the udā́tta accent 159] optionally.

1. *pañcá-bhiḥ/pañca-bhíḥ; saptá-bhiḥ/sapta-bhíḥ.*
2. *tisṛ̥́-bhiḥ/tisṛ̥-bhíḥ, catasṛ̥́-bhiḥ/catasṛ̥-bhíḥ; aṣṭá-su/aṣṭa-sú* (cf. 172 above).

6.1.182 ná ¹gó-²śván-³sAU=a-varṇa=⁴rā́j=⁵áñ=⁶krúñ=⁷kṛ̥́d-bhyaḥ

[The operations indicated in 168-181] do not (ná) take place [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow/bull', śván- 'dog', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the suP triplet] sU, rā́j- 'ruler, king', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] °-áñc-, or °-krúñc- 'curlew' and kṛ̥́-t- 'doer, agent'.

1. gó: *gáv-ā, gó-bhyām* (blocking 168 above); *sugú-nā, sugáv-e* (blocking 169).

2. śvan: *śun-ā, śun-é, parma-śún-ā* etc.
3. sAU=a-varṇa: *yá-h, yébhyaḥ, té-bhyaḥ*.
4. rā́j: *rā́j-ā, parma-rā́j-ā* etc.
5. áñc: *prā́ñc-ā, prā́nc-e* but *prāc-ā́* etc.
6. krúñc: *krúñc-ā, parama-krúñc-ā* etc.
7. kr̥t: *kŕ̥t-ā, kŕ̥t-e, parama-kŕ̥t-e* etc.

6.1.183 div-o jha̲L

[A sUP affix 4.1.2] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (jha̲L) [does not 182 bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'heaven, sky'.

dív+bhyām = dyú-bhyām (131) but *div-ā́*. This rule blocks the operation of either 168 or 171.

6.1.184 nŕ̥ ca=anya-tará-syām

[A sUP triplet 4.1.2 beginning with a non-nasal consonant 182] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [does not 182 bear the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] nŕ̥- 'man'.

nŕ̥-bhiḥ/nr̥-bhíḥ (168).

6.1.185 T=IT svar-i-tá-m

An element marked with T as IT bears the svar-i-tá accent.

vac+ṆyaT = vāk-yà- (7.2.116; 3.52); *kr̥+ṆyàT = kār-yà-*.

6.1.186 ¹tā́si̲=²án-udātta=IT=³ṄIT=⁴aT=upa-deś-āt la-sā́rvadhātuká-m ánu-dāttam á-¹hnu=²iṄ-oḥ

A sā́rvadhātuka (3.4.113) [affix 3.1.1 replacing an] l-member (=tiṄ 3.4.78 and ŚatR̥, ŚānaC 3.2.124-25) bears the anudā́tta accent when introduced [after 3.1.2 the tense marker] tā́si̲ (3.1.33) or verbal stems with anudā́tta or Ṅ as IT markers, excluding the stems hnuṄ 'hide' (II 72) and iṄ [with ádhi-°] (II 37) and short aT which have been introduced as such when first introduced (in the Dhp.).

1. *kr̥+tā́si̲+Ḍā* (2.4.85) = *kar-tØØ+ā́* (6.4.143); *kr̥+tā́si̲+ras/ras = kar-tā́Ø-rau/ras* (7.4.51).
2. anudā́tta=IT: *āsA upa-veś-an-e* (II 11)+*te = ā́s-te* 'sits'.

3. Ṅ-IT: *śīṄ svap-n-é* (II 22)+*te* = *śé-te* 'sleeps'.
4. *aT=upa-deś-a:* themes ending in short vowel /a/: *pác+ŚaP+tás* = *pác-a-taḥ* 'they two cook'; *tud+Śá+tas* = *tud-á-taḥ* 'they two vex'.
5. In other cases: *ci+Snu+tiP/tás* = *ci-nó-ti/ci-nu-tás*; here, although /Śnú/ is a Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4, it is so only in so far as it affects the preceding morpheme. In *pac+ŚaP+vás/más* = *pác-ā-vas/mas* the accent shift to the l-substitutes is not blocked by /a of ŚaP/ being replaced by /ā/(7.3.101) since in grammatical operation the theme still ends in /a/. Similarly in *han+tás* = *ha∅=tás* the theme is still *ha-(n→∅)* blocking out the operation of this rule, though /tás-/ here is preceded by /ha/. But exceptions to 3. above are: *hnu-té* 'hides', *yad adhī-té* (8.1.30) 'that he studies'.

6.1.187 ādí-ḥ siC-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable (of a verbal stem) [ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist Marker] si̱C optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

mā hi Kr̥+si̱C+tām = *mā hi kā́r-ṣ-tām/kār-ṣ-tā́m* (7.2.1; 8.4.2,41); *mā hi lā́v-i-ṣ-ṭām/lāv-i-ṣ-ṭā́m* since normally the marker C of si̱C indicates that the syllable containing it bears the udātta accent.

6.1.188 [1]svap=ādi=[2]hiṁs-ām aC-i=an-iṬ-i

[The first syllable 187 of the class of verbal stems] beginning with sváp- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59-61) and hiṁs- 'hurt, injure' (VII 19) [optionally 187 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārvadhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] beginning with a vowel excepting that of the initial increment iṬ (aCi=an-iṬ-i).

The verbal class beginning with [svap-] consists of: svap-, śas-, an- and jakṣ-; *svap+∅[1]+anti* = *sváp-anti/svap-ánti; śvás-anti/śvas-ánti; hiṁs+ŚnaM+anti* = *hi-na-ns+anti hi-n∅-∅-s-anti* (4.111,23) = *híṁs-anti/hiṁs-ánti* (8.3.24). But *svap+tás* = *svap+iṬ-tás* = *svap-i-táḥ* (7.2.76).

6.1.189 abhy-às-tā-n-ām ādi-ḥ

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārvadhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186 beginning with a vowel other than the initial increment iṬ 188].

dā (III 9)+*Ślu+jhi* = *dá-dā-ati* = *dá-d∅-ati* (4.112) 'they give'; similarly *dá-d-atu* 'let them give'; *já-kṣ-atu* 'let them eat', but *jakṣ+iṬ+tás* = *jakṣ-i-tás*.

6.1.190 án-udātt-e ca

Also (ca) [the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme 189 bears the udā́tta accent 159 before a sā́rvadhātuka affix 186] not containing an udā́tta accent (án-udātt-e).

> *dā+Ślu+tiP = dá-dā-ti* 'gives'; *hā+∅¹+ti = já-hā-ti* 'abandons'; *mā́ hi dá-dhā-t (: dhā+lAṄ+t = dhā+∅³+t)* 'let him not bear'; *dá-dhā-ti* 'bears'.

6.1.191 sarvá-sya sUP-i

[The first syllable 189 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' [bears the udā́tta accent 159 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (sUP-i).

> *sárva-ḥ, sárv-au, sárv-e* but *sarvá+taraP/tamaP = sarvá-tara-/ ˚-tama-*.

6.1.192 ¹bhī-²hrī-³bhr̥-⁴hu-⁵máda-⁶janA-⁷dhanA-⁸daridrā-⁹jāgar-ām pū́rva-m P-IT-i

The syllable preceding (pū́rva-m) [a sā́rvadhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] with marker P as IT [bears the udā́tta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the reduplicated themes of] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī 'be ashamed' (III 3), bhr̥- 'bear' (III 5), hu- 'offer an oblation' (III 1), mád- 'rejoice' (I 853), jan- 'be procreated' (III 24), dhan- 'run' (III 23), daridrā 'be in need' (II 64) and jāgr̥- 'wake up' (II 63).

> Affixes with marker P referred to here are [tiP, siP, miP] with their replacements. (a) *bi-bhé+ti/ṣi/mi*; (b) *ji-hré-mi/ṣi/ti*; (c) *bi-bhár-mi/ṣi/ti*; (d) *ju-hó-ti/ṣi/mi*; (e) *ma-mát-tu, ma-mád-at*; (f) *ja-ján-at*; (g) *da-dhán-at*; (h) *daridrā́-ti/si/mi*; (i) *jā-gár-ti/ṣi/mi*.

6.1.193 L-IT-i

[The syllable preceding 192 an affix 3.1.1] with marker L as IT [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

> *kr̥+saN+ṆvuL = cí-kīr-ṣa+ṆvuL = ci-kī́r-ṣ∅-aka-* (4.148) 'wishing to do, desirous of doing'; *bhaúriki+vidhaL = bhaurikí-vidha-* (4.2.54).

6.1.194 ādí-r ṆamuL-i=anya-tará-syām

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ṆamuL the first (ādí-ḥ) syllable (of a verbal stem) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

lū+yaṄ+ṆamuL = *ló-lū-y∅+am* *lo-lū-y-am/lo-lú-y-am* *lo-lū-y-am* 'having repeatedly cut'.

6.1.195 aC-aḥ kar-tr̥-yaK-i

[Before the marker 1.1.66] yáK (3.1.67 of passive construction) used reflexively (kartr̥-yaK-i) [the initial syllable of verbal stems 194 which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-i) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.) 186 optionally 194 bears the udā́tta accent 159].

lū́-ya-te/lū-yá-te kedāra-ḥ svayá-m evá 'the field is reaped by itself', but *bhid-yá-te svayá-m evá* 'breaks automatically' and *lū-yá-te kedarā-ḥ Deva-datt-éna* 'the field is being reaped by Devadattá'.

For the verbal stems jan-, san- and khan- also the present rule applies as by 4.62 the stem-final is replaced by ā before affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants: *jā́-ya-te/jā-yá-te; sā́-ya-te/sā-yá-te; khā́-ya-te/khā-yá-te*.

6.1.196 thaL-i ca sá-iṬ-i=íṬ=anta-ḥ=vā

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] thaL (3.4.82), co-occurring with initial increment iṬ, either iṬ or the final (ánta-ḥ) syllable or (vā) [the initial syllable 194 bears the udā́tta accent 159].

When this rule does not operate, the general rule 193 operates, giving in all four different placements for this suprasegmental phoneme: *lū+lIṬ* = *lū=thaL* = *lu-lū+iṬ-thaL* = *lu-lo+iṬ+thaL* = *lu-lav-í-tha/lu-lav-i-thá/lú-lav-i-tha/ lu-láv-i-tha* 'thou hast cut'.

6.1.197 Ñ-N-IT-y ādí-r nítya-m

[Before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or N the initial (ādí-ḥ) syllable [of the stem] necessarily (ní-tya-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

gargá+yaÑ (4.1.105) = *gā́rg∅-ya-* (4.148) 'gotrá descendant of Gargá'; *vāsudevá+vuN* = *vā́sudeva∅-aka-* (4.3.98) 'a partisan of Vāsudeva'; similarly *árjun-aka-*.

6.1.198 ā́-mantr-ita-sya ca

[The initial syllable 197] of a vocative (ā́-mantr-i-ta-sya) also (ca) [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

dévadatta! háre! vā́yo! etc.

6.1.199 ¹pathí-²math-óḥ sarvanāmasthān-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path' and mathín- 'churning stick' [bears the udā́tta accent 159 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets] denoted by the t.t. (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

pánthāḥ (7.1.85-87)/*pánthān-au/pánthān-aḥ/pánthān-am/pánthān-au; mánthā-ḥ/ mánthān-au/mánthān-aḥ/mánthān-am/mánthān-au.* But *path-áḥ/path-ā́/ path-é/path-í* etc.

6.1.200 ántas=ca távai yugapát

[The initial syllable 197] as well as (ca) the final (ánta-s) syllable of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] távai (3.4.9) simultaneously (yugapát) [bear the udā́tta accent 159].

kṛ+távai = kár-tavaí 'to do'; *mlécch-i-tavaí* 'to speak indistinctly'.

6.1.201 kṣáy-a-ḥ ni-vās-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] kṣáy-a- [bears the udā́tta accent 159] when denoting the sense of 'residence' (nivāsé).

kṣiy-ánti ní-vas-a-nti a-smín = kṣi+GHá (3.3.118) = *kṣáy-a-* 'residence'; the normal affix is [áC 3.3.56] yielding *kṣi+áC = kṣay-á-* 'destruction, consumption'.

6.1.202 jáy-a-ḥ kár-aṇa-m

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] jáy-a- [bears the udā́tta accent 159] to denote 'instrument or means of victory' (kár-aṇ-e).

jáy-anti an-éna = ji+GHá = jáy-a (3.3.118) 'instrument or means of victory' as in *já-ya-ḥ áśva-ḥ* 'horse of victory' but *ji+aC = jay-á-* (3.3.56) 'victory'. In the case of both [GHá, áC] the normal accent should fall on the final syllable; however, affix GHa is in operation as the derived form is a saṁjñā́ or name.

6.1.203 vṛ́ṣa=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vṛ́s-a- 'bull' [bears the udā́tta accent 159] also (ca).

vṛṣ+Ká (3.1.135) = *vṛ́ṣ-a-* 'bull' (exception to 3.1.2); *jvar+áC* (3.1.134) = *jvár-a-* 'temperature, fever' against normally expected word-final accentuation.

6.1.204 saṁjñā́-y-ām upa-mā́-na-m

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] serving as an object of comparison (upa-mā́-na-m) in a proper name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

cáncā 'straw-man, scare-crow'; *vádhrikā* 'eunuch'; *khára-kuṭī* 'barber's shop'; *dā́s-ī* 'n.pr.'; in the generation of these forms there is $\emptyset^3$ replacement of affix kaN (5.3.98).

6.1.205 niṣṭhā́ ca dvy-áC án-āT

[The initial syllable 197] of dissyllabic (dvy-áC) [nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́, excluding those with vowel phoneme /ā/ in the first syllable (án-āT) [serving as proper names 204 bears the udā́tta accent 159].

dā+Kta = *dad+Kta* (7.4.46) = *dát-taḥ; gúp-ta=ḥ* when occurring as proper names; but otherwise *dat-tá-* 'given'. *gup-tá-* 'protected'; similarly for the polysyllabic *rakṣ-i-tá-* even when denoting a proper name; likewise *trā-tá-* 'protected'.

6.1.206 [1]śúṣ-ka=[2]dhṛ́ṣ-ṭ-au

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 niṣṭhā́ affixes 205] śúṣ-ka- 'dry' and dhṛ́ṣ-ṭa 'bold, daring' [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

śuṣ+Ktá = *śuṣ+ká* (8.2.51) = *śúṣ-ka-; dhṛṣ+Ktá* = *dhṛ́ṣ-ṭa-*.

6.1.207 ā́ś-i-ta-ḥ kar-tā́

The expression ā́ś-i-ta- used as an agent (kar-tā́) (noun) [bears the udā́tta accent 159 on its initial syllable 197].

ā́ś-i-ta-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ 'Devadattá has eaten' (exception to 2.144) but *āś-i-tá-m ánna-m* 'food has been eaten' (passive construction) and *ā́ś-i-ta-m (devadatt-éna)* 'eating has taken place' (by Devadattá) [impersonal construction].

There are three views on the derivation of this expression: (a) *aś+Ktá* with high pitched accent on the initial and replacement of the vowel by the corresponding long one; (b) *aś+ṆíC+Kta* with initial udā́tta accent or (c) *ā́Ṅ+aś+Kta* contra 2.144 below.

6.1.208 rik-t-é vibhāṣā

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] rik-tá- [ending in 1.1.72 in a niṣṭhā́ affix 205] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

ric+Kta = rík-ta-/rik-tá- (8.2.30) 'emptied, voided'.

6.1.209 [1]júṣ-ṭa=[2]ár-p-i-t-e ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] júṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ár-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed' also (ca) [optionally 208 bears the udā́tta accent 159].

júṣ-ṭa-/juṣ-ṭá-; ár-p-i-ta-/ar-p-i-tá-.

6.1.210 nítya-ṁ mántr-e

In the domain of Mántra [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 júṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ár-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed'] necessarily (nítya-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 159].

júṣ-ṭa; ár-p-i-ta-.

6.1.211 [1]yuṣmád=[2]asmád-or Ṅas-i

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' [bears the udā́tta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] Ṅas (genitive singular).

yuṣmád+Ṅas = tava+Ṅas (7.2.96) = *tava+aŚ* (7.1.27) = *táva* (97) 'thine'; similarly *asmád+Ṅas = máma* 'mine'.

6.1.212 Ṅay-i ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' bears the udā́tta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] Ṅe also (ca).

The two rules 211-12 have been separated to avoid the operation of metarule 1.3.10. *yuṣmád+Ṅe = tubhya+Ṅe* (7.2.95) = *tubhya+am* (7.1.28) = *túbhy-a-m* (97) 'to thee'; so also *asmad+Ṅe = máhy-a-m* 'to me'.

6.1.213 yàT-aḥ=á-nāv-aḥ

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yàT, [consisting of two syllables 205, bears the udātta accent 159] excluding the [nominal stem 4.1.1] naú- 'boat' [before it 1.1.66].

ci+yàT (3.1.97) = *cé-ya-* 'to be piled'; but *naú+yàT* = *nāv-yà-* 'navigable' and *kr̥+saN+yaT* = *ci-kīr-ṣa+yaT* = *ci-kīr-s∅-yà-* = *ci-kīr-ṣ-yà-* 'desiring to be done'.

6.1.214 [1]ī́ḍA-[2]vánda-[3]vr̥̄́-[4]śáṁsa-[5]duh-āṁ ṆyàT-aḥ

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 derived with affix 3.1.1] ṆyàT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] īḍ- 'praise' (II 9), vánd- 'salute' (I 11), vr̥̄́-(IX 38) 'choose', śáṁs- 'praise' (I 764) and duh- 'milk' (II 4) [bears the udātta accent 159].

ī́ḍ-/vánd-/vr̥̄́-/śáṁs-/duh-/+ṆyàT = *ī́ḍ-ya-* 'to be praised'; *vánd-ya-* 'to be saluted'; *vā́r-ya-* 'to be chosen'; *śáṁs-ya-* 'to be praised'; *dóh-ya-* 'to be milked'.

6.1.215 vibhāṣā [1]veṇú=[2]indhā́nay-oḥ

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] veṇú- 'reed, bamboo' and indh-ā́na- 'who kindles' optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 159].

vé-ṇu-/ve-ṇú-; idh+CānáŚ = *indh+CānáŚ* = *i∅+na-dh+CānáŚ* = *i-n∅-dh+CānáŚ* (4.23, 111) = *indh-āná-/índh-āna-; indh+ŚānáC* = *indh+ŚānaC* (186) = *i∅-ná-dh+ŚānaC* = *i-n∅-dh+ŚānaC* (4.111) = *indh-ā́na-* (161).

6.1.216 [1]tyā́g-a-[2]rā́g-a=[3]hā́s-a-[4]kúh-a-[5]śváṭh-a-[6]kráth-ā-n-ām

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] tyā́g-a- 'renouncing', rā́g-a- 'passion', hā́s-a 'laughter', kúh-a- 'deceiver', śváṭh-a- 'speech' and kráth-a- 'destruction' [optionally 215 bears the udātta accent 159].

The first three forms are derived with affix [GHaÑ] and the rest with affix [áC]. *tyaj/ranj/has+GHaÑ* = *tyā́g-a-/tyāg-á-* (159); *rā́g-a-/rāg-á-; hā́s-a-/hās-á-; kuh/śvaṭh-/krath+áC* = *kúh-a-/kuh-á-; śváṭh-a-/śvaṭh-á-; kráth-a/krath-á-*.

6.1.217 úpa=ut-tama-m R-IT-i

The penultimate (úpottaman) syllable [of a (polysyllabic) nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker R as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

kr̥+anī́yaR = *kar-aṇī́ya-* (8.4.3) 'to be accomplished'; *paṭú+jātī́yaR* = *paṭu-jātī́ya-* (5.3.69).

6.1.218 CaṄ-i=anya-tará-syām

[The penultimate syllable 217 of a polysyllabic grammatical form ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] CaṄ (3.1.48) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

mā́ hí cī-kar-á-tām/cī-kár-a-tām 'do not cause him to make'. This form is derived as follows: *kr̥+ṆíC+CáṄ+tām* = *áṬ+cī-kār-(í→∅)+a+tām* (4.51) = *á-cī-kar-a-tām* (7.4.1), and with privative particle [mā́] ∅ replaces the initial increment [áṬ] leaving *cī-kar-a-tām* which then gets the placement of accent by this rule.

6.1.219 matO-ḥ pū́rva-m āT saṁjñā́-y-āṁ striy-ām

The phoneme long /ā(T)/ preceding (pū́rva-m) [the affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in a derivative nominal stem 4.1.1] in the feminine gender denoting a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

udumbára+matUP+ṄīP = *udumbarā́-vat-ī* (3.119) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also *śará+matUP+ṄīP* = *śarā́-vat-ī* (3.120) 'n.pr. of a river', but *ikṣú+matUP+ṄīP* = *ikṣu-mát-ī* (176), *ajirá+matUP+ṄīP* = *ajira-vat-ī́* (220).

6.1.220 ánta-ḥ=avaty-āḥ

The final syllable (ánta-ḥ) of [a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-a-vat-ī [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

ajirá+matUP+ṄīP = *ajira-vat-ī́* 'n.pr. of a river' and likewise *khadir-a-vat-ī́*.

6.1.221 ī-vaty-āḥ

[The final syllable 220 of a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in] °-ī-vat-ī [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

ahī-vat-ī́ (3.120), *munī-vat-ī́* 'names of rivers'.

6.1.222 c-au

[The final syllable 220 of the prior member 219 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the following element] °c- (= replacement of °-añc- 4.138).

Before affix [KviN] introduced after [añc-] by 3.2.59 the penultimate nasal is replaced by ∅ (4.24) [= a∅c = ac] and before weak affixes beginning with a vowel it is further reduced by ∅ replacement to [c] by 4.138; it is before this reduced posterior stem that the prior member has its final vowel accented with udātta: *dádhi+añc+KviN+Śas = dadhi+∅c+as = dadhī́-c-as* (3.138).

6.1.223 sam-ās-á-sya

[The final syllable 220 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (sam-ās-á-sya) [bears the udātta accent 159].

rā́jñ-aḥ púruṣa-ḥ = rāja∅+∅+puruṣá-ḥ (8.2.7) 'royal servant'. This is a general rule [ut-sarg-á], exceptions to which are dealt with in subsequent sections of the next pādá.

6.2.1 bahu-vrīh-aú pra-kṛ́-ty-ā pūrva-padá-m

In a Bahuvrīhí compound the prior member (pūrva-padá-m) retains its (original) accent.

This is an exception to 1.223. The word udā́tta (1.159) and svar-i-tá- (1.185) recur as needed in this section to characterize the accent of the prior member. In the compound *kā́rṣ-ṇa-ḥ uttarāsaṅgá-ḥ a-syá = kā́rṣṇottarā-saṅga-ḥ* the udā́tta accent should fall on the final syllable, but in the Bahuvrīhí compound derived from these constituent members to denote 'whose upper or outer garment is made out of the skin of the black antelope' the prior member retains its original accent: *kṛṣ-ṇa+aÑ = kā́rṣ-ṇ-a-* (1.197) as against *kā́rṣṇa-ḥ uttarasā́ṅgá-ḥ = kārṣṇottarāsaṅgá-ḥ* 'skin of the black antelope' (1.223). When the prior member has no accent at all, 1.223 will operate as in *sama-ḥ bhā-gá-ḥ a-syá = sama-bhāg-á-ḥ* 'receiving an equal share'.

6.2.2 tatpuruṣ-é [1]túlya=artha-[2]tṛ-tī́yā-[3]saptamī́-[4]upamā́na= [5]ávyaya-[6]dvi-tī́yā-[7]kṛ́tyā-ḥ

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the prior member retains its original accent 1] if it consists of synonyms of túlya- 'comparable, similar' or [ends in 1.1.72] the third or seventh sUP triplets or serves as an object of comparison (upa-mā́na-°) or is an indeclinable (°-ávyaya-°) or [ends in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet or in a kṛ́tya [affix 3.1.1].

Exception to 1.223. (1) *túl-ya-ḥ śvetá-ḥ = túlya-śveta-ḥ* 'similar whiteness'; *sa-dṛ́ś-a-loh-i-ta-ḥ* 'same redness' (2.1.68); (2) *śaṅkuláy-ā khaṇḍá-ḥ = saṅkulā́-khaṇḍa-ḥ* 'cut off with a pair of nippers'; (3) *akṣé-su śauṇḍa-ḥ = akṣá-śauṇḍa-ḥ* 'fond of gambling'; (4) *śastrī́ iva śyām-ā = śastrī́-śyām-ā* 'blue like the blade of a knife'; (5) *ná brāhmaṇaá-ḥ = á-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* 'not a brahmin'; *níṣ-krān-ta-ḥ kauśāmby-āḥ = níṣ-kauś-āmbi-ḥ* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbī'; (6) *muhūrtá-m sukhá-m = muhūrtá-sukha-m* 'momentary happiness'; (7) *bhoj-yà-m lavaṇá-m = bhoj-yà-lavaṇa-m* 'salt fit to be eaten' from *bhuj+ṆyàT* (3.1.124). Kṛ́tya affixes are dealt with in 3.1.95ff.

6.2.3 várṇa-ḥ várṇe-ṣu=án-et-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it is a color-word (várṇa-ḥ) co-occurring [before 1.1.66] another color-word (várṇe-ṣu), excluding the word éta- 'variegated'.

kṛṣ-ṇá-sāraṅga- 'spotted black', but *kṛṣ-ṇ-ai-tá-ḥ* 'shining black or black-spotted.

6.2.4 ¹gādhá-²lavaṇáy-oḥ pra-mā́-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a measure (pra-mā́-ṇ-e) [the prior member retains its original accent 1] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gādhá- 'shallow, fordable' and lavaṇá- 'salt'.

> *śámba-sya gādhá-m* = *śámba-gādha-m* 'water as shallow as the depth of an oar'; similarly *ar-ítra-gādha-m* 'as deep as the length of a pestle'; *gó-ḥ lavaṇá-m* = *gó-lavaṇa-m* 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'.

6.2.5 dā́yād-ya-ṁ dāy-ā-d-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting an inheritance (dā́yād-ya-m) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dāy-ā-dá- 'heir'.

> *vidyā́-y-āḥ dāy-ā-d-áḥ* = *vidyā́-dāy-ā-d-a-ḥ* 'heir to knowledge, inheritor of knowledge'.

6.2.6 prati-bandh-í ¹cirá-²kr̥cchráy-oḥ

[In a Tapturuṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting obstruction or difficulty (prati-bandh-í) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-cirá- 'long' and °-kr̥cchrá- 'difficult'.

> *gám-ana-ṁ ca yát cirá-ṁ ca* = *gám-ana-cira-m* 'slowed down or delayed in departure'; similarly *gám-ana-kr̥cchra-m* (2.1.57,72) 'an obstacle or difficulty involved in the departure'.

6.2.7 pad-é=apa-deś-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a pretext (apa-deś-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °padá-.

> *mū́tra-pad-ena pra-sthi-tá-ḥ* 'started to go on the pretext of urinating'; similarly *uc-cār-á-pad-ena-* 'on the pretext of defecating', but *víṣ-ṇo-ḥ padám* = *viṣ-ṇu-padá-m* 'V.'s footstep'.

6.2.8 ni-vāt-é vāta-trā-ṇ-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting 'protection from the wind' (vā-ta-trā-ṇ-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °ni-vā-tá- 'sheltered from the wind'.

kúṭ-ī evá ni-vā-tá-m = kúṭ-ī-ni-vā-ta-m 'a hut sheltering from the wind', but *rāja-nivāt-é vas-a-ti* 'lives in the vicinity of the king'.

6.2.9 śārad-é án-ārtav-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-śārad-á- employed in a sense other than autumnal (án-ārtav-e).

rájju-śārada-m udaká-m 'water freshly drawn from the well with a rope'; similarly *dṛśát-śārad-ā-ḥ sák-tav-aḥ* 'freshly ground groats', but *parama-śāradá-* 'best autumnal (produce)'.

6.2.10 [1]adhvaryú-[2]kaṣāyay-or jā́-t-au

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a genus (jā́-t-au) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °adhvaryú- 'n. of an officiating sacrificial priest' and °-kaṣāya-a 'decoction'.

prā́c-y-ā-dhvaryu- 'n. of an officiating priest of the Kaṭhá school'; *sarpir-maṇḍá-kaṣāya-* 'decoction made from the scum of melted butter', but *param=ā=dhvaryú-* 'the highest adhvaryú priest' and *parama-kaṣāyá-* 'best decoction'.

6.2.11 [1]sa-dṛ́ś-a-[2]práti-rūpay-oḥ sā́dṛśy-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sadṛ́ś-a- 'resembling' and °-práti-rūpa- 'image, likeness' to denote resemblance (sādṛś-y-e).

pi-tṛ́-sa-dṛś-a- 'resembling the father'; *mā-tṛ́-prati-rūpa-* 'an image of the mother' but *uttama-sa-dṛś-á-* 'highest likeness'.

6.2.12 dvig-aú pra-mā́-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 2 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] a Dvigú compound (as a prior member) to denote a dimension (pra-mā́-ṇ-e).

> *saptá sám-ā-ḥ pra-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá* = *sapta∅-samá+mātráC* (5.2.37) = *sapta-samá+∅* (by a vārttika) 'aged seven years'; *prā́c-ya-ś ca asaú sapta-samá-ś ca* = *prā́cya-sapta-sama-* 'an eastern lad aged seven years'.

6.2.13 [1]gan-távya-[2]páṇ-ya-ṁ vāṇij-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it denotes (a locality) which is to be reached (gan-távya-°) or (an object) which is to be sold (°páṇ-ya-m), co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-vāṇij-á- 'merchant, trader'.

> *mad-rá-vāṇij-a-ḥ* = *madr-é vāṇij-á-ḥ/madr-é ga-t-vā́ vy-áva-har-a-ti* 'a merchant carrying on trade in Madrá'; *gó-vāṇij-a-ḥ* 'cattle rancher', but *parama-vāṇij-á-ḥ* 'best merchant'.

6.2.14 [1]mā́trā=[2]upa-jñā́=[3]upa-kram-á=[4]chāy-é ná-puṁs-ak-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] occurring in the neuter gender (ná-puṁs-ak-e) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °mā́trā 'measure', °-upa-jñā́ 'invention', °upa-kram-á- 'initiation' and °-chā́yā 'shadow' (2.4.2ff.).

> *bhikṣā́-y-ās túl-ya-pra-mā-ṇa-m* = *bhikṣā́-mātra-m* 'equivalent measure of alms'; *pāṇiná-sya upa-jñā́* = *pāṇin-ó-pa-jna-m* 'invention of Pāṇiná'; *ā́ḍhyá-sya upa-kram-a-ḥ* = *ā́ḍhy-ó-pa-kram-a-ṁ* (2.4.21) *prāsādá-ḥ* 'a mansion begun by the rich'; *íṣū-ṇ-ām chāyā* = *íṣu-cchāya-m* (2.4.22) 'shadow cast by a mass of arrows'.

6.2.15 [1]sukhá-[2]priyáy-or hi-t-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priy-á- 'dear' to denote 'beneficial' (hi-t-é).

> *gám-ana-m sukhá-m* = *gám-ana-su-kha-m* 'pleasure consisting in going'; similarly *gám-ana-priy-a-m* 'beneficial for going'.

6.2.16 prī́-t-au ca

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priyá- 'dear' 15] also (ca) to denote 'pleasure' (prī́-t-au).

The three words [su-khá-, priy-á-, prī́-ti-] having the same significance, the use of [prī́-ti-] here is to indicate the intensity of that feeling. *brāhmaṇ-á-su-kha-m pāya-sa-m* 'the milk pudding delightful to the brahmin'; *kanyā́-priy-a-ḥ mr̥d-aṅga-ḥ* 'the drum delightful to the maiden'. But *rāja-sukhá-m* 'king's welfare or happiness' and *rāja-priy-á-m*.

6.2.17 svá-m svāmín-i

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting possession (svá-m) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-svāmín- 'possessor, owner'.

gó-svāmin- 'cattle owner'; *áśva-svāmin-* 'horse owner', *dhána-svāmin-* 'owner of riches', but *parama-svāmin-* 'chief owner'.

6.2.18 páty-au=aíś-var-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member bears its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-páti- 'master, chief' to denote 'ruler, chief' (aíś-var-y-e).

gr̥há-pa-ti- 'head of the household'; *sénā-pa-ti-* 'army chief'; *nára-pa-ti/nŕ̥-pa-ti-* 'king, ruler of men', but *vr̥ṣalī-pa-tí-* 'husband of a vr̥ṣalī'.

6.2.19 ná [1]bhū-[2]vāc=[3]cit=[4]didhiṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2, with °pá-ti- 'master, ruler' 18 as a posterior member, the first members 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū́-° 'earth', vā́c-° 'speech', cít-° thought' and didhiṣū́- 'a widow remarried' do not (ná) [retain their original accent1].

bhū-pa-tí-/vāk-pa-tí-/cit-pa-tí-/didhiṣū-pa-tí- 'king, ruler of earth/master of speech/controller of thought/husband of a remarried widow' respectively.

6.2.20 vā bhúv-ana-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 with °-pá-ti- 'master, chief' 18 as a final member, the first member 1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhúv-ana-° 'earth' optionally (vā) [retains its original accent 1].

bhúv-ana-pa-ati-/bhuv-ana-pa-tí- 'lord of the earth, king, emperor'.

6.2.21 [1]ā-śaṅká=[2]ā-bādhá-[3]néd-īyas-su sam-bhā́v-an-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °ā-śaṅk-á- 'fear', °-ā-bādh-á- 'obstacle, impediment' or °-néd-īyas- 'very near, nearer' to denote an assumption (sam-bhā́v-an-e).

gám-an-ā-śaṅk-a-m 'apprehension about going'; *gám-an-ā-bādh-a-m* 'obstacle or impediment for going' and *gám-ana-ned-īyas-* 'imminent departure'; in all these cases it is an assumption and not an actual occurrence.

6.2.22 pū́rv-e bhū-tá-pūrv-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pū́va- 'preceding' to denote [something which had] occurred earlier (bhū-ta-pūrv-e).

āḍhyá-ḥ bhū-tá-pūrva-ḥ = *āḍhyá-pūrva-ḥ* (2.1.57,72) 'formerly rich'.

6.2.23 [1]sá-vidha-[2]sá-nīḍa-[3]sá-mar-yāda-[4]sá-veśa-[5]sá-deśe-ṣu sā́mīp-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sá-vidha-, °-sá-nīḍa-, °sá-mar-yāda-, °-sá-veśa- and °-sá-deśa- to denote 'proximity, neighborhood' (sā́mīp-y-e).

mad-rá-sa-vidha-m/°sa-nīḍa-m/sa-maryāda-m/sa-veśa-m/sa-deśa-m 'in the vicinity or neighborhood of Madrá'.

6.2.24 ví-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 first members 1 consisting of nominal stem-class 4.1.1] beginning with ví-spaṣ-ṭa- 'evident, apparent' [retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] qualifying words (guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu: adjectives).

ví-spaṣ-ṭa-kaṭu-ka-m (2.1.4) 'evidently acid' (accent by 49 below); *ví-citra-lavaṇa-* 'variously salty'.

6.2.25 [1]śra-[2]jya=[3]avamá-[4]kan-[5]pāpá-vat-su bhā́v-e karma-dhār-ay-é

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the first member 1 consisting of] an action noun (bhā́v-e) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °śra- (5.3.60), °-jya- (5.3.61), °-avamá- 'lowest', °-kan- (5.3.64) and °-pāpá- 'evil, bad'.

gám-ana-śr-e-ṣṭha=/°-śr-e-yas 'most/more excellent departure'; *gám-ana-jy-e-ṣṭha/°-jyā-yas-* 'ibid.'; *gám-an-ā-vama-* 'last or final departure'; *gám-ana-kan-iṣṭha-/°kan-īyas-* 'shortest/shorter departure'; *gám-ana-pāp-iṣṭha/°-pāp-īyas-* 'most/more wicked departure'.

6.2.26 kumārá-s=ca

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the first member 1] kumārá- 'youth' [retains its original accent 1].

kumār-ī́ śram-aṇ-ā = *kumārá+ṄīP+śram-aṇ-ā* = *kumārá+∅+śram-aṇ-ā* (2.1.70; 6.3.34) 'young female ascetic'.

6.2.27 ādí-ḥ práty-enas-i

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25] the initial syllable (ādí-ḥ) [of the first member 1 kumārá- 26 bears the (udā́tta) accent 1, when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-práty-enas- 'the nearest or closest heir' (of a dead person).

kúmāra-praty-enas- 'a young heir (responsible for the debts of his deceased father)'.

6.2.28 pū́ge-ṣu=anya-tará-syām

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the initial syllable 27 of the first member 1 kumārá- 'youth' 26 bears (the udā́tta) accent 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting a group of people (pū́ge-ṣu).

kúmāra-cātaka-/kumārá-cātaka- 'a group of youths led by Cātaka' in the plural [°-cātak-ā-ḥ]: *cātaka+Ñya* (5.3.112)+*Jas* = *cātaka+∅+Jas* (2.4.62); this option also provides for the operation of 1.223: *kumāra-cātak-ā́-ḥ*.

6.2.29 [1]iK=anta=[2]kālá-[3]kapā́la-[4]bhagā́la-[5]śárāve-ṣu dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥), time words (°-kālá-°), °-kapā́la- 'pot', °-bhagā́la- 'skull' and °śárāva- 'dish'.

páñca aratnáy-aḥ pra-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá (2.1.51) = *páñc-ā-ratni-* 'measuring five cubits'; *páñca mā́s-ā-ḥ bhū-t-ā́-ḥ* = *páñca-māsa+yaP* (5.1.82) = *páñca-mās-ya-ḥ* 'five months old'; *pánca-su kapā́le-ṣu sáṁ-s-kr̥-ta-ḥ* = *páñca-ka-pāla-ḥ puroḍāśá-ḥ* (4.2.16) 'prepared in five pots'; similarly *páñca-bhagāla-ḥ* 'prepared in five skulls'; *páñca-śarāva-ḥ* 'prepared in five dishes'.

6.2.30 bahú=anya-tára-syām

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1] bahú- 'many' optionally (anya-tará-syām) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iK or time-words, °-kapā́la-, °-bhagā́la- or °-śárāva- respectively denoting 'pot/skull/dish' 29].

bahv-àratni-/bahv-aratní (8.2.4; 6.1.223); *bahú-mās-ya-/bahu-mās-yá-; bahú-kapāla-/bahu-kapālá-; bahú-bhagāla-/bahu-bhagālá-; bahú-śarāva-/bahu-śarāvá-.*

6.2.31 [1]díṣ-ṭi-[2]ví-tas-ty-os=ca

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1 optionally 30 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] díṣ-ṭi- and ví-tas-ti- 'measures of length'.

páñca díṣṭay-aḥ pra-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá = *páñca-diṣ-ṭi-/pañca-diṣ-ṭí-* 'five díṣṭi-s long'; similarly *páñca-vi-tas-ti-/pañca-vi-tas-tí-* 'five vítasti-s long'.

6.2.32 sapta-m-ī́ [1]sid-dhá-[2]śúṣ-ka-[3]pak-vá-[4]bandhé-ṣu=á-kāl-āt

[The first member of a compound 1] excluding time-words (á-kāl-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī́) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-siddhá- 'prepared', °-śúṣ-ka- 'dried', °-pak-vá- 'cooked', °-bandhá- 'tied'.

The compounds are derived by 2.1.41. It is a prior exception to 144 below. *sāṁkāśy-é sid-dhá-ḥ = sāṁkāśyá-sid-dha-ḥ* 'prepared in Sāṁkāśyá; *ā-tap-á-śuṣ-ka-ḥ* 'sun-dried'; *bhrā́ṣṭra-pak-va-ḥ* 'cooked in a frying pan'; *cakrá-bandha-ḥ* 'attached to the wheel'. But *pūrv-ā-hṇ-e-sid-dhá-ḥ* 'prepared in the forenoon'. Cf. 2 above.

6.2.33 [1]pári-[2]práti=[3]úpa=[4]áp-ā-ḥ [1]varj-yá-m-āna=[2]aho-rātra=ava-yavé-ṣu

The preverb particles pári-°, práti-°, úpa-°, ápa-° [occurring as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 (final members)] denoting what is excluded (varj-yá-m-āna°) or parts of a day or of a night (°-aho-rātra-ava-yavé-ṣu).

pári-tri-garta-m/ápa-tri-garta-m vr̥ṣ-ṭó devá-ḥ (2.1.12) 'it rained outside (i.e., excluding) Trigarta'; *práti-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'each forenoon'; *úpa-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'near forenoon'; *práti-pūrva-rātra-m* 'each evening'.

6.2.34 [1]rājan-yà-[2]bahu-vac-ana-dvaṁdv-é ándhaka-vr̥ṣṇi-ṣu

In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by names of warriors (rājan-yà-°) in the plural (°-bahu-vac-aná-°) [the first member retains its original accent 1] when referring to Ándhaka-s or Vŕ̥ṣṇi-s.

śvāphalká-caitraka-rodhak-ā-ḥ 'n.pr. of three Ándhaka warrior families'. *śíni-vāsudev-ā́-ḥ* 'n.pr. of two Vr̥ṣṇi warrior families'; but *dvaipa-haimāyan-ā́-ḥ* who are not warriors, although belonging to the Ándhaka and Vŕ̥ṣṇi clans; similarly *saṁ-karṣ-aṇa-vāsudev-aú* since this is a dual Dvaṁdvá or *vr̥ṣṇi-kumār-ā́-ḥ* since it is a genitive Tatpuruṣá compound and *kuru-pañcāl-ā́-ḥ* as they do not belong to the clans specified above.

6.2.35 saṁ-khy-ā́

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound 34 the first member 1] constituting a numeral word (saṁ-khy-ā́) [retains its original accent 1].

éka-daśa 'eleven'; *dvā́-daśa* 'twelve'; *trayó-daśa* '13'.

6.2.36 ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-anas=ca=ante-vās-ī́

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound 34 the first member retains its original accent 1] if the constituent members of the compound denote names of pupils (ante-vās-ī́) derived from their teacher's name (ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-ana-ḥ).

apiśala-sya ápatyam = *apiśala+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *ā́piśal-i-ḥ ā-cār-yà-ḥ: t-éna pr-ó-ktam adh-ī́y-ate* = *ā́piśal-i+áṆ+Jas* = *āpiśal-ā́-ḥ, te ca pāṇinī́y-ā-ś* = *āpiśalá-pāṇinīy-ā-ḥ* 'pupils of Āpiśali and Pāṇini'.

6.2.37 kārtá-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[In the class of Dvaṁdvá compounds 34] beginning with (°-ādáy-aḥ) kārtá-kaujap-au 'descendants of Kr̥ta and Kujapa' [the first member retains its original accent 1].

kr̥tá-sya ápatya-m+kújapa-sya ápatyam = *kr̥ta+áṆ+kujapa+áN+au* (4.1.114) = *kārt-á=kaujap-au.*

6.2.38 mahā́n [1]vrīhí=[2]apar-ā-hṇá=[3]gr̥ṣṭí=[4]iṣv-āsá-[5]jābālá-[6]bhārá-[7]bhā́rata-[8]hailihilá-[9]rauravá-[10]prá-vr̥d-dhe-ṣu

[The first member of a compound 1] mahát- 'great' [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vrīhí- 'rice', °-apar-ā-hṇá- 'afternoon', °gr̥ṣṭí- 'a cow which has calved for the first time', °-iṣv-āsá- 'archer', °-jābālá- 'n.pr. of a person', °-bhārá- 'burden', °-bhā́rata- 'descendant of Bharatá', °-hailihilá- 'of a sporty or wanton woman', °-rauravá- 'n.pr. of a hell', °-prá-vr̥d-dha- 'grown'.

mahā́n vrīhí-ḥ = *mahā́-vrīhi-ḥ* (3.46) 'long-grained rice'; similarly: *mah-ā́-par-ā-hṇa-* 'a late hour in the afternoon'; *mahā́-gr̥ṣṭi-* 'a primiparous cow'; *mah-é-ṣv-āsa-* 'great archer'; *mahā́-jābāla-* 'n.pr. (= elder Jābāla)'; *mahā́-bhāra-* 'heavy load'; *mahā́-bhārata-* 'the Great Epic of the descendants of Bharatá'; *mahā́-hailihila-* 'great Hailihila'; *mahā́-raurava-* 'n.pr. of a hell'; *mahā́-pra-vr̥d-dha-* 'greatly overgrown'.

6.2.39 kṣullaká-s=ca vaiśva-dev-é

[The first member 1 mahát- 'great' 38] as well as (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] kṣullaká- 'small insignificant' [of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-vaiśva-devá- 'consecrated to the universal gods (viśve-devā-s).

kṣullaká-vaiśva-deva-m 'n.pr. of a small oblation consecrated to the Viśve Dev-ā-s'; *mahā́-vaiśva-deva-m* 'n.pr. of a more elaborate offering to Viśve Dev-ā-s'.

6.2.40 úṣṭra-ḥ [1]sādí-[2]vāmy-óḥ

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] úṣṭra- 'camel' [occurring as a first member in a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sādín- 'rider' and °-vāmī́ 'mare'.

úṣṭra-sād-in- 'camel rider'; *úṣṭra-vāmī* 'camel mare'. Kāśikā notes these forms as neuters ending in *°-sādi, °-vāmi* while Siddhānta-Kaumudī has *°-sād-ín-, °-vām-ī́.*

6.2.41 gaú-ḥ [1]sād-á-[2]sād-í-[3]sā́rathi-ṣu

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] gó- 'cow/bull' [as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sād-á-, °-sād-ín- 'rider' and °-sā́rathi- 'charioteer'.

gó-ḥ sād-á-ḥ/gā́-m sād-áy-a-ti vā = gó-sād-a-/gó-sād-in- 'cattle rider'; *gó-sārathi-* 'cattle charioteer'. The question whether *sād-i* or *sād-in-* is the form occurring in this and the above rules is open to question. If *sā́d-i,* it is to be derived from *sada+iÑ* (4.1.95) and if *sād-ín-: sad+Ṇini* (3.2.78).

6.2.42 [1]kurú-gārha-pat-a-[2]rik-ta-guru=[3]á-sū-ta-jar-at-ī=[4]á-ślī-la-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā-[5]pāré-vaḍavā-[6]taittilá-kadrū-ḥ-[7]páṇya=kambala-ḥ=dāsī́-bhārā-ṇ-āṁ ca

[The first members of the following compounds 1] kurú-gārha-pata-, rík-ta-guru/rik-tá-guru-, á-sū-ta-jar-at-ī, áślī-la-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā, pāré-vaḍavā, taittilá-kadr-ū, páṇ-ya-kambala- and the class of compounds beginning with dāsī́-bhāra- [retain their original accent 1].

kurū́-ṇ-ām gārha-pat-á-m = kurú-gārha-pat-a-m 'headship of the Kurú clan'; *rík-ta-ḥ/rik-tá-ḥ gurú-ḥ = rík-ta-guru-/rik-tá-guru-* (1.208) 'indigent teacher';

á-sū-t-ā járat-ī = *á-sū-ta-jarat-ī* 'a woman who has become old without bearing children'; *á-slī-l-ā dr̥-dhá-rūp-ā* = *á-ślī-la-dr̥-dha-rūp-ā* 'a woman of an unpleasant but strong figure'; *pāré vádavā iva* = *pāré-vadavā* 'like a mare on the opposite side'; *taittilā́-n-ām kadr-ū́-ḥ* = *taittilá-kadr-ū* 'a soma vessel of Taittila(?)'; *páṇ-ya-kambala-* 'a blanket of a definite size and fixed price' as a n.pr.; in other senses: *paṇ-ya-kambalá-* 'a blanket for sale'. *dāsy-ā́ḥ bhārá-ḥ* = *dāsī́-bhāra-ḥ* 'the burden of a dāsī́'; *devá-hū-ti-* 'invocation of the gods'.

6.2.43 caturthī́ tád-arthe

[The first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when it ends in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī́) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 (a posterior member)] denoting (something) intended for what the prior member signifies (tád-arth-e).

yūpā-ya dā́ru = *yū́pa-dāru* 'wood intended for the purpose of a sacrificial post'; *kuṇḍalā́-ya híraṇya-m* = *kuṇḍalá-hiraṇya-m* 'gold intended for the purpose of earrings'.

6.2.44 árth-e

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ártha- 'object, purpose' (as a posterior member).

mā-tr-é idam = *mā-tŕ̥+artha-m* = *mātr-ártham* (8.2.4) 'meant for the mother'; similarly *devá-tā+artha-m* = *devátārtha-m* 'intended for the gods'.

6.2.45 Kt-é ca

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktá.

gó-bhyaḥ, hi-tá-m = *gó-hi-ta-m* 'beneficial to cattle'; similarly *gó-rakṣ-i-ta-m* 'reserved for cattle'.

6.2.46 karma-dhāray-é=á-niṣṭhā

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] not (ending in 1.1.72) affixes denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26: Ktá, KtávatU) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45].

śréṇi-kr̥-t-ā-ḥ (2.1.59) 'made into rows'; but *śreṇy-ā kr̥-tá-m śreṇi-kr̥-tá-m* (144) 'made with rows'; so also *kr̥-tá-m ca tad á-kr̥-ta-m ca =kr̥-t-ā-kr̥-tá-m* 'made and unmade'.

6.2.47 á-hī-n-e dvi-tī́yā

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (dvi-tī́y-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] when not signifying separation (a-hī-n-e).

kaṣṭá-ṁ śri-tá-ḥ = kaṣṭá-śri-ta-ḥ (2.1.24) 'fallen into misfortune'; *grā́ma-ṁ ga-tá-ḥ = grā́ma-ga-ta-ḥ* 'gone to the village', but *kāntāra-m at-ī-ta-ḥ = kantār-ā-t-ī-tá-ḥ* 'passed beyond the wood'. Exception to 144 below.

6.2.48 tr̥-tī́yā kár-maṇ-i

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tr̥-tī́y-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] used in the passive construction (kár-maṇ-i) [= denoting the object].

ahí-nā ha-tá-ḥ = ahí-ha-ta-ḥ 'stung by a serpent'; *nakh-aír nír-bhin-na-ḥ = nakhá-nir-bhin-na-ḥ* 'torn by the nails' but *ráth-ena yā-tá-ḥ = ratha-yā-táḥ* 'has gone by car'. Constraint on 2 above.

6.2.49 gá-ti-r án-antara-ḥ

A member of the gáti-class (1.4.60) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45 to denote the object 48] without intervention (án-antara-ḥ).

prá-kr̥-ta- '(something) was commenced'; *abhy-úd-dhr̥-ta-* '(something) was lifted up'; *sam-ud-ā́-hr̥-ta-* 'was talked to/addressed (someone)' but *pra-kr̥-tá-ḥ káṭa-ṁ devadattá-ḥ* 'Devadattá started making a mat' (3.4.71).

6.2.50 tā̱=ād-au ca N-IT-i kŕ̥t-i=á-t-au

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as the first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when occurring immediately 49 before 1.1.66] a kŕ̥t [affix 3.1.1] beginning with phoneme /t/, excluding [the affix 3.1.1] tu, with /N/ as IT-marker.

prá+kr̥+tr̥N = *prá-kar-tr̥*-'producer'; *prá+kr̥+tumu̱N* = *prá-kar-tum* 'to begin producing' but *prá+kr̥+tr̥C* + *pra-kar-tŕ̥-* 'doer' and *á+gam+tuN* = *ā-gán-tu-* 'accidental'. Prior exception to 139 below.

6.2.51 távai ca=ánta-s=ca yugapát

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring immediately 49 before 1.1.66 a final member ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] távai [which bears the udātta accent] on its final (ánta-s=ca) accent simultaneously (yugapát).

ánu+i+távai = *ánv-e-tavaí* 'to follow'; *ápa-bhāṣ-i-tavaí* 'to speak incorrectly'; exceptions to 139 below.

6.2.52 án-iK=anta-ḥ=áñc-a-t-au va̱-praty-ay-é

[A member of the gáti-class 49] not ending in a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] the expression °-añc- followed by affix va̱ (= Kvi̱N 2.2.59).

prá+añc+Kvi̱N = *pr-ā́-ñc-* 'turned eastwards'; similarly *pár-ā-ñc-* 'turned away, averted' but *prati+añc+Kvi̱N* = *praty-áñc-* 'turned westwards'; *ánu+añc+Kvi̱N* = *anv-áñc-* 'going after, following'.

6.2.53 [1]ní=[2]ádh-ī ca

[The gáti members 49] ní-° and ádhi-° also (ca) [as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 °-añc followed by the affix va̱ 52].

Exception to 52 above: *ní+añc+Kvi̱N* = *ny-àñc-* 'turned downwards'; *ádhi+añc+Kvi̱N* = *ádhy-añc-* 'tending upwards' but *adh-ī-c-ā́* (1.222).

6.2.54 īṣát=anya-tará-syām

The indeclinable īṣát 'a little' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

īṣát-kaḍāra-ḥ (2.2.7) 'slightly tawny', alternating with *īṣat-kaḍārá-ḥ* (1.223) but *īṣát+bhid+KHaL* = *īṣad-bhéd-am* (139) 'fragile'.

6.2.55 **hiraṇya-pari-mā́-ṇa-ṁ dhán-e**

[The first member of a compound 1] denoting a quantity of gold (hiraṇya-pari-mā́-ṇa-m) [retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dhána- 'riches'.

dv-aú suvárṇ-au pari-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá = dvi-suvarṇá-m (2.1.51); *tád evá dhánam = dvi-suvarṇá-dhana-m/dvi-suvarṇa-dhaná-m* 'wealth consisting of two measures of gold'. In the case of a Bahuvrīhi compound *dví-suvarṇa-*'owner of two measures of gold' the prior member retains its accent and when the fresh Bahuvrīhí compound is generated the same option operates: *dví-suvarṇa-dhana-/dvisuvarṇa-dhaná-*.

6.2.56 **prathamá-ḥ=á-cira=upa-sam-pat-t-au**

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] prathamá- 'first, foremost' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] while denoting recent acquisition (ácira=upa-sam-pat-t-au).

prathamá-ś ca vaiyākaraṇá-ś ca = prathamá-vaiyākaraṇa-ḥ/ prathama-vaiyākaraṇá-ḥ 'a beginner in the study of grammar' but *prathama-vaiyākaraṇá-h.* 'first/foremost among grammarians'.

6.2.57 **k-atará- k-atam-aú karmadhāray-é**

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the nominal stems 4.1.1] k-atará- 'which of two?' and k-atamá- 'which of many?' [occurring as first members of a compound retain their original accent 1 optionally 54].

k-atará-kaṭha-ḥ/k-atara-kaṭhá-ḥ (2.1.63) 'which of you two is an adherent of Kaṭhá school?'; similarly *k-atamá-kaṭha-ḥ/k-atama-kaṭhá-ḥ*.

6.2.58 **ā́rya-ḥ [1]brāhmaṇa-[2]kumāray-oḥ**

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] ā́rya- 'noble, Aryan' [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin' and °-kumārá- 'youth'.

ā́rya-brāhmaṇa-/ārya-brāhmaṇá- 'a noble brahmin or one belonging to the Aryan race'; *ā́rya-kumāra-/ārya-kumārá-* 'a noble youth or one belonging to the Aryan race'.

6.2.59 rā́jā ca

Also (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] rā́jan- [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 odptionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin' and °-kumārá- 'youth' 58].

rā́ja-brāhmaṇa-/rāja-brāhmaṇá- 'a brahmin king'; *rā́ja-kumāra-/rāja-kumārá-* 'royal prince'.

6.2.60 ṣaṣṭhī́ práty-enas-i

[The first nominal stem 4.1.1 rā́jan- 'king' 58 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet [in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] práty-enas- 'heir-apparent, representative, regent'.

rā́ja-praty-enas-/rāja-praty-enás- 'viceroy' *(= rā́jñ-as+práty-enas-)* but *rā́jā ca asaú práty-enā́ ca = rāja-praty-enás-* 'a regent king'.

6.2.61 Kt-e nitya=arth-é

[Before 1.1.66 (a posterior member of a compound) ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktá [the first member retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] when denoting the sense of 'always, constantly' (nitry=arth-é).

nítya-pra-has-i-ta-/ni-tya-pra-has-i-tá- 'always laughing'; similarly *sa-ta-tá-pra-has-i-ta-/sa-ta-ta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'ibid', but *muhūrta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'laughing for an instant'.

6.2.62 grā́ma-ḥ śilpín-i

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] grā́ma- 'village' [occurring as a prior member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (śilpín-i).

grā́ma-nāpita-/grāma-nāpitá- 'village barber' but *grāma-rathyā́* 'village street' and *parama-nāpitá-* 'chief barber'.

6.2.63 rā́jā ca pra-śaṁsā́-y-ām

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] rā́jan- 'king' [occurring as a prior member in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 5 4] also (ca) when denoting the sense of praise (pra-śaṁsā́-y-ām).

rā́ja-nāpita-/rāja-nāpitá-: (a) as a Karmadhāraya compound: *rā́jā ca asaú nāpita-ś ca* 'barber (having the quality of a king)'; (b) as a genitive Tatpuruṣa: *rā́jñ-aḥ nāpitá-ḥ* 'royal or king's barber'.

6.2.64 ādí-r udā́tta-ḥ

The initial (ādí-ḥ) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1] bears the udā́tta accent.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] covering the section beginning here and extending up to 91 inclusive below. The words [ādí, udā́tta] respectively recur up to and inclusive of 91 and 136 below.

6.2.65 [1]saptamī́-[2]hār-íṇ-au dharm-y-è=á-har-aṇ-e

[The initial syllable 64 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 if it ends in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī́-°) or denotes the name of a collector of taxes (°=hār-íṇ-au) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting 'what is lawful' (dharm-y-è), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] hár-aṇa- 'fodder given to an animal'.

stū́p-e-śāṇa-ḥ (2.1.44; 6.3.9,10) 'n. of a tax: a whetstone presented at a reliquary as part of a local custom'; *múkuṭ-e-kārṣāpaṇa-m* 'n. of a tax for a royal diadem'; *hál-e-dvi-pad-ik-ā/hál-e-tri-pad-ik-ā* 'names of various types of taxes'; *yā́jñik-ā-śva-* 'a horse presented to a sacrificer as his dues'; *vaíyākaraṇa-hastin-* 'an elephant presented to a grammarian', but *vāḍava-har-aṇá-m* 'fodder given to a mare'.

6.2.66 yuk-t-é ca

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting (someone) appointed (yuk-t-é to look after the object denoted by it).

áśva-ballava- 'horse groom'; *gó-maṇinda-/gó-saṁ-khya-* 'cowherd'.

6.2.67 vibhāṣā=ádhy-akṣ-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ádhy-akṣ-a- 'supervisor'.

áśv-ā-dhyakṣa/aśv-ā-dhyakṣá- 'overseer in charge of horses'.

6.2.68 pā́pa-ṁ ca śilp-ín-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] pā́pa- 'evil, bad' [optionally 67 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (śilp-ín-i).

pā́pa-nāpita-/pāpa-nāpitá- 'a bad or inefficient barber'.

6.2.69 [1]gotrá=[2]antevāsí(n)=[3]māṇavá-[4]brāhmaṇé-ṣu kṣép-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrá-°) or names of pupils (°-ante-vās-ín-°) or student (°-māṇava-°) or (°-brāhmane-ṣu) to imply a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *jáṅghā-vāts-ya-ḥ = yó jaṅghā-dāná-ṁ dá-dā-mi ahám iti vā́ts-ya-ḥ sám-pad-ya-te* 'a descendant of Vatsá who boasts of making a gift of his shanks'; *bhā́ryā-sauśruta-ḥ* 'hen-pecked descendant of Suśruta'; 2. *kúmārī-dākṣ-ā-ḥ* 'pupils of Dākṣi desiring to win maidens'; *ódana-pāṇin-īy-ā-ḥ* 'who study Pā́ṇini with the sole purpose of gaining a rice plate'; 3. *bhíkṣā-māṇava-* 'one who becomes a student for the main purpose of seeking alms'; 4. *dā́sī-brāhmaṇa-* 'a brahmin infatuated with a slave girl'.

6.2.70 áṅgā-n-i mair-ey-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting the constituent elements (áṅgā-n-i) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mair-eya- 'a kind of liquor'.

gúḍa-maireya- 'liquor prepared from molasses'; *mádhu-maireya-* 'liquor made from honey', but *parama-maireyá-* 'best liquor'.

6.2.71 bhak-ta=ā-khy-ā́s tád-arthe-ṣu

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting an item of food (bhak-ta=ā-khy-ā́-s) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] (signifying a receptacle to contain it: tád-arthe-ṣu) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

bhíkṣā-kaṁsa- 'an alms-bowl to receive food'; *śrā́ṇā-kaṁsa-* 'a vessel for containing rice gruel'.

6.2.72 [1]gó-[2]bíḍāla-[3]siṁhá-[4]saindhavé-ṣu upa-mā́-n-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-gó- 'cow/bull', °-bíḍāla- 'cat', °-siṁhá- 'lion' and °-saindh-avá- 'a horse from the Sindhu region', serving as objects of comparison (upa-mā́-n-e).

1. *dhā́n-ya-ṁ gaúr iva* = *dhā́n-ya-gav-a-* (*ṬáC* 5.4.92) 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow/bull'; 2. *bhikṣā-biḍāla-* 'alms arranged in the shape of a cat'; 3. *tṛ́ṇa-siṁha-* 'grass or hay arranged in the shape of a lion'; 4. *sák-tu-saindhava-* 'barley meal arranged in the shape of a horse'.

6.2.73 ak-e jīv-ik-ā=arth-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-aka- (7.1.1) when the compound denotes a means of livelihood (jīv-ik-ā=arth-é).

dánta-lekh-aka- 'professional painter of teeth (2.2.17); *nákha-lekh-aka-* 'manicure'.

6.2.74 prā́c-āṁ krīḍā́-y-ām

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the affix 3.1.1 °-aka- 73] to denote a sport in the Eastern country (prā́c-āṁ krīḍā́-y-ām).

úddālaka-puṣpa-bhañj-ik-ā (2.2.17 q.v.).

6.2.75 áṆ-i ní-yuk-t-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] áṆ to denote a functionary (ní-yuk-t-e).

chát-tra-dhār-a- 'parasol-bearer'; *kámaṇḍalu-grāh-a-* 'bearer of the kamaṇḍalu'. Exception to 3.1.3.

6.2.76 śilp-ín-i ca á-kr̥Ñ-aḥ

And (ca) in a compound denoting an artisan (śilpín-i) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix áṆ 75] except that derived with verbal base kr̥Ñ- 'do' (VIII 10).

Exception to 3.1.3. *tántu-vāya- = tantu+ve+áṆ* (3.2.1) 'weaver'; *túnna-vāya-* 'a tailor'; *vā́la-vāy-a-* 'hair weaver or dresser' but *kumbha-kār-á-* 'potter'; *ayas-kār-á-* 'blacksmith'.

6.2.77 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ ca

Also (ca) in a compound denoting a proper name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [the first member 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 75 except that derived from the verbal stem kr̥Ñ (VIII 10) 76].

tántu-vāy-a-ḥ = kīṭa-ḥ 'silk-worm or any worm which builds a cocoon', but *ratha-kār-á-* 'n.pr. of a brahmin'. Exception to 3.1.3.

6.2.78 gó-tánti-yáva-m pāl-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of compounds 1] gó- 'cow/bull', tán-ti- 'cord, string' and yáva- 'barley' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pālá- 'guardian, protector'.

gó-pāl-a- 'cowherd'; *tánti-pāl-a-* 'a guardian of calves tied to a long cord by means of smaller strings'; *yáva-pāl-a-* 'guardian of a barley field'.

6.2.79 Ṇín-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ṇíni̲.

púṣpā-ṇ-i hár-a-ti = *púṣpa+hṛ+Ṇíni̲* (3.2.81) = *púṣpa-hār-in-* 'repeatedly plucking flowers'.

6.2.80 upa-mā́-nam śabda=arthá-pra-kṛ-t-au=evá

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] serving as an object of comparison (upa-mā́-na-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ṇíni̲ 79] and solely (evá) denoting sound by itself (śabd-ā-rthá-pra-kṛ-t-au: without the aid of preverbs).

úṣṭra-ḥ iva króś-a-ti = *uṣṭra+kruś+Ṇíni̲* = *úṣṭra-kroś-in-* 'making a noise like a camel'; *dhvā́ṅkṣa-ḥ iva raú-ti* = *dhvā́ṅkṣa+ru+Ṇíni̲* = *dhvā́ṅkṣa-rāv-in-* 'cawing like a crow';' but *gardabhá-ḥ iva úc-car-a-ti* = *gárdhabha+úc-car+Ṇíni̲ gardabh-o-c-cār-ín-* 'braying like a donkey'.

6.2.81 yúk-ta=ā=roh-i(n)=āday-as=ca

[The initial syllable 64 of the first members of compounds 1] beginning with yúk-t-ā-roh-in- 'who mounts an animal which is harnessed' also (ca) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

Besides final members ending in affix Ṇíni̲ this class includes many others with various types of affixes.

6.2.82 [1]dīrghá-[2]kāśá-[3]túṣa-[4]bhrā́ṣṭra-[5]vaṭa-m j-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a long (dīrgha-° = vowel 1.2.28) or kāśá- 'n. of a herb', túṣa- 'bran', bhrā́ṣṭra- 'frying pan' and vaṭa- 'bunyan or Indian fig tree' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ja- [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

kuṭy-ām jā-tá-ḥ = *kuṭī+jan+Ḍá* (3.2.97) = *kúṭī-ja-ḥ* born in a hut'; similarly *śámī-ja-* 'produced in the Śamī tree'; *kā́śa-ja-/túṣa-ja-/váṭa-ja-* 'produced in the kāśa grass/bran/banyan tree'.

6.2.83 ant-y-ā́t pū́rva-m bahv-áC-aḥ

The penultimate syllable (ant-y-ā̀ pū́rva-m) [of a (poly-syllabic) first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-ja- 82].

upa-sára-ja- 'born from impregnation or covering (said of animals)'; *mandúra-ja-* 'born in a stable', but *dag-dha-jā́-n-i tŕ̥ṇān-i* 'grass grown on burnt ground'.

6.2.84 grā́m-e á-ni-vas-ant-aḥ

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-grā́ma- not denoting a place of residence' (á-ni-vas-ant-ah).

índriya-grāma- 'group of sense organs'; *váṇig-grāma-* 'a company of merchants', but *dākṣi-grāmá-* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa reside'.

6.2.85 ghóṣa=ādi-ṣu

[The initial syllable 64 or a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ghóṣa- 'a settlement of herdsmen'.

dā́kṣi-ghoṣa- 'a settlement of herdsmen belonging to the descendants of Dakṣa'; similarly *dā́kṣi-hr̥da-* 'n.pr. of a lake'.

6.2.86 chāttrí=āday-as śā́lā-y-ām

[The initial syllable 64 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with chāttr-ín- 'pupil, student' [as first members of compounds 1 bears the udā́dtta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-śā́lā 'hall (of residence)'.

chā́t-tr-i∅-śālā 'residence hall for pupils', alternating with *chā́t-tr-i-śāla-m* (2.4.25).

6.2.87 pra-sth-é=[1]á-vr̥d-dha-m [2]á-karkī=ādī-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pra-sthá- 'plain or level country' (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable of the first member 1] excluding [nominal stems 4.1.1 of] the vr̥ddhá-type (1.1.73-75) and the class of [nominal stems] beginning with karkī́-° 'sign of Cancer' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

índra-prastha-, kúṇḍa-pra-stha- 'names of localities', but 1. *māhaki-pra-sthá-*, 2. *karkī-pra-sthá-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.88 mā́lā=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem °-pra-sthá- 'level country' as a final member of a compound 87], the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when constituting the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with mā́lā-° 'garland'.

Exception to the constraint on vṛddhá-type of 87 above. *mā́lā-pra-stha-*, *śā́lā-pra-stha-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.89 á-[1]mahat=[2]nava-ṁ nágar-e=án-udīc-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-nágara- (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first members 1] excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] mahát- 'great' and náva- 'new' [bears the udā́tta accent 64] when denoting cities excluding those of the North (án-udīc-ām).

súhma-nagara-m, púṇḍra-nagara-m 'names of cities', but 1. *mahā-nagará-m, nava-nagará-m*; 2. *nadī-nagarám, kāntī-nagará-m* 'names of cities in the North'.

6.2.90 árm-e ca a-varṇá-m dvy-áC try-áC

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-árma- 'ruins' (as a posterior member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing two or three syllabics (dvy-áC, try-áC) and [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ [excluding mahá(t) and náva- 89 bears the udā́tta accent 64].

dát-t-ā-rma-, gúp-t-ā-rma-, kúkkuṭ-ā-rma- 'names of localities'; but *kapiñjal-ā-rmá-* (4 syllabics), *bṛhad-armá-* (not ending in phoneme /a/), *mah-ā-rmá, nav-ā-rmá-* 'names of localities'.

6.2.91 ná [1]bhū-tá=[2]ádhi-ka-[3]saṁ-jīvá-[4]madrá=[5]áśma(n)=[6]kájjala-m

[The initial syllable 64 of first members of compounds 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū-tá-° 'past', ádhika-° 'in excess', saṁ-jīvá-°

'living together', mad-rá-° 'n. of a locality', áśman-° 'rock' and káj-jala-° 'collyrium' does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64].

Exception to 90 above. *bhūt-ā-rmá-m, adhi-k-ā-rmá-m, saṁ-jīv-ā-rmá-m, madr-ā-rmá-m, aśm-ā-rmá-m, kaj-jal-ā-rmá-m* 'names of localities'.

6.2.92 ánta-ḥ

The final (ánta-ḥ) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á-] heading this section and extending up to and including 110 below. The word [ánta-ḥ] will recur in each of them with [pūrva-padá-m 1].

6.2.93 sarvá-ṁ guṇa-kārtsn-y-é

[The final syllable 92 of the first member 1] sarvá- 'all' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting 'fulness of quality' (guṇa-kārtsny-é).

sarvá-śveta-ḥ 'all white' but *parama-śvetá-ḥ* 'brightest white'; but when quality is not in question: *sarva-sauvarṇá-* 'all made of gold'; similarly when fulness is not in question: *sarve-ṣ-ām śveta-tara-ḥ = sarva-śvetá-ḥ* 'whiter than all'.

6.2.94 saṁjñā́-y-āṁ [1]girí-[2]ni-kāyáy-oḥ

In a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [the final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-girí- 'hill, mountain' and °-ni-kāy-á- 'mass, group'.

añjaná-giri- (3.117) 'n.pr. of a mountain'; *sāpiṇḍí-ni-kāy-a-* 'n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Sāpiṇḍi-s'; similarly *mauṇḍí-nikāya-* 'n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Maúṇḍi-s'; but *brāhmaṇa-ni-kāy-á-* 'a group of brahmins'.

6.2.95 kumāry-ā̀ṁ váyas-i

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kumār-ī́ 'maiden' for denoting age (váyas-i).

vṛd-dhá-kumārī 'old maid'; *jarát-kumārī* 'aging maiden'.

6.2.96 udak-é=á-keval-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udā̆tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-udaká- 'water' for denoting a mixture (á-keval-e).

guḍá-miśra-m udaká-m = guḍ-ò-daka-m (8.2.6)/*guḍ-ó-daka-m* 'water mixed with molassess' but *uṣṇá-m udaká-m = uṣṇ-o-daká-m* 'hot water'.

6.2.97 dvig-aú krát-au

[The final syllable 92 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udā̆tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound to designate a sacrifice (krá-t-au).

gargá-tri-rātr-ā-ḥ 'n.pr. of a Vedic sacrifice lasting three days', but *rā́tri-m ati-krān-tá-ḥ = ati-rātr-á-ḥ* 'who has passed the night' (5.4.87).

6.2.98 sabhā́-y-āṁ nápuṁsak-e

In a compound in neuter gender (ná-puṁsak-e) [the final syllable 92 of the first member bears the udā̆tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-sabhā́ 'assembly'.

go-pālá-sabha-m 'an assembly of cowherds'; *strī́-sabha-m* 'an assembly of women', but *rāja-sabhā́* 'royal assembly'.

This rule operates only under the situation described in 2.4.23-24 for obligatory neuter gender and not to 25 where it is optional: so *ram-aṇīya-sabhá-m* 'lovely assembly' has the accent according to 1.223.

6.2.99 púr-e prā́c-ām

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udā̆tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-púra- 'city' with reference to those situated in the East (prā́c-ām).

lalāṭá-pura-m, kāñcī́-pura-m, śivadattá-pura-m, kārṇí-pura-m 'names of cities in the East', but *śiva-purá-m* 'name of a city situated elsewhere'.

6.2.100 [1]á-riṣ-ṭa-[2]gauḍá-pūrv-e ca

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] á-riṣ-ṭa-° and gauḍá-° also (ca) [bears the udā̆tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-púra- 'city' 99].

a-riṣ-ṭá-pura-m, gauḍá-pura-m 'names of cities'; the significance of [°-pū́rv-e] in this rule is to extend the operation to prior members headed by [áriṣṭa-, gauḍá-] also: *ariṣṭa-śri-tá-pura-m, gauḍa-bhr̥t-yá-pura-m.*

6.2.101 ná [1]hāstiná-[2]phála-ka-[3]mārdey-ā́-ḥ

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] hāstiná-, phála-ka- and mārdeyá- does not (ná) [bear the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-púra- 'city' 99].

This rule blocks the operation of 99 with reference to cities situated in the East: *hāstina-purá-m, phala-ka-purá-m, mārdeya-purá-m.*

6.2.102 [1]kusū́la-[2]kū́pa-[3]kumbhá-[4]śā́la-m bíl-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kusū́la-° 'granary', kū́pa-° 'well'; kumbhá-° 'jar' and śā́lā 'hall' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bila- 'hollow, aperture, hole' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

kusūlá-bila-m 'empty space in a granary'; *kūpá-bila-m* 'excavated portion or hollow of a well'; *śālā́-bila-m* 'space within a hall'.

6.2.103 dik=śabd-ā́-ḥ [1]grā́ma-[2]jana-padá=[3]ā-khyā́-na-[4]cānarāṭe-ṣu

[The final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1] consisting of direction words (dik=śabd-dā́-ḥ) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-grā́ma- 'village', °-janapadá- 'inhabited locality', °-ā-khyā́-na- 'narration' and °-cānarāṭa- 'n.pr. of a locality'.

1. *pūrv-é-ṣukāma-śamī/apar-é-ṣu-kāma-śamī* (8.2.6) 'n.pr. of a village (grā́m-e)'; 2. *pūrvá-pañcāl-ā-ḥ* 'name of an inhabited region (janapad-é)'; 3. *pūrvá-yāyāta-m* 'first part of a narrative on Yayāti' (ā-khyā́-n-e); 4. *pūrvá-cānarāṭa-m* 'eastern half of Cānarāṭa'.

The first three expressions beginning with [grā́ma-] denote the domain while the fourth refers to itself'.

6.2.104 ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-anas=ca=ante-vāsī́

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 functioning as first words in compounds 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] indicating names of pupils (ante-vāsī́) derived from those of their preceptors (ācāryà=upa-sarj-ana-ḥ).

pūrvá-pāṇin-īy-ā-ḥ 'earlier pupils of Pā́ṇini', but *pūrva-pāṇin-īyá-ṁ vyākáraṇa-m* 'pre-Pāṇinian grammar'.

6.2.105 ut-tara-pada-vr̥d-dh-aú sarvá-ṁ ca

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 and the nominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' [functioning as first members of compounds 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] as posterior members undergoing a vŕ̥ddhi (1.1.1) replacement (uttara-pada-vr̥ddh-aú) (of the initial syllable 7.3.10,12,13).

pūrvá-pāñcāla-ka- 'eastern P. locality', *sarvá-pāñcāla-ka-* 'the whole P. country' where the posterior member undergoes vŕ̥ddhi replacement of its initial syllable; but *sarva-bhās-á* (*°bhās+aC* 3.1.134), *sarva-kā́r-aka-* (*°kr̥+ṆvuL* 3.1.133) do not come under (7.3.10).

6.2.106 bahu-vrīh-aú víśva-ṁ saṁjña-yām

In a Bahuvrīhí compound deriving a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [the final syllable 92 of the first member 1] víśva- 'all, universal' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

viśvá-deva- n.pr. 'concerning all gods' but *víśve ca te dev-ā-ḥ* = *viśva-dev-ā́-ḥ*; and as an adjective *víśve dev-ā-ḥ ya-sya* = *víśva-deva-; víśva-m mitra-m ya-sya* = *víśva-mitra-* but *viśvā́-mitra-* n.pr. of a Vedic seer'.

6.2.107 [1]udára=[2]áśva=[3]íṣu-ṣu

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-udára- 'stomach', °-áśva- 'horse' and °-íṣu- 'arrow'.

1. *vŕ̥ka-sya iva udára-m a-syá* = *vr̥k-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. of Bhīma, second of the Pāṇḍava brothers'; *dā́ma udár-e a-syá* = *dām-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. of Kr̥ṣṇa'. 2. *hári-r áśva-ḥ a-syá har-y-àśva-ḥ* (8.2.4) 'n.pr. of a person'; 3. *suvarṇá-paṅkh-ā-ḥ íṣav-aḥ a-syá* = *suvarṇa-paṅkh-é-ṣu-/suvarṇa-paṅkh-è-ṣu-* (8.2.6).

6.2.108 kṣép-e

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-udára- 'stomach'; °-áśva- 'horse' and °-íṣu- 'arrow' 107] to denote a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *kuṇḍá+udára-* = *kuṇḍ-ó-dara-*, *ghaṭ-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. (pot-bellied)'; 2. *kaṭuk-ā́-śva-*, *spand-i-t-ā́-śva-* 'n.pr.'; 3. *calā́cal-é-ṣu-/calā́cal-è-ṣu-* (8.2.6), *anighā́t-é-ṣu-/anighā́t-è-ṣu* 'n.pr.'

6.2.109 nadī́ bándhu-n-i

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 the final syllable 92 of the prior member 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] defined by the t.t. nadī́ (1.4.3) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bándhu- 'kin'.

gārgī́-bandhu- 'who has Gārgī as a kinswoman', but *bráhma-bandhu-* 'who has a brahmin as a kinsman'.

6.2.110 niṣṭhā́=upa-sarg-á-pūrva-m anya-tará-syām

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 the final sylslable 92 of a first member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26) and preceded by preverbs (upa-sargá-pūrva-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

prá-dhau-ta-m múkha-m yá-sya = *pra-dhau-tá-mukha-/pra-dhau-ta-mukhá-* (167) alternating with *prá-dhauta-mukha-* (169) 'whose face has been washed'.

6.2.111 uttara-pada=ādíḥ

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 138 below) the initial syllable of the final member (uttara-pada=ādí-ḥ of a compound) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and the expression [uttara-pada-ādí] will recur in each of the following rules in this section.

6.2.112 kárṇa-ḥ [1]várṇa-[2]lákṣaṇ-āt

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-kárṇa- 'ear' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a color (várṇa-°) or a mark (°-lákṣaṇ-āt).

1. *śukl-aú kárṇ-au yá-sya = śukla-kárṇa-* 'white-eared'.
2. *dā́tra-ṁ kárṇ-e yá-sya = dātrā-kárṇa-* (3.115) '(an animal) branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear'; but *śóbhan-au kárṇ-au yá-sya = su-karṇá-* (172).

6.2.113 [1]saṁjñā=[2]aúpam-yay-os=ca

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106] forming a name (saṁjñā́-°) or resemblance (aúpam-y-e) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111 °-kárṇa- 112 bears the udā́tta accent 64].

1. *maṇí-ḥ kárṇ-e yá-sya = maṇi-kárṇa-ḥ* 'n.pr.'; 2. *gór iva kárṇ-au yá-sya = go-kárṇa-ḥ* 'whose ears resemble those of a cow'; similarly *khara-kárṇa-* 'camel-eared'.

6.2.114 [1]kaṇṭhá-[2]pṛṣṭhá-[3]grīvā́-[4]jáṅgha-ṁ ca

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 constituting either a name or a resemblance 113, the initial syllable of the final members consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kaṇṭhá- 'throat', °-pṛṣṭhá- 'back', °-grīvā́ 'neck' and °-jáṅghā 'thigh' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

1. *śíti-ḥ kaṇṭhá-ḥ a-syá = śiti-káṇṭha-ḥ* 'n.pr. (white-faced)'; so also *nīla-káṇṭha-* 'n.pr. of Śiva'. *khára-sya iva kaṇṭhá-ḥ yá-sya = khara-káṇṭa-ḥ* 'camel-throated'. 2. *kāṇḍa-pṛ́ṣṭha-, nāka-pṛ́ṣṭha-* proper names; 3. *su-grī́va-, nīla-grī́va-*; 4. *nārī-jáṅgha-, tāla-jaṅgha-* proper names.

When indicating resemblance (aúpamya-): 1. *go-pṛ́ṣṭha-, aja-pṛ́ṣṭha-*; 2. *go-grī́va-, aśva-grī́va-*; 3. *eṇī-jáṅgha-, go-jáṅgha-*.

6.2.115 śṛ́ṅga-m ava-sthā́-y-āṁ ca

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 constituting a name or resemblance 113] as well as (ca) 'age' (ava-sthā́-y-ām) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-śṛ́ṅga- 'horn' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

1. age: *ud-ga-ta-śṛ́ṅga-* 'whose horns are just jutting out'; *dvy-aṅgula-śṛ́ṅga-* 'whose horns are two digits long'; 2. name: *ṛśya-śṛ́ṅga-* 'n.pr. of a sage'; 3. aúpamya: *go-śṛ́ṅga-* 'cow-horned'.

6.2.116 náÑ-aḥ=[1]jár-a-[2]már-a-[3]mi-trá-[4]mr̥-t-ā́-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 the initial syllable of the posterior members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-jára- 'aging', °-mára- 'dying', °-mitrá- 'friend' and °-mr̥-tá- 'dead' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náÑ.

This is a prior exception to 172 below. *a-jára-/a-mára-/a-mítra-/a-mŕ̥-ta-* 'not aging or declining/immortal/foe, enemy/not dead (mfn.), ambrosia (n.)' respectively.

6.2.117 só-r [1]man-[2]as-ī=a-[1]lóma(n)=[2]uṣás-ī

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-man- (3.2.74) and °-as- (Uṇ-ādi ásuṄ), excluding [the nominal stems] lóman- 'hair' and uṣás- 'dawn' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] sú-°.

śóbh-ana-ṁ kárma yá-sya = su-kár-man- 'virtuous, performing good deeds'; *śóbh-ana-ḥ dhárma-ḥ yá-sya = su-dhárm-an-* (5.4.124) 'well maintaining'. 2. *śóbh-ana-ṁ yáśaḥ yá-sya = su-yáś-as-* 'renowned, famous', but *su-lomán-/s-ū-ṣás-* (172) 'possessing beautiful hair/beautiful dawn'.

6.2.118 krátu=āday-aḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-krátu- 'intelligence' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

su-krátu- 'skillful, intelligent, wise'; *su-dŕ̥ś-ī-ka-* 'handsome'; *su-prát-ī-ka-* 'lovely, beautiful'.

6.2.119 ādi=udāttáṁ dvy-áC chándas-i

In the Chándas [the initial syllable of the final member 111 of a Bāhuvrīhi compound 106] which is dissyllabic (dvy-áC) and bears the udā́tta accent on its first syllable (ādy-udāttá-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

śóbh-ana-ḥ áśva-ḥ yá-sya = sú+áśva-h = sv-áśva-ḥ 'owner of a good horse'; but *śóbh-an-au bāhū́ yá-sya- = su-bāhú-* (172) 'having handsome arms'. Prior exception to 172.

6.2.120 ¹vīrá-²vīr-y-aù ca

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-vī́ra- 'hero' or vīr-yà- 'strength, power' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117 in the Chándas 119].

su-vī́ra- 'rich in heroes'; *su-vī́r-ya-* 'powerful, strong'. By 1.213 *vī́ra+yaT* = **vī́r-ya-* should have the accent on its initial syllable, and would thus come under the preceding rule, but its inclusion in this rule implies that contrary to 1.213 it has the svarita accent on its final syllable.

6.2.121 ¹kū́la-²tī́ra-³tū́la-⁴mū́la-⁵śā́lā=⁶ákṣa-⁷samá-m avyayī-bhāv-é

In an Avyayībhāvá compound [the initial syllable of the final members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kū́la-, °-tī́ra- 'bank, shore', °-tū́la- 'cotton', °-mū́la- 'root', °-śā́lā 'hall, mansion', °-ákṣa- 'axle' and °-samá- 'equal' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

kū́la-sya/tī́ra-sya sam-īpá-m = *upa-kū́la-m/upa-tī́ra-m,* 'near the bank'; *pari-mū́la-m* 'around the roots'; *pari-śā́la-m* 'around the hall'; *su-sáma-m* 'very evenly'; *up-ā́-kṣa-m* 'near the axle'; but *kumbhá-sya samīpám* = *upa-kumbhá-m* 'near the pitcher'.

6.2.122 ¹kaṁsá-²manthá-³śū́rpa-⁴pāyyà-⁵kā́ṇḍa-ṁ dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kaṁsá- 'vase', °-manthá- 'mixed drink', °-śū́rpa- 'winnowing basket', °-pāyyà- 'n. of a measure' and °-kā́ṇḍa- 'section' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

1. *dvā́-bhyāṁ kaṁsā́-bhyāṁ krī-tá-ḥ* = *dvi+kaṁsa+ṬiṭhaN-∅* (5.1.25,28) = *dvi-káṁsa-ḥ* 'bought with two kaṁsa-s'. Similarly 2. *dvi+mantha+ṭhaK-∅* (5.1.19,28) = *dvi-mántha-* 'purchased with 2 mantha-s'; 3. *dvi+śūrpa+aÑ-∅* (5.1.26,28) = *dvi-śū́rpa-* 'bought with 2 śūrpa-s'; 4. *dvi+pāyya+ṭhaN-∅* (5.1.18,28) = *dvipā́yya-* 'purchased with 2 pāyyà-s'; 5. *dv-é kā́ṇḍ-e pra-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá* = *dvi+kāṇḍa+mātráC-∅* (5.2.37+*vārt*) = *dvi-kā́ṇḍa-* 'measuring 2 kā́ṇḍda-s' but *parama-kāṇḍá-*.

6.2.123 tatpuruṣ-é śā́lā-y-āṁ ná-puṁs-ak-e

In a Tatpuruṣá compound in the neuter gender (nápuṁsake) [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °śā́lā- 'hall, mansion' (2.4.25) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

brāhmaṇa-śā́la-m/kṣatriya-śā́la-m 'the hall or mansion of brahmins/warriors' but *dṛ-ḍhá-śāla-m brāhmaṇa-kulá-m* 'the brahmin family has a permanent hall of residence' which is a Bahuvrīhí compound; similarly *brāhmaṇa-śālā́* f. 'brahmins' hall of residence'.

6.2.124 kanthā ca

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-kanthā 'city' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

sauśami-kántha-m/āhvara-kántham (20) 'names of cities'.

6.2.125 ādí-s=cihaṇa=ādī-n-ām

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-kanthā 'city' 124] the initial syllable (ādi-ḥ) [of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with cihaṇa-° [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

The repetition of the word [ādi-ḥ] here while it was already recurring from 111 is to indicate that it is the initial syllable of the first members which bears the accent. *cíhaṇa-kantha-m/máḍara-kantha-m/vaítula-kantha-m* 'names of various cities'.

6.2.126 [1]cela-[2]kheṭa-[3]káṭuka-[4]kā́ṇḍa-ṁ garhā́-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °cela- 'clothes', °-kheṭa- 'grass', °-káṭuka- 'sharp, bitter' and °-kā́ṇḍa- 'arrow' [bears the udā́tta accent 64] when denoting censure (garhā́-y-ām).

1. *putrá-s cela-m iva* = *putra-céla-h* (2.1.56) 'bad son'; 2. *upānat-khéṭa-m* 'a miserable shoe'; 3. *dadhi-káṭu-ka-m* 'stale or sharp curds'; 4. *bhūta-kā́ṇḍa-m* 'harmful being'; but *parama-celá-m*.

6.2.127 cī́ra-m upa-mā́-na-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-cī́ra- 'rag, tatter', serving as an object of comparison (upa-mā́-na-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

vás-tra-ṁ cī́ra-m iva = *vas-tra-cī́ra-m* 'rag-like cloth, tattered cloth' but *parama-cīrá-m*.

6.2.128 [1]palalá-[2]sū́pa-[3]śā́ka-m miśr-é

[In a Tatpuruṣa compound 123] denoting a mixture (miśr-e) [the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-palalá- 'a kind of sweetmeat', °-sū́pa- 'sauce, soup' and °-śā́ka- 'vegetable' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

1. *guḍa-pálala-m* 'sweetmeat mixed with molasses'; 2. *mūla-ka-sū́pa-ḥ* 'sauce or soup mixed with radishes'; 3. *mudga-śā́ka-m* 'vegetables mixed with moong beans'.

6.2.129 [1]kū́la-[2]sū́da-[3]sthalá-[4]karṣ-ā́-ḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-kū́la- 'bank', °-sū́da- 'dried post', °-sthalá- 'ground' and °-kárṣa- 'labor' [bear the udā́tta accent 64] when deriving names (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

1. *dākṣi-kū́la-m/deva-sū́da-m/dāṇḍāyana-sthál-ī/dākṣi-kárṣa-ḥ* 'names of villages'.

6.2.130 á-karmadhāray-e rāj-yà-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123] excluding a Karmadhārayá [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-rāj-yà- 'kingdom' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

brāhmaṇā́-n-āṁ rājyà-m = *brāhmaṇa-rā́jya-m* 'a brahmin kingdom'; but *parama-rāj-yá-m*.

6.2.131 várgya=āday-as=ca

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 excluding a Karmadhārayá 130 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with várg-ya- 'partisan' [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

The várg-ya-class is a sub-member of the diś- class (4.3.54) after which affix [yàT] is introduced in which [varga-] occurs as the next entry. *vāsudeva-várg-ya-/arjuna-várg-ya-* 'a partisan of Vāsudeva/Arjuna' but *parama-varg-yá-* 'best or most prominent partisan'.

6.2.132 put-rá-ḥ puṁ-bhyáḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-putrá- 'son' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] masculine (puṁ-bhyáḥ) [nominal stems 4.1.1].

kaunaṭi-pútra-/dāmaka-pútra- 'son of Kaunaṭi/Dāmaka' but *gārgī-putrá-* 'son of Gārgī (f.)'.

6.2.133 ná=[1]ā-cār-yà-[2]rā́ja(n)=[3]ṛtv-íj-[4]sáṁ-yuk-ta-[5]jñā-tí=ā-khyā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 °-put-rá 'son' 132] does not (na') [bear the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ā-cār-yà- 'teacher, preceptor', rā́jan- 'king', ṛtv-íj- 'n. of an officiating priest', sáṁ-yuk-ta- 'wife's kinsfolk' and jnā-tí- 'kin' as well as their synonyms (°-ākhyā́-y-ām).

Exception to 132 above. 1. *ā́cārya-putrá-/upā́dhyāya-putrá-* preceptor's son'; 2. *rāja-putrá-/īśvara-putrá-* 'prince'; 3. *ṛtv-ik-pdutrá-/yājnika-putrá-* 'son of a priest'; 4. *saṁ-yuk-ta-putrá-/śyāla-putrá-* 'son of wife's brother'; 5. *jñāti-putrá-/pitṛvya-putrá-/mātula-putrá-* 'paternal/maternal cousin'.

6.2.134 cūrṇá-ādī-n-i=á-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the nominal class 4.1.1] beginning with °-cūr-ṇá- 'flour, meal' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet, excluding words denoting animate objects (á-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ).

mudga-cū́r-ṇa-m 'moong bean flour'; *masūra-cū́r-ṇa-m* 'lentil flour', but *matsya-cūr-ṇá-m*.

6.2.135 ṣáṭ ca kā́ṇḍa-ādī-n-i

[The initial syllable of the final members 111] consisting of any of the six [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-kā́ṇḍa- 'arrow' [= 126 above, °-cī́ra- 'rag' 127, °-palala- 'kind of sweetmeat' 128, °-sū́pa- 'sauce, soup' 128, °-śā́ka- 'vegetable' 128 and °-kū́la- 'bank' 129] also [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

126: when censure is not implied: *darbha-kā́ṇḍa-m/śara-kā́ṇḍa-m*'stalk of dhoop grass/reed'; 127: when not an object of comparison: *kuśa-cī́ra-m* 'rag made of K. grass'; 128: when not denoting a mixture: *tila-pálala-m* 'sesame cake'; *mudga-sū́pa-ḥ* 'moong-bean soup'; *mūlaka-śā́ka-m* 'radish'; 129. *nadī-kū́la-m* 'river-bank'.

The constraints [garhā́ 126, upamā́na 127, miśrá 128, saṁjñā́ 129] do not apply in this rule so that the operations of 126-29 are extended by this rule to situations not restricted by these constraints.

6.2.136 kuṇḍá-ṁ vána-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-kuṇḍá- 'bowl' [bears the udā́tta accent 64] when denoting a forest (vána-m).

darba-kúṇḍa-m 'n.pr. of a forest (literally a forest of dhoop grass)'; but *mṛt-kuṇḍá-m* 'earthen bowl'.

6.2.137 pra-kṛ́-ty-ā bhagā́la-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the final member 111] °-bhagā́la- 'skull' and its synonyms retain their original accent (pra-kṛ́-ty-ā).

kumbhī+bhagā́la-m/°-kapā́la-m/°-naḍā́la-mn 'skull serving as a bowl'. The word [pra-kṛ́-ty-ā] will recur in the subsequent rules up to 143 below.

6.2.138 śíte-r nitya=a=bah-v=aC=bahuvrīh-aú=á-bhasat

In a Bahuvrīhí compound [the final member 111] consisting of an obligatory (nítya-°) non-polysyllabic (°-á-bahv-aC) [nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding °-bhasád- 'pudendum' [retains its original accent 137 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śíti-° 'white'.

śiti-pā́da- 'white-footed'; *śiti-kákṣa-* 'white-shouldered', but *darś-anī́ya-pā́da-* possessing handsome legs', *śíti+kakud* (*a*→∅ 5.4.146) = *śí-ti-kakud-* 'white-humped' and *śí-ti-bhasad-* 'having a white pudendum'.

6.2.139 [1]gá-ti-[2]kā́r-aka=[3]upa-pad-ā́t kṛ́t

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72] a kṛ́t (3.1.93ff.) [affix 3.1.1 retains its original accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a gá-ti particle (1.4.60), kā́r-aka (1.4.23) or an upa-padá (3.1.92).

1. gáti: *pra+kṛ+LyuṬ* = *pra-kár-aṇa-* 'production'; *pra+kṛ+ṆvuL* = *pra-kā́r-aka-* 'producer'.
2. kāraka: *idhmá-m prá-vṛśc-ya-te y-éna* = *idhma+pra+vraśc+LyuṬ* = *idhma-pra-vráśc-ana-* 'axe'; *stamb-é rám-a-te* = *stamb-e+ram+aC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-á-* 'taking pleasure in a clump of grass'.
3. upapada: *īṣat+kṛ+KHaL* = *īṣat-kár-a-* (3.3.126) 'doing little'.

6.2.140 ubh-é vánas-páti-ādi-ṣu yugapát

In the class of compounds beginning with vánas-páti- both (ubh-é) [=the prior 1 and final 111 members simultaneously retain their original accents 140].

ván-as-pá-ti- 'lord of the forest'; *bṛhát-ām pá-ti-ḥ* = *bṛ́h-as-pá-ti-ḥ* 'n.pr. of the preceptor of gods'; *tanū́-ná-pāt* 'n.pr.'; *śúna iva śépha-ḥ a-syá* = *śún-aḥ-śépha-ḥ* 'n.pr.' The word [Tatpuruṣá 123] does not recur here as the gaṇa-list consists of Bahuvrīhí-s also.

6.2.141 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound composed of] names of divinities (devatā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [both 140 first 1 and final 111 members retain their original accents 137 simultaneously 140].

índrā-sóm-au 'Indra and Soma'; *índrā-váruṇ-au* 'Indra and Varuṇa'.

6.2.142 ná=uttara-pad-é=ánudātta=ād-au=á-[1]pṛthiví-[2]rudrá-[3]pūṣá(n)=[4]manthí-ṣu

[In a Dvaṁdva compound consisting of names of divinities 141 both first 1 and final 111 members] do not (ná) [bear their original accents 137 simultaneously 140 when the posterior member 111] begins with an ánudātta syllable, excluding °-pṛthiví 'Earth Goddess', °-rudrá-, °-pūṣán- 'names of divinities' and °-manth-ín- 'sacred beverage'.

índra+agní = *indr-a-gní, indra-vāyú,* etc., but *dyā́vvā-pṛthi-vy-aú, sómā-rudr-aú, índrā-pūṣaṇ-aú, śukrā́-manth-ín-au.*

6.2.143 ánta-ḥ

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this quarter [pādá]] the final syllable (ánta-ḥ) [of the final member of a compound 111 bears the udā́tta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and recurs in each of the subsequent rules to the end of the section.

6.2.144 [1]tha=[2]átha-[3]GHaÑ-[4]Ktá=[5]áC=[6]aP=[7]ítra-[8]Kā́-ṇ-ām

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-tha-, °-átha-, °-GHaÑ, °-Ktá-, °-áC-, °-aP-, °-ítra- and °-Ká- [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gáti, kā́raka or upapadá- 139].

General exception to 139 above.

1. tha: *su+nī+KthaN = su-nī-thá-* 'who guides well'; this is a uṆādi affix. Similarly *ava-bhṛ-thá-* 'purification of the sacrificer'.
2. átha (uṆādi): *ā-vas-athá-* 'dwelling place, residence'; *upa-vas-athá-* 'day of fasting'.
3. GHaÑ: *pra-bhid+GHaÑ = pra-bhed-á-* 'splitting'; *kā́ṣṭha-bhed-á* 'splitting wood'.
4. Ktá: *dūr-ād-ā-ga-tá-* 'arrived from afar' (2.1.39) = (*dūr-āt+ā́-ga-ta-* 49); *ví+śuṣká-* (1.206) = *vi-śuṣ-ká-* 'dried variously'; *ā-tapa-śuṣ-ká-* (2.1.32) 'sun-dried'.
5. áC: *prá+kṣi+áC = pra+kṣáy-a-* (1.201) = *pra-kṣay-á-* 'excellent residence'; *pra+ji+aC = pra+jáy-a-* (1.202) = *pra-jay-á-* 'excellent instrument of conquest'.
6. aP: *prá+lū+aP = pra-lav-á-* 'chip, fragment'; *pra+sū+aP = pra-sav-á-* 'begetting'.
7. ítra: *prá+lū+ítra = pra-lav-itrá-* 'cutting, reaping'; *pra-sū+ítra- = pra-sav-itrá-* 'begetting, generating'.
8. Ká: *gā́-m várṣ-a-ti = gó+vṛṣ+Ká = go-vṛṣ-á-* 'bull' while *vṛ́ṣ-a-* by itself has udā́tta accent on its initial syllable (1.203).

But *sú stu-tá-m* where *sú* is a karma-pra-vac-anī́ya (1.4.94) and not a gáti.

6.2.145 [1]sú=[2]upa-mā́-n-āt Ktá-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-Ktá [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the particle sú-° or a word denoting its object of comparison (upa-mā́-n-āt) [consisting of either a gáti, kā́raka or upapadá 139].

su-kṛ-tá- 'well-done'; *su-pī-tá-* 'well drunk'. Exception to 49. *vṛ́kair iva áva-lup-ta-m = vṛk-ā-va-lup-tá-m* 'rushed upon (a prey) as by wolves' (2.1.32;

exception to 48). *śaśa-plu-tá-m* 'jumped like a hare'; *siṁha-vi-nard-i-tá-m* 'roared like a lion'. Exceptions to 48 above.

6.2.146 saṁjñā́-y-ām án-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām

In proper names (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [the final syllable of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 145], excluding the class of derivatives beginning with ā́-ci-ta- 'collected, heaped up' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gáti, kā́raka or upapadá 139].

1. *sam-bhū-tá-* 'n.pr. of Rāmāyaṇa'; *upa-hū-tá-* 'name of Śā́kalya'; *pari-jag-dhá-* 'name of Kaúṇḍinya' . Exception to 49 above.
2. *dhanuṣ-khā-t-ā́* 'name of a river'; *kuddala-khā-t-á-m nágara-m; hasti-mr̥d-i-t-ā́ bhū́mi-ḥ* 'name of a locality'; exceptions to 48 above. But *ā́-ci-ta-* 'heaped, piled'; *ā́-sthā-p-i-ta-* 'established', etc.

6.2.147 pra-vr̥d-dhá-ādī-n-āṁ ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-pra-vr̥d-dhá- 'extended, grown, strong' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 145 bears the udatta accent 64].

pra-vr̥d-dhá-ṁ yāna-m 'extended (of a vehicle)', *pra-vr̥d-dhá-ḥ vr̥ṣalá-h* 'strong (of a V.)'; *khátvā-m ā́-rū-ḍha-ḥ = khaṭv-ā-rū-ḍhá-ḥ* (2.1.26) 'low, vile'; *kavi-śas-tá-* 'praised by wise men'. Exceptions to 48-49 above.

6.2.148 kā́rak-āt=[1]dattá=[2]śru-táy-or evá āśíṣ-i

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 145 consisting of] °-da-t-tá- 'given' and °-śru-tá 'heard' only (evá) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 to denote a name 146] when expressing benediction (āśíṣ-i).

dev-ā́-ḥ ená-ṁ de-yā́s-uḥ = deva-dat-tá-h. 'n.pr. of a person (as god-given)'; *víṣṇu-r enáṁ śrū-yā́-t = viṣṇu-śru-tá-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a person (as one listened to by V.)'. But *devá-pāl-i-ta-* (48) 'protected by gods'; similarly *dev-aiḥ khā-t-ā = devá-khā-t-ā.*

6.2.149 ittham-bhūt-éna kṛ-tá-m iti ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 145, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148 bears the udātta accent 64] also (ca) when the compound means 'done by one in that particular condition' (ittham-bhūt-éna).

sup-t-éna prá-lap-i-ta-m = *sup-ta-pra-lap-i-tá-m* 'uttered during sleep'; *pra-mat-t-éna gī-tá-m* = *pra-mat-ta-gī-tá-m* 'sung while intoxicated, drunken song'. Exceptions to 48.

6.2.150 ana-ḥ [1]bhā́va-[2]kárma-vac-ana-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-ana-, denoting a state (bhā́va-°) of action or the object (°-kárma-vac-ana-ḥ 3.3.116) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148, bears the udātta accent 64].

odana=bhoj-aná-m 'eating of boiled rice'; *payaḥ=p-ā-ná-m* 'drinking milk' (gen. Tat. comp.); *rāja-bhoj-an-ā́-ḥ śālay-aḥ* 'rice eaten by royalty'; *rāj-ā-cchād-anā́-n-i vā́sāṁs-i* 'costumes worn by royalty' (3.3.113). But *danta=dhā́v-ana-m* (*LyuṬ* 3.3.117) 'tooth-brush'; *ni-dárś-ana-m* 'indication'. Cf. 2.3.65.

6.2.151 [1]man-[2]KtiN=[3]vyā-khyā́-na-[4]śáy-ana=[5]ā́s-ana-[6]sthā́-na-[7]yā́j-aka=ādi-[8]krī-t-ā́-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] °-man-, °KtiN- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vy-ā-khyā́-na- 'explanation, commentary', °-śáy-ana 'lying down'; °-ā́s-ana- 'sitting down', °-sthā́-na- 'place' and the word-class beginning with °-yā́j-aka- 'sacrificer' and °-krī-tá- 'bought' [bears the udātta accent when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148].

1. man: *rátha-sya vártma* = *ratha-vart-mán-* 'chariot road'; 2. KtiN: *pā́ṇin-e-ḥ kṛ́-ti-ḥ* = *pāṇini-kṛ-tí-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's work'; 3. *chánd-as-aḥ vy-a-khyā́na-m* = *chando-vy-ā-khyāná-m* 'a gloss or commentary on Chándas'; 4. *rā́jñ-aḥ śáy-ana-m* = *rāja-śay-aná-m* 'royal bedstead'; 5. similarly *rāj-ā-saná-m* 'royal throne'; 6. *gáv-ām sth-ā́-na-m* = *go-sthánā-m* 'cow-pen'; exceptions to 150; 7. *brāhmaṇa-yāj-aká-* 'brahmin sacrificer' (2.2.9); 8. *go-krī-tá-* 'bought with a cow/bull', exception to 48 above. All are exceptions to 139 above. Cf. 2.3.65.

6.2.152 saptamy-ā́ḥ púṇya-m

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-púṇya- 'merit' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-ā́ḥ).

ved-é púṇya-m = *veda-puṇyá-m* 'merit accruing from a study of the Vedá'. Exception to 2 above.

6.2.153 [1]ūná=artha-[2]kalahá-m tr̥-tī́ya-y-āḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting the sense of 'less by' (ūná-artha-°) and the word °-kal-ahá- 'strife' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tr̥-tī́yā-y-āḥ).

Exception to 2 above. 1. *mā́ṣ-eṇa ūná-m* = *māṣ-o-ná-m* 'less by a mā́ṣa (in weight)'; 2. *vāc-ā́ kalahá-ḥ vāk-kalahá-ḥ* 'verbal strife', *así-bhiḥ kalahá-ḥ* = *asi-kalahá-ḥ* 'fighting with swords'.

According to interpretation [ūná] stands also for its synonyms, while some take [°-ártha-°] stands for itself: *māṣa-vi-kalá-* 'less by a mā́ṣa (in weight)' and *dhāny-ā-rthá* = *dhāny-èna ártha-ḥ* 'wealth through grains'.

6.2.154 miśrá-ṁ ca=án-upa-sarga-m á-saṁ-dh-au

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-miśrá- 'mixed with' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when] not [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (án-upa-sarga-m), [but co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 153] and not signifying an alliance (á-saṁ-dh-au).

guḍa-miśrá-/tila-miśrá- 'mixed with molasses/sesamum' (exception to 2 above) but *brā́hmaṇa-miśra-ḥ rājā́* 'a king who allies himself with brahmins' and *guḍá-sam-miśra-* (2) 'mixed well with molasses'.

6.2.155 náÑ-aḥ guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é [1]sam-pād-í(n)=[2]arhá-[3]hi-tá=[4]álam-arth-ā-s taddhit-ā́-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affixes 3.1.1] signifying 'fit for that' (sam-pād-ín-° 5.1.99), 'deserving it' (°-arhá- 5.1.63), 'good for it' (°-hitá-° 5.1.5) or 'capable of effecting it' (°-álam-arth-ā-ḥ 5.1.101)

[bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náÑ- °, negating their quality (guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é).

1. sam-pād-in: *karṇa-véṣṭakā-bhyām sam-pād-í múkha-m* = *karṇa-véṣṭaka+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.99) = *kárṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m, ná kárṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m* = *a-kārṇa-veṣṭak-iká-m* 'unfit for earrings (said of a face)'; 2. arhá: *chéda-m árh-a-ti* = *chéda+ṭhaK* (5.1.63) = *chaid-iká-ḥ; ná chaid-iká-ḥ* = *a=chaid-iká-ḥ* 'not deserving mutilation'; 3. hitá: *vatsé-bhyo hi-tá-ḥ* = *vatsá+cha* (5.1.5) = *vats-íya-ḥ, ná vats-íya-ḥ* = *a-vats-īyá-ḥ* 'not good or suitable for calves'; 4. álam-artha: *saṁ-tāpá-ya pré-bhav-a-ti* = *sam-tāpá+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.101) = *sám-tāp-ika-ḥ; ná sám-tāp-ika-ḥ* = *a-sām-tāp-iká-ḥ* 'unable to warm up or heat'. All are exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.156 ¹yá-²yàT-os=ca á-tad-arth-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 taddhitá 155 affixes 3.1.1] °-yá-, °-yàT-, not signifying 'serve its purpose' (á-tad-arth-e) also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ to negate these qualities 155].

pā́śā-n-ām sam-ūh-á-ḥ = *pāśa+ya+ṬāP* = *pāś-y-ā́, ná pāś-y-ā́* = *a-pāś-y-ā́* 'not a collection of nooses'; *dánte-ṣu bháv-a-m* = *danta+yàT* = *dánt-ya-m, ná dánt-ya-m* = *a-dant-yá-m* 'not dental'. Exceptions to 2 above, but *pād-ā-rthám udaká-m* = *pāda+ydàT* = *pā́d-ya-m, ná pā́d-ya-m* = *á-pād-ya-m* (2) (5.4.25).

6.2.157 ¹áC=²K-aú=á-śak-t-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-áC- and °-Ká- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ to negate these qualities 155] to denote incapacity (á-śak-t-au).

1. áC: *a-pac-á-* (3.1.134) 'incapable of cooking'; *a-jay-á-* (3.3.56) 'incapable of winning'.
2. Ká: *a-vi-kṣip-á-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of throwing asumder'. But *á-pac-a-* 'not cooking'.

6.2.158 ā-kroś-é ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1 °-áC- and °-Ká- 157 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ- ° 155] also (ca) to denote an intention to abuse (ā-kroś-é).

1. *áC: a-paṭh-á-* 'unable to read, illiterate'; 2. Ká: *a-vi-likh-á-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of writing, ignorant, illiterate', both indicating abuse. Exception to 2 above.

6.2.159 saṁ-jñā́-y-ām

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when signifying contempt 158 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ-° 155].

a-deva-dat-tá-ḥ 'does not deserve to be called Deva-dat-tá'.
a-yajña-dat-tá-ḥ 'unfit to be called Yajña-dat-tá'.

6.2.160 ¹kr̥̄t-ya=²uka=³iṣṇúC-⁴cā́ru=āday-aḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. kr̥̄tya (3.1.95ff.) and °-uka-(3.2.154), °-iṣṇúC- (3.2.136ff.) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-cā́ru- 'beautiful, charming' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ-° 155].

1. kr̥̄tya: *náÑ+kr̥+távya-* = *a-kar-tavyá-* 'not to be done'; similarly *a-kar-aṇīyá-*; 2. uka: *náN+ā+gam+ukaÑ* (3.2.154) = *an-ā-gām-uká-* 'not accidental'; 3. iṣṇúc: *an=alaṁ-kar-iṣṇú-* 'not decorating or adorning'; 4. *náÑ+cā́ru-* = *a-cārú-* 'unpleasant'; *ná sādhú-ḥ* = *a-sādhú-ḥ* 'improper, unfit'. Exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.161 vibhāṣā ¹tr̥N=²ánna-³tīkṣ-ṇá-⁴śúci-ṣu

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-tr̥N- and the expressions °-ánna- 'food', °-tīkṣ-ṇá- 'sharp' and °-śúci- 'pure' optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náÑ-° 155].

1. tr̥N: *náÑ+kr̥+tr̥N* = *a-kar-tŕ̥/á-kar-tr̥-* (2) 'non-agent'.
2. *an-anná-/án-anna-* 'rice or food not deserving of its name, inedible'; 3. *a-tīkṣ-ná-/á-tīkṣ-ṇa-* 'not sharp, bland'; 4. *a-śucí-/á-śuci-* 'impure'.

6.2.162 bahuvrīh-aú=¹idám=²etád=³tád-bhyaḥ ¹prathamá-²pū́r-aṇay-oḥ kriyā-gaṇ-an-é

In a Bahuvrīhí compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-prathamá- 'first' and an ordinal (°-pū́r-aṇay-oḥ) [bears the udā́tta ac-

cent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] idám-° 'this', etád-° 'this' and tád-° 'that' to indicate the number of times the action takes place (kriyā-gaṇ-an-é).

idam-prathamá- '(some action) of which this is the first'; *etad-dvi-tīyá-* '(an action) of which this is the second occurrence'; *tat-tr̥-tīyá-* '(an action) of which that is the third occurrence'.

6.2.163 saṁ-khyā́-y-āḥ stána-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-stána- 'breast, udder' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyā́-y-āḥ).

dv-aú stán-au yá-sy-ā-ḥ = *dvi-stan-ā́* 'possessing two breasts or udders'; *catuḥ-stan-ā́* 'having four udders'. Exception to 1 above.

6.2.164 vibhāṣā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 of a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 °-stána- 'breast, udder'] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a number-word 163].

dvi-stan-ā́/dví-stan-ā; catuḥ-stan-ā́/catúḥ-stan-ā.

6.2.165 saṁjñā́-y-ām ¹mitrá=²ajínay-oḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-mitrá- 'friend' and °-ajína- 'hairy skin of an antelope' [bears the udā́tta accent 64] to derive proper names (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

devá-ḥ mitrá-ṁ yá-sya = *deva-mitrá-ḥ; vŕ̥ka-m ajína-m a-syá* = *vr̥k-ā-jiná-* 'both proper names'; when not deriving names: *priy-á-mitra-* 'to whom friends are dear' and *mah-ā́-jina-* 'who has a large hairy skin of an antelope'.

6.2.166 vy-av-ā-y-ín-aḥ=ántaram

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-ántara- 'intervening' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting the object of intervention (vy-av-ā-y-ín-aḥ).

vástra-m ántara-m á-sya = *vastr-ā-ntará-m* 'separated by a covering cloth', but *ātmā́* = *sva-bhāv-á-ḥ ántara-ḥ a-syá* = *ātm-á-ntara-ḥ* 'of a different nature'.

6.2.167 múkha-ṁ sva=aṅgá-m

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-múkha- 'face' denoting a limb of one's body (sv-ā-ṅgá-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

gaurá-m múkha-m a-syá = *gaura-mukhá-ḥ* 'white-faced'; *bhadrá+múkha-* = *bhadra-mukhá-* 'auspicious-faced', but *dīrghá+múkha-* = *dīrghá-mukh-ā śā́lā* 'a hall (of residence) with a tall entrance'.

6.2.168 ná=[1]á-vy-aya=[2]dik=śabdá-[3]gó-[4]mahát-[5]sthū-lá-[6]muṣṭí-[7]pr̥thú-[8]vatsé-bhyaḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-múkha- 'face' denoting a limb of one's body 167] does not (ná) [bear the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] 1. indeclinables (á-vy-aya-°), 2. direction-words (°-dik=śabdá-°), 3. gó-° 'cow, bull', 4. mahát-° 'big', 5. sthū-la- 'gross, heavy', 6. muṣṭí-° 'fist', 7. pr̥thú-° 'wide' and 8. vatsa- 'calf'.

1. *ucc-aíḥ múkha-m a-syá* = *ucca-aír-mukha-ḥ* 'having the face turned upwards'; 2. *prā́ṅ-mukha-* 'having the face turned eastwards'; 3. *gó-mukha-* 'cow-faced'; 4. *mahā́-mukha-* 'big-faced'; 5. *sthū-lá-mukha-* 'heavy-faced'; 6. *muṣṭí-mukha-* 'possessing a fist-like face'; 7. *pr̥thú-mukha-* 'wide-faced'; 8. *vatsá-mukha-* (1) 'calf-faced'.

6.2.169 [1]niṣṭhā́=[2]upa-mā́-n-āt=anya-tará-syām

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-múkha- 'face 167 does not 168] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bear the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26) or an expression denoting an object of comparison (°-upa-mā́-n-āt).

pra-kṣāl-i-ta-mukhá- (167)/*pra-kṣāl-i-tá-mukha-* (110)/*prá-kṣāl-i-ta-mukha-* (49) 'whose face has been washed'.

siṃhá-sya múkham iva múkham a-syá = *siṁha-mukhá-ḥ/siṁhá-mukha-ḥ* 'lion-faced'.

6.2.170 [1]jā́-ti-[2]kālá-[3]sukhá=ādi-bhyaḥ=án-ā-cchād-an-āt Ktá-ḥ=á-[1]kṛ-ta-[2]mi-ta-[3]prati-pan-n-ā-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °Ktá-, excluding °-kṛ-tá- 'done, made', °-mi-tá- 'measured' and °-prati-pan-ná- 'promised' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting genus (jā́-ti-°) excluding one denoting a cover (án-ā-cchād-an-āt), time-words (°-kālá-°) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sukhá-° 'happiness, pleasure'.

1. jā́-ti: *sāraṅga-jag-dhá-* 'who has eaten an antelope'; *palāṇḍu-bhakṣ-i-tá-* 'who has eaten onions'.
2. kālá: *māsa-jā-tá-* 'born a month ago'; *sam-vat-sara-jā-tá-* 'born a year ago'.
3. *sukha-jā-tá-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'; *duhkha-jā-tá-* 'whose birth has been unpleasant'.

Exceptions: *putrá-jā-ta-* 'to whom a son has been born' since *putrá-* is not a genus-word. *vás-ana-chan-na-* 'cloth-covered'; *kúṇḍa-m kṛ-tá-m y-éna = kúṇḍa-kṛ-ta-* 'by whom a kuṇḍa has been made'; similarly *kúṇḍa-mi-ta-* 'by whom a kúṇḍa has been measured' and *kúṇḍa-prati-pan-na-ḥ* by whom a kúṇḍa has been promised'.

6.2.171 vā jā-t-é

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-jā-tá- 'born' optionally (vā) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting genus-names, time-words or the word-class beginning with sukhá-° 170].

1. *danta-jātá-/dánta-jā-ta-* 'whose teeth have emerged'; 2. *māsa-jā-tá-/mā́sa-jā-ta-* 'born a month ago'; 3. *su-kha-jā-tá-/su-khá-jā-ta-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'.

6.2.172 [1]náN-[2]súbhyām

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] náÑ-° and sú-°.

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ān-ā-ḥ yáv-ā-ḥ a-syá = a-yavá-ḥ* 'destitute of barley'; 2. *su-yavá-* 'abounding in barley'.

6.2.173 kaP-i pū́rva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the samāsāntá 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] kaP [and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náÑ and sú 172 bears the udā́tta accent 64] on the syllable [preceding 1.1.66] kaP (kaP-i pū́rva-m).

a-kumār-ī́-ka- 'denuded of maidens'; *su-kumār-ī́-ka-* 'abounding in maidens'.

6.2.174 hrasvá=ant-e ánt-y-āt pū́rva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 samāsāntá 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 173] preceded by a short vowel (hrasv-ā́-nt-e) [before 1.1.66 kaP], the syllable before 1.1.66 that short vowel (ánt-y-āt pū́rva-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náÑ-° and sú-° 172].

a-vrī́hi-ka- 'destitute of rice'; *su-mā́ṣa-ka-* 'rich in mā́ṣa beans'.

6.2.175 bahó-r naÑ-vát=ut-tara-pada-bhū́mn-i

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú-° 'many' [has the same udā́tta accent 64 as when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] náÑ (172-74, 116) when expressing the abundance of the posterior member (ut-tara-pada-bhū́mn-i).

116. *bahu-jár-a-* 'very old'; *bahu-már-a-* 'frequently dying'; *bahu-mítra-* 'teeming with friends'; *bahu-mṛ̥́-ta-* 'where many have died'.
172. *bahu-yavá-* 'abounding in large quantities of barley'.
173. *bahu-kumār-ī́-ka-* 'teeming with maidens'.
174. *bahu-vrī́hi-ka-* 'extremely rich in rice'.
But *bahú-ṣu mánaḥ a-syá* = *bahú-manas-* 'mindful of many'; since it does not qualify the posterior member.

6.2.176 ná guṇá=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-ā́ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1 bahú-° 'many' 175 and comprising the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-guṇá-, and denoting an integral part (of something else: ava-yav-ā́-ḥ) does not (ná) [bear the udā́tta accent 64 on the final syllable 143].

bahú-guṇ-ā rájju-ḥ 'rope consisting of many strands'; *bahv-àkṣara-m padá-m* (8.2.4) 'a polysyllabic expression'; but *bahu-guṇá-* 'possessing many qualities' (172).

6.2.177 upa-sarg-ā́t sva=aṅgám dhruvá-m á-parśu

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an unchanging (dhruvá-m = constant) limb of one's body (sv-ā-ṅgá-m), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-párśu- 'side' [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (upa-sarg-ā́t) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

sa-ta-tá-ṁ yá-sya pra-ga-tám pṛṣṭhá-ṁ sá-h = pra-pṛṣṭhá-ḥ 'having a protuberant back'; similarly *pra+udará- = pr-o-dará-* 'big-bellied'. Exceptions: *dars-anīya-lālaṭa-* 'possessing a fine forehead' (not preceded by a preverb); *prá-śākha-ḥ vṛkṣa-ḥ* 'a tree with high branches', since a branch is not covered by sv-ā-ṅgá; *úd-bāhu-* 'whose hand is raised' since this is not a natural stable position.

6.2.178 vána-ṁ sam-ās-é

In a compound (sam-ās-é) [the final syllable 143 of the posterior member 111] °-vána- 'forest, wood' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

By using the expression [sam-ās-é] the governing role of Bahuvrīhí comes to an end, and we are now concerned with compounds in general. *pra-vaṇá- = prá-kṛṣ-ṭa-m/pra-ga-tá-ṁ vā vána-m a-syá/prá-kṛṣ-ṭa-m/pra-ga-tá-ṁ vā vána-m* realized either as a Bahuvrīhí or a Tatpuruṣá compound: 'possessing an excellent forest/an excellent forest'. Similarly *nir-vaṇá-* (retroflexion by 8.4.5).

6.2.179 antáḥ

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-vána- 'forest, wood' 178 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] antár-° 'within'.

antar-vaṇá- (8.4.5) 'a region situated within a forest'.

6.2.180 ánta-s=ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-ánta- 'end, edge' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

prá+ánta- = *pr-ā-ntá-* 'edge, extremity'; *pary-antá-* 'circumference'.

6.2.181 ná [1]ní-[2]ví-bhyām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-ánta- 'end, edge' 180] does not (ná) [bear the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 177] ní-° or ví-°.

ní+ánta- = *ny-ànta-* (8.2.4) 'proximity'; *vy-ànta-* 'separated, remote'. Exception to 180 above.

6.2.182 páre-r [1]abhito-bhāv-í-[2]maṇḍalá-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something possessing two opposite sides (abhi-to-bhāv-í-°) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-maṇḍalá- 'circle' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] pari-°.

pári+kū́la- = *pári-kūlá-* 'lying on both sides of the banks', so also *pari-tīrá-*; *pari-maṇḍalá-* = *parí-tas=maṇḍalá-m* 'circumference'.

6.2.183 pr-ā́-t=á-sva=aṅga-ṁ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an object excluding the limbs of one's body (á-sv-ā-ṅga-m) [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] prá-° to derive a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

prá+kóṣṭha- = *pra-koṣṭhá-m* 'courtyard, quadrangle'; *pra-gṛhá-m* 'front part of the house'; *pra-dvārá-m* 'place before the door', but *prá-hasta-m* 'open hand', *prá-pada-m* 'division of a verse into four quarters without reference to the sense'. Exceptions to 2 above.

6.2.184 nir-udaká=ādī-n-i ca

[In the class of compounds 178] beginning with nir-udaká- 'arid or dry land, desert' [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udā́tta accent 64].

nir-ulapá-/nir-upalá- 'grassland, free from stones or rocks'; *niṣ-kāla-ká-ḥ* = *niṣ-krān-ta-ḥ kāla-k-āt* 'one who has shaved his hair, an ascetic'. In the case of Bahuvrīhí and Prādi-Tatpuruṣas this rule is an exception to 1 and 2 above, but where an Avyayī-bhāvá is involved it is already covered by 1.223.

6.2.185 abhé-r múkha-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-múkha- 'face' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] = abhí-°.

abhí+múkha-m = *abhi-mukhá-m* 'facing, confronting'; exception to 177.

6.2.186 áp-āt=ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-múkha- 'face' 185 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ápa-° also (ca).

apa-mukhá-m 'having the face averted'. The composition in 185-86 is either a Bahuvrīhí or a Prādi-Tatpuruṣá type and is an exception to both 1 and 2 above; when regarded as Avya-yī-bhāvá, 1.223 applies yielding the same result.

6.2.187 [1]sphíga-[2]pū́-ta-[3]vī́ṇā-[4]áñjas=[5]ádhva(n)=[6]kukṣí-[7]sī́ra-nāma-[8]nā́ma ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-sphíga- 'hip, buttock', °-pū́-ta- 'ibid', °-vī́ṇā- 'Indian lute', °-áñjas- 'unguent', °-ádhvan- 'road', °-kukṣí- 'stomach', a word signifying 'plough' (sī́ra-nāma) and °-nā́m-an- 'name [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177 ápa-° 186].

apa-sphigá- 'with malformed buttocks'; *apa-pūtá-* 'having badly formed hips'; *apa-vīṇá-* 'without a Vīṇā'; *ap-ā-ñjás-* 'without unguent'; *ap-ā-dhván-* 'bad or wrong road'; *apa-kukṣí-* 'malformed belly'; *apa-sīrá-/apa-halá-* 'possessing a poor plough'; *apa-nāmán-* 'bad name'. In the case of [°-ádhvan-] when 5.4.85 does not apply the present rule operates, while in the former case we have *ápa+ádhvan+áC* = *ap-ādhv-á-*.

6.2.188 ádhe-r upari-sthá-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something above (upari-sthá-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ádhi-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

ádhi+dánta- = *adhi-dantá-* = *adhy-ā-rū-ḍhá-ḥ dándta-ḥ* 'redundant tooth'.

6.2.189 [1]áno-r á-pra-dhā-na-[2]kán-īyas-ī

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] which is subordinate (á-pra-dhā-na) and [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kán-īyas- 'younger' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ánu-°.

ánu-gata-ḥ jyéṣṭha-m = *anu-jyeṣṭhá-ḥ* 'following the seniormost'; but *anu-ga-tá-ḥ kánīyān* = *ánu-kanīyas-* 'younger following the senior', since the posterior member is not subordinate.

6.2.190 púruṣas=ca anv=ā́-diṣ-ṭa-ḥ

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-púruṣa- 'person' who has been mentioned previously (anv-ā́-diṣ-ṭa-ḥ) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177 ánu-° 189].

anv-ā́-diṣ-ṭa-ḥ púruṣa-ḥ = *anu-puruṣá-ḥ* 'afore-mentioned person'. But *anu-ga-ta-ḥ púruṣa-ḥ* = *ánu-puruṣa-ḥ* 'follower'.

6.2.191 áte-r á-[1]kr̥̊t-[2]pad-é

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] not [ending in 1.1.72] a kŕ̥t [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-padá- 'foot' [co-occurring after 1.1.68 the pre-verb 177] áti-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *aty-aṅkuśá-ḥ(nāga-ḥ)* 'an elephant, beyond or past the elephant hook, uncontrollable'; *ati-kaśá-ḥ (aśva-ḥ)* 'beyond the whip, unmanageable (of a horse); 2. *ati-pad-ā́ (śak-var-ī)* '(of a meter) too long by a foot'. But *áti-kār-aka- (NvuL)* 'good k.'

6.2.192 né-r á-ni-dhā-n-e

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ní-° to denote 'not hiding' (á-ni-dh-ā-n-e).

ni-mūlá-m (3.4.34) 'down to the roots'; *ni-tr̥̥ṇá-m* 'down to the grass', but *ní-hi-tā vā́c* = *ní-vāc-* 'whisper' f.; 'one who whispers' mfn.

6.2.193 práte-r aṁśú=āday-as tatpuruṣ-é

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 11 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-aṁśú- 'ray' [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] práti-°.

prati-ga-tá-ḥ aṁśú-ḥ = praty-aṁśú-ḥ (2.2.18) 'refracted ray'; *prati-janá-* 'foe, adversary'. But *prati-ga-t-ā́-ḥ aṁśav-aḥ a-syá = práty-aṁśu-ḥ* 'whose rays are refracted'.

6.2.194 úp-āt [1]dvy-áC=[2]ajína-m á-gaura-āday-aḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-°) and the [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ajína- 'hairy skin of an antelope', excluding the word-class beginning with °-guará- [bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] úpa-°.

upa-ga-tá-ḥ devá-m = upa-devá-ḥ 'who has taken refuge in God' but *úpa-gaura- = úpa-ga-ta-ḥ gaurá-m* and *upa-ga-tá-ḥ soma-ḥ a-syá = úpa-soma-ḥ*.

6.2.195 só-r ava-kṣép-a-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udā́tta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] sú-° to denote censure (ava-kṣép-aṇ-e).

su-sthaṇḍilá-m 'beautiful place' (said with envy and censure) in the phrase: *ihá khálu idā́nīm su-sthaṇḍil-é su-sphī-tā́-bhyām su-praty-ava-si-t-á-ḥ ās-svá* 'here, in this beautiful place, returning from abroad, sit down with your fattened limbs now'.

6.2.196 vibhāṣā=ut-pucch-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193] ut-pucchá- [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udā́tta accent 64].

ut-krān-tá-ḥ púcch-āt = ut-pucchá-ḥ/út-puccha-ḥ 'gone beyond the tail', but *úd-asta-m puccha-m a-syá = út-puccha-ḥ* 'who has raised the tail'.

6.2.197 [1]dví-[2]trí-bhyām [1]pád-[2]dát=[3]mūrdhá-su bahuvrīh-aú

In a Bahuvrīhí compound [the final syllable 143 of the posterior members 111] °pád- 'foot', °-dát- 'tooth' and °-mūrdhán- 'head' [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64].

dv-aú pād-aú a-syá = dvi-pā́d/dví-pād (5.4.140) 'biped'; similarly *tri-pā́d/trí-pād* 'three-footed, tripod'.

dvi-dát-/dví-dat- (5.4.141) 'having two teeth or tusks'; *tri-dát-/trí-dat-* 'possessing three teeth'.

dvi-mūrdhán-/dví-mūrdhan- 'two-headed'; *tri-mūrdhán-/trí-mūrdhan-* 'three-headed', but *dvi+mūrdhan+ṢáC = dvi-murdh-á-* (5.4.115, 6.4.144). This shows that samāsānta affixes are not obligatory in all cases.

6.2.198 sakthá-ṁ ca=á-kra=ant-āt

[In a Bahuvrīhí compound 197 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-sakthá- (5.4.113 = °-sakthi+ṢáC) [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] not [ending in 1.1.72 the syllable] °kra- (á-kra=ant-āt).

gaura-sakthá-/gaurá-saktha- 'having white thighs', but *cákra-saktha-* 'bow-legged'.

6.2.199 pára=ādi-s=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas the initial syllable of the final member (pár-ā-di-ḥ) [bears the udātta accent 64] variously (bahulá-m).

añji-sakthá-m ā́=labh-e-ta 'one should sacrifice an animal whose thighs are anointed'; *ṛju-bā́hu-* 'straight-armed'; *vāk-páti-* 'master of speech'; on the other hand: *tri-cakrá-* 'three-wheeled'; *marúd-vṛd-dha-* 'rejoicing in the Maruts'; *dívo-dāsa-* 'n.pr. of sage Bharadvāja'.

6.3.1 á-luK=udttara-pad-é

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 24 below) luK ($\emptyset^1$) replacement [of sUP triplets 2.4.71 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member of a compound] does not (á-luK) take place (before 1.1.66) the final member (uttara-pad-é).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kārá]; the first word recurs in subsequent rules up to 24 below, while the second word [uttara-pad-é] recurs throughout this pādá.

6.3.2 pañcamy-ā́ḥ stoká=ādi-bhyaḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK ($\emptyset^1$) does not replace 1] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-àḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members denoted by the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with stoka-° 'a little'.

stok-ā́t + *muk-tá-ḥ* = *stokā́n-muk-tá-ḥ* (2.1.39) 'hardly liberated'; *antik-ā́d-ā-ga-tá-ḥ* 'arrived from near'.

6.3.3 [1]ójas=[2]sáhas=[3]ámbhas=[4]támas-as tr̥-tī́ya-y-āḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK ($\emptyset^1$) does not replace 1] the third sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] ój-as-° 'strength', sáh-as-° 'power', ámbh-as-° 'water' and tám-as-° 'darkness'.

ój-as-ā+kr̥-tá = *ój-as-ā-kr̥-ta-* (2.1.32) 'done with strength; *sáh-as-ā-kr̥-ta-* 'done forcibly'; *ámbh-as-ā-kr̥-ta-* 'made or produced with water'; *tám-as-ā-kr̥-ta-* 'done with or by darkness'. (accent by 2.2).

6.3.4 mán-as-as=saṁjñā́-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound $\emptyset^1$ does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] mán-as-° 'mind, thought' when deriving a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

mán-as-ā-datt-ā/mán-as-ā-gup-t-ā 'n.pr. of persons', but *máno-dat-ta-* 'mentally given'.

6.3.5 ā-jñā-y-ín-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound Ø[1] does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member mán-as-° 'mind, thought' 4] when that final member is ā-jñā-y-ín- 'able to know, capable of knowing'.

mán-as-ā+ā-jnā-y-ín- = *mán-as-ā-jnā-y-in-* 'who is able to know through the mind, mentally perceptive'.

6.3.6 āt-mán-as=ca pū́r-aṇ-e

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1 consisting of] an ordinal (pū́r-aṇ-e) [luK (Ø[1]) does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] āt-mán- 'self, soul'.

āt-mán-ā-pañca-ma-ḥ 'fifth with oneself'.

6.3.7 vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā́-y-ām caturthy-ā́ḥ

[Before a final member of a compound Ø[1] does not replace 1] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy-ā́ḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first member āt-mán-° 'self' 6] to denote a technical term in grammar (vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā́-y-ām).

āt-man-e-padá-m/āt-man-e-bhāṣā́ 'the middle voice'.

6.3.8 pára-sya ca

[Before a final member of a compound Ø[1] does not replace 1 the fourth sUP triplet 7 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] pára-° 'another' also (ca) [to denote a technical term in grammar 7].

para-smai-padá-m/para-smai-bhāṣā́ 'active voice'.

6.3.9 [1]ha̱L=[2]aT=ant-āt saptamy-ā́ḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[Before a final member of a compound Ø[1] does not replace 1] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-ā́ḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (ha̱L-°) or in short a(T) to derive a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

1. ha̱L-anta: *yudh-í-ṣṭhira-/gav-í-ṣṭhira-* 'names or persons'; *tvac-í-sāra-* 'bamboo'.

2. aT=anta: *árany-e-tilaka-* 'wild sesamum'.

6.3.10 kāra-nā́mn-i ca prā́c-ām̐ háL=ād-au

[Before a final member of a compound 1] beginning with a consonant (háL-ād-au) [luK (∅[1]) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 8 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member denoting] a tax (kāra-nā́mn-i) in the eastern region (prā́c-ām).

kū́p-e-śā́ṇa-ḥ 'tax raised on wells'; *dr̥-ṣád-i-māṣa-k-ā-ḥ* 'tax raised on millstones'; *hal-é-dvi-pad-ik-ā* 'tax raised on ploughshares' etc.

6.3.11 mádhy-ād gur-aú

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] °-gurú- 'heavy' [luK (∅[1]) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] mádhya-° 'center, middle'.

mádhye-guru- 'heavy in the middle or center'.

6.3.12 á-[1]mūrdha(n)=[2]mastak-āt sva=aṅg-ā́t á-kām-e

[Before 1.1.66 a member of a compound 1] excluding °-kāmá- 'love', [luK (∅[1]) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short a(T) 9] denoting a limb of one's body (sv-ā-ṅg-ā́t) other than mūrdhán-° 'head' and mástaka-° 'head, skull'.

kaṇṭh-é kālá-ḥ a-syá = kaṇṭh-é-kāla-ḥ 'black-throated, n.pr. of Śivá; *úr-as-i lómān-i a-syá = úr-as-i-loman-* 'hairy-chested'; but *múkh-e kāmá-ḥ a-syá = múkha-kāma-ḥ* 'face-loving'; *aṅgúl-au trā-ṇá-ḥ = aṅgúli-trā-ṇa-ḥ* 'thimble'; *jáṅghā-y-ām váli-ḥ = jáṅghā-vali-ḥ* 'a fold in the thigh'; *mūrdhán-i śíkhā a-syá = murdhá-śikha-ḥ/mástaka-śikha-* 'having a tuft on the head'.

6.3.13 bandh-é ca vibhāṣā

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] °-bandhá- 'arrangement, formation' [∅[1] does not 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short vowel a(T) 9].

hást-e-bandha-/hastá-bandha- 'formation in the shape of a hand'; *cakr-é-bandha-/cakrá-bandha-* 'bow-legged'; but *gúp-t-au bandhá-ḥ = gúp-ti-bandha-ḥ* 'imprisonment, incarceration'.

6.3.14 tatpuruṣ-é kŕ̥t-i bahulá-m

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. kŕ̥t (3.1.93ff.) [luK (∅[1]) does not 1] variously (bahulá-m) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member].

> *stamb-é rám-a-te* = *stamb-é+ram+áC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-á-ḥ* 'delighting in a clump of tall grass'; similarly *karṇ-e jáp-a-ti* = *kárṇ-e-jap+áC* = *karṇ-e-jap-á-ḥ* 'informer, tale-bearer', but *kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti* = *kuru-car+Ṭa-* (3.2.16) = *kuru-car-á-* 'moving/grazing in the Kúru region'.

6.3.15 [1]prā-vŕ̥ṣ=[2]śarád-[3]kālá-[4]dív-āṁ j-é

[Before the 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-já- 'born' [luK (∅[1]) does not 1 replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] prā-vŕ̥ṣ-° 'rainy season', śarád-° 'autumn', kālá-° 'time' and dív-° 'day, heaven'.

> *pra-vŕ̥ṣ-i jā-tá-ḥ* = *prā-vr̥ṣ-i+jan+Ḍá* (3.2.97) = *prā-vr̥ṣ-i-já-ḥ* 'born in the rainy season'; similarly: *śarad-i-já-/kāl-e-já-/div-i-já-* 'born in autumn/time or season/heaven'.

6.3.16 vibhā́ṣá [1]varṣá-[2]kṣará-[3]śará-[4]vár-āt

[Before 1.1.67 the final member of a compound 1 °-já- 'born' 15, luK (∅[1]) 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] varṣá-° 'rainy season', kṣará-° 'cloud', śará-° 'reed' and vára-° 'enclosure'.

> *varṣ-e-já/varṣa-já-* 'born in the rainy season'; *kṣar-e-já-/kṣara-já-* 'cloud-born'; *śar-e-já-/śara-já-* 'born in a bed of reeds'; *vare-já-/vara-já-* 'born in an enclosure'. All these are generated with affix Ḍa (3.2.97).

6.3.17 [1]GHA-[2]kālá-[3]tane-ṣu kāla-nā́mn-aḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: °-taraP, °-tamaP), and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kālá- 'time' and [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-tana- [luK (∅[1]) 1 optionally 16 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or the short vowel a(T) 9] denoting a time-word (kāla-nā́mn-aḥ).

1. *pūrv-ā-hṇ-é-tare/pūrv-ā-hṇá-tare* 'a little later in the morning' (4.3.23); *apar-ā-hṇé-tam-e/apar-ā-hṇá-tam-e* 'extremely late in the evening'.
2. *pūrv-ā-hṇé-kāl-e/pūrv-ā-hṇá-kāl-e* 'in the forenoon period'.
3. *pūrv-ā-hṇ-é-tan-e/pūrv-āØhṇá-tan-e* 'matitudinal, belonging to the morning'. But *rā́tri-tarā-y-ām* 'later in the night'.

6.3.18 [1]śayá-[2]vāsá-[3]vāsí-ṣu=á-kāl-āt

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-śay-á- 'lying down', °-vās-á- and °vās-ín- 'inhabitant' [luK (Ø[1]) 1 optionally 16 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when not denoting a time-word (á-kāl-āt).

kh-e śe-te = kh-e/kha+śī+áC (3.2.15) = *kh-e-śay-á-/kha-śay-á-* 'reclining or floating in the air'; *grā́m-e-vāsa-/grā́ma-vāsa-* 'residence in the village'; *grā́m-e úś-i-tum śī́la-m a-syá = grām-e/grāma+vas+Ṇíni̱* (3.2.78) *vrata-m a-sya* (3.2.80) = *grām-e-vās-ín-/grāma-vās-ín-* 'habitually residing in the village/or as an act of vow'. But *pūrv-ā-hṇa-śay-á-* 'sleeping in the morning or forenoon'; the constraint on the prior member ending in a consonant or short vowel /aT/ (9) holds here: *bhūmi-śay-á-* 'lying on the bare ground'.

6.3.19 ná=[1]ín=[2]sid-dhá-[3]badh-nā́-ti-ṣu

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-ín- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sid-dhá- and (derivatives of the verbal stem) bandh- 'bind, tie, fix, fasten' (IX 37) [non-replacement by luK (= á-luK) 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] does not (ná) take place.

sthaṇḍile śáy-ana-śī́la-ḥ = sthaṇḍila+Ø[1]+śī+Ṇíni̱ (3.2.78,80) = *sthaṇḍila-śāy-ín-* 'who sleeps on the bare ground habitually or in observance of a vow'. *sā́ṁkāśy-e sid-dhá-ḥ = sā́ṁkāś-ya-sid-dha-ḥ* 'made or prepared in S.'; *cakr-é bad-dhá-ḥ = cakrá-bad-dha-ḥ* 'built in the form of a wheel (said of a stanza)'.

6.3.20 sth-é ca bhāṣā́-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-sthá- 'situated in' [non-replacement by luK 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member does not 19] also (ca) [take place 19] in the spoken language (bhāṣā́-y-ām 'current speech').

same-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = sama+Ø[1]+sthā+Ká (3.2.77) = *sama-sth-á-ḥ* 'being level'; *vi-ṣam-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = viṣama-sth-á-* 'standing uneven'; *parvata-sthá-* 'standing

on the hill'. Exception to 14 above, but which explains *hṛd-i-sthá-* 'situated in the heart' by the expression [bahulá-m] there. In Chándas *ā-kha-r-e-ṣṭh-á-* 'abiding in a hole'.

6.3.21 ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ḥ=ā-kroś́-é

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound luK ($\emptyset^1$) does not replace 1] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when denoting an insult (ā-kroś́-é).

caurá-sya+kúla-m = caurasya-kulá-m 'family of a thief', but *brāhmaṇa-kulá-m* 'the family of a brahmin'.

6.3.22 putr-é anya-tará-syām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] -put-rá- 'son' [luK does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote an insult 21].

dāsy-āḥ-putrá-/dāsī-putrá- 'son of a slave girl' but *brāhmaṇī-put-rá-* 'son of a brahmin lady'.

6.3.23 ṛT-o [1]vid-y-ā-[2]yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound luK ($\emptyset^1$) does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛ(T) and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity (vid-y-ā-yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ).

hot-u-ḥ-putrá-/hot-u-r-ante-vās-ín 'son/pupil of the Hotṛ-priest' but *guru-putrá-* 'preceptor's son'.

6.3.24 vibhāṣā [1]svásṛ=[2]páty-oḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the posterior members of a compound 1] '-svásṛ- 'sister' and °-pá-ti- 'husband, spouse' [non-replacement by luK ($\emptyset^1$) takes place] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a prior member ending in 1.1.72 short vowel ṛ(T) and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23].

māt-ú-ḥ svásā = māt-u-ḥ-ṣvasā́/māt-u-ḥ-svasā́ (8.3.85)/*mātṛ-ṣvasā́* 'maternal aunt'; *duhit-ú-ḥ páti-ḥ = duhit-u-ḥ-páti-/duhitṛ-patí-* 'daughter's husband, son-in-law'.

6.3.25 ān̲aṄ r̥T-aḥ=dvaṁdv-é

In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel r̥(T) [expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23] the element ān̲aṄ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1].

hó-tā ca pó-tā ca = hotr̥+potr̥+au = ho-t-ān-pot-ār-aú = ho-t-ā∅-po-tār-aú (8.2.7;6.4.11); *pitā-putr-aú* (22) since [pudtrá-] recurs here from above. But *pitā́ ca pitā-mahá-ś=ca = pitr̥-pitā-mahaú* 'father and grand-father'.

Since the substitute element is [ān] and not a member of the siglum [aṆ of 1.1.51] that rule does not operate here.

6.3.26 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

In a Dvaṁdvá compound consisting of names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-e) [the substitute element ān̲aṄ 25 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1] also (ca).

índra+váruṇa+au = índr-ān+váruṇa+au = índr-ā∅-váruṇ-au (8.2.7) 'Indra and Varuṇa'; similarly *índrāsóm-au, índr-ā-bŕ̥h-as-pá-t-ī.*

6.3.27 īT=agné-ḥ [1]sóma-[2]váruṇay-oḥ

[The substitute element long vowel] ī(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] agní-° 'n. of a divinity' [before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-sóma- and °-váruṇa-° 'names of divinities' [in a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26].

agní+sóma+au = agn-ī́-ṣóm-au; agn-ī-váruṇ-au.

6.3.28 iT=vŕ̥d-dh-au

[The substitute element short vowel] i(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the first member agní-° 27 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 of a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26] undergoing a vŕ̥d-dhi (1.1.1) replacement.

agn-ī́-váruṇ-au devá-t-e a-syā́ḥ = āgni-vāruṇ-ī́ 'consecrated to the divinities Agni and Varuṇa' (4.2.24 áṆ+ṄīP 4.1.15). Similarly *āgni-mārut-á-.*

6.3.29 dív-aḥ=dyā́vā

The substitute morpheme dyā́vā [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the first member of a devatā-dvaṁdvá compound 26] dív-° 'heaven' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

dív+kṣā́m-ā = dyā́vā-kṣāmā/dyā́vā-bhū́m-ī 'Heaven and Earth'.

6.3.30 divása-s=ca pṛthivy-ā́m

[In a devatā-dvaṁdvá compound 26, before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-pṛthivī́ the substitute morpheme divas-, in addition to (ca) [dyā́vā 29 replaces the first member div-° 29].

dyaús=ca pṛthivī́ ca = divás-pṛthivī́/dyā́vā-pṛthivī́ 'Heaven and Earth'.

6.3.31 uṣā́sā=uṣás-aḥ

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by names of divinities 26] the substitute morpheme uṣā́sā [replaces the first member] uṣás-° 'dawn' [before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

uṣás+nákta+Ḍā (7.1.39) = *uṣā́sā-nákt-ā* 'dawn and night'. Similarly *uṣā́sā-sū́rya-m* 'dawn and sun'.

6.3.32 mātára-pitár-au udī́c-ā́m

The expression mātára-pitár-au 'mother and father' is introduced [as a Dvaṁdvá compound 25] according to Northern Grammarians.

The element [araṆ] replaces the stem-final of the first member according to Northern Grammarians' cf. RV *mātára-pitárā* (5.6.7). According to other grammarians: *mātā́-pitár-au*.

6.3.33 pitárā-mātárā ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expression pitárā-mātárā is introduced [as a Dvaṁdvá compound 25].

The substitute element [arāṄ] replaces the stem-final of the prior member before the final member, while the sUP triplet introduced at the end of the compound is replaced by ā (7.3.39). Elsewhere *mātā́-pitár-au*.

6.3.34 striy-ā́ḥ puṁ-vát=bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt an-ūṄ sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇ-e striy-ā́m á-[1]pūr-aṇī-[2]priyā=ādi-ṣu

A feminine-denoting [nominal stem 4.1.1] which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense (bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát), provided it does not [end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 4.1.66] °-ūṄ and co-occurs [before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a feminine affix (striy-ā́m 4.1.3ff.) having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-ná=adhikar-aṇe), excluding ordinals (°-pū́r-aṇ-ī-°) and the class of words beginning with °-priy-ā́ 'dear'.

darś-anī́y-ā bhār-yā́ a-syá = darś-anī́ya-bhār-ya- 'whose wife is beautiful', but *khá́ṭvā-bhār-ya-* since the word *kháṭvā* has no masculine counterpart. Similarly *droṇī́-bhar-ya-* (*droṇī́* having no masculine counterpart in the sense of cattle fodder or a wooden trough or tub in which cattle are fed). But *brahma-bandh-ū́-bhār-ya-* where the prior member ends in °*-ū́Ṅ*, and similarly *kalyāṇī́ pañca-mī́ yā́-sāṁ t-ā́-ḥ = kalyāṇī́-pañcam-ā-ḥ rā́tray-aḥ* 'group of five nights (of which the fifth is auspicious)'; *kalyāṇī́ priy-ā́ yá-sya = kalyāṇī́-priy-a-ḥ*; when the frame of reference is not the same: *kalyāṇy-ā́ḥ mātā́ = kalyāṇī-mā-tā́*.

6.3.35 tasiL=ādi-ṣu ā kṛtvásuC-aḥ

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it does not end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix °-ūṄ 34 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with °-tasiL (5.3.7) and ending with °-kṛtvásuC (5.4.17).

The affixes referred to are: *tasiL* (5.3.7-9), *traL* (10), *dā́* (15), *dā́nīm* (18-19), *rhiL* (20), *thāL* (23), *thámu* (24), *thā́* (26), *ástāti* (27), *atásuC* (28), *ā́ti* (34), *enaP* (35), *ā́C* (36), *ā́hi* (37), *ási* (39), *tiL, tātiL* (41), *dhā́* (42), *dhyamuÑ* (44), *dhamuÑ* (45), *pāśaP* (47), *aN* (48), *Ña* (50), *KaN* (51), *ākíniC* (52), *cáraṬ* (53), *rū́pya* (54), *tamaP, iṣṭhaN* (55), *taraP, īyasuN* (57), *rūpaP* (66), *kalpaP, déśya, deśī́yaR* (67), *jātī́yaR* (69), *ká* (70-96), *akáC* (71), *kaN* (75), *ṭháC* (78), *ghaN, iláC* (79), *aḍáC, vuC* (80), *rá* (88), *ḌupáC* (89), *ṢṭaráC* (90), *ḌataráC* (92), *ḌatamáC* (93), *ḍhaÑ* (101), *ḍha* (102), *yàT* (103), *cha* (105), *áṆ* (107), *ṭháK* (108), *īkáK* (110), *Ñya* (112), *ÑyaṬ* (114), *ṬéṇyaṆ* (115), *áṆ, aÑ* (117), *yaÑ* (118), *vuN* (5.4.1), *kha* (7), *ā́mu* (11), *ámu* (12), *kṛtvásuC* (17). Of these affixes the following are principally involved: *traL, tasiL, taraP, tamaP, cáraṬ, jātī́yaR, kalpaP, déśya-, deśī́yaR, rūpaP, pāśaP, ṭháK, thāL, dā́, rhiL, tiL, tātiL.*

tá-syāḥ = tá-tas; tá-syām = tá-tra respectively denoting 'thence' and 'in that there' etc.

6.3.36 [1]KyáṄ=[2]mān-ín-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it is not ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix ūṄ 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-KyáṄ [and final member 1] °-mān-ín- 'believing, being of opinion'.

1. *éṇī+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = éta+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = etā-yá-te* 'acts like a hind' (3.1.11); similarly *śyenī́ iva ā́-car-a-ti = śyená+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = śyenā-yá-te* 'behaves like a she-hawk'.
2. *darś-anī́y-ā-m imā́m mán-ya-te ayám = darśanī́ya+man+Ṇíni̱* (3.2.82) = *darś-anīya-mān-ín-* 'who deems her as beautiful or worth seeing'.

6.3.37 ná ká̱=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] containing the phoneme /k/ as penultimate is not (ná) [treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1].

pā́c-ik-ā bhār-yā̀ a-syá = pā́c-ik-ā-bhār-ya- 'whose wife is a cook'; *pā́c-ik-ā-kalp-ā* 'not quite a cook'; *pā́c-ik-ā+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = pācikā-yá+a+te = pā́c-ik-ā-yá-te* (1.97) 'acts like a cook', *pāc-ik-ā-mān-ín-ī* (36).

6.3.38 [1]saṁjñā́-[2]pū́raṇy-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying either a name (saṁjñā́-°) or an ordinal (°-pū́r-aṇy-oḥ) is also (ca) [not treated 37 like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

1. *dat-tā́ bhār-yā̀ a-syá = dat-tā́-bhār-ya-ḥ* 'whose wife is Dattā́'.
2. *pañca-m-ī́ bhār-yā̀ a-syá = pañcamī́-bhār-ya-* 'having a fifth wife'.

6.3.39 vr̥d-dhi-ni-mit-tá-sya ca taddhitá-sya á-rak-ta-vi-kār-e

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 ending in 1.1.72] a taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affix 3.1.1] which operates a vŕ̥ddhi replacement (of the initial syllable of that stem 7.2.117-18), excluding those signifying color (°-rak-tá-° 4.2.1) or transformation (°-vi-kār-é 4.3.134) [is not 37 treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

mathurā-y-ām bháv-ā = mathurā+áṆ (4.3.53)+*ṄīP* (4.1.5) = *māthur-ī́ bhār-yā̀*

a-syá = māthurī́-bhār-ya-ḥ 'whose wife is a resident of Mathurā'; but *kaṣāy-eṇa rak-t-ā́ = kāṣāy-ī́ bṛ́hat-ik-ā a-syá = kāṣāy-á-bṛhat-ik-ā* 'whose mantle is colored or dyed red'; so also *lohá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ = loha+áṆ* (4.2.134)+*ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *lauh-ī́ īṣā́ a-syá = lauh-á+īṣa- = lauh-é-ṣa-* '(a cart) having a metal pole'.

6.3.40 sva=aṅg-ā́t=ca īT-aḥ=á-mān-in-i

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying a part of one's body (sv-ā-ṅg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel ī(T) [having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34 is not 37 treated like a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] excluding °-mān-ín- 'being of opinion, believing'.

dīrghá-keśī bhār-yā̀ a-syá = dīrghá-keśī-bhār-ya-ḥ 'whose wife has long hair', but *paṭv-ī́ bhār-yā̀ a-syá = paṭú-bhār-ya-ḥ* 'whose wife is clever'; so also *dīrghá-keś-ī-m iyám ayám mán-ya-te = dīrgha-keśa-mān-ín-* 'who deems her as having long hair'.

6.3.41 jā́te-s=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] signifying genus (jā́te-ḥ) also (ca) [is not 37 treated as a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1, excluding °-mān-ín- 'being of opinion, believing' 40].

kaṭh-ī́ bhār-yā̀ a-syá = kaṭh-ī́-bhār-ya-ḥ 'whose wife belongs to the K. recension of YV', but *kaṭh-ī́-m ātmā́n-am mán-ya-te = kaṭha-mān-ín-ī* 'who considers herself as a student of K. recension'.

6.3.42 puṁ-vát [1]karma-dhārayá-[2]jātī́ya-[3]deśī́ye-ṣu

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát) in a Karmadhārayá compound or [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-jātī́ya(R) and °-deśī́ya(R).

This is an exception to the preceding five rules 37-41.

1. exception to 37: *pā́c-ik-ā vṛ́ndār-ik-ā = pāc-aka-vṛndār-ik-ā́* 'an excellent cook'; similarly *pāc-aka-jātī́ya-/°-deśī́ya-*.
2. exception to 38: *dat-tā́ vṛ́ndār-ik-ā = dat-ta-vṛndār-ik-ā́* 'excellent Dattā'; so also *dat-ta-jātī́ya-/°-deśī́ya-. pañcama-vṛndār-ikā́/°jātī́yā/°-deśī́yā.*
3. exception to 39: *sraughna-jātī́yā/deśī́yā.*
4. exception to 40: *dīrgha-keśa-vṛndār-ikā/°jātī́ya/°deśī́yā.*
5. exception to 41: *kaṭha-vṛndār-ikā́/°jātī́yā/°deśī́yā.*

6.3.43 [1]GHA-[2]rūpa-[3]kalpa-[4]célaṬ-[5]brúva-[6]gotrá-[7]matá-[8]haté-ṣu Ṅyaḥ=án-eka=aC-aḥ hrasvá-ḥ

A short (hrasva-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the feminine 4.1.3 affix 3.1.1] Ṅī occurring at the [end of 1.1.52] of a polysyllabic (án-eka-aC-aḥ) stem [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: taraP, tamaP), and rūpaP (5.3.66), kalpaP (5.3.67), and [the final members 1] °-célaṬ (2.126), °-brúva- 'calling one's self by a name without a title to it', °-gotrá- 'lineage', °ma-tá- 'considered' and °-ha-tá- 'destroyed, struck down'.

brāhmaṇí-tarā/°tamā=brāhmaṇī́+taraP/tamaP; on the same basis: *brāhmaṇí-rūpā/°kalpā; brāhmaṇi-cel-ī́/°bruv-ā́/°go-trā́, °ma-tā́/°ha-tā́.*

6.3.44 nady-ā́ḥ śéṣa-sya=anya-tará-syām

[A short vowel 43] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [replaces the stemfinal 1.1.52 of] a feminine stem (nady-ā́ḥ) not ending in Ṅī or a monosyllabic feminine ending in °-ī (śéṣa-sya: 1.4.3-4) [before 1.1.66 the affixes denoted by 1. the t.t. GHA, rūpaP, kalpaP, and final members 1 °-célaṬ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-ha-tá- 43].

brahma-bandhū́+taraP/tamaP = *brahmabandhú+tarap/tamaP* etc. Similarly: *brahma-bandhū/°bandhu- + cel-ī́/°-bruvā́/°gotrā́/°-ma-tā́, °-ha-tā́.* Likewise: *strī́/strí+taraP/tamaP/rūpaP/kalpaP+ṬāP;* *strī/stri+celī́/bruvā́/gotrā́/ma-tā́/ha-tā.*

6.3.45 uK=IT-as=ca

[A short vowel 43 optionally 44 replaces the stem-final of a feminine stem derived with an affix 3.1.1 with a marker containing vowels] denoted by the siglum uK (=u, ṛ, ḷ) as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. GHA and rūpaP, kalpaP and final members 1 °-célaṬ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-hatá 43].

śra+IyasUN+ṄIP+taraP+ṬāP = *śre-yas-ī/śré-yas-i+tarā/tamā/°rūpā/°kalpā; śre-yas-ī/śre-yas-i+celī́/°bruvā́/°gotrā́/°ma-tā́/°ha-tā́.*

6.3.46 āT=mahát-aḥ ¹sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇa-²jatī́yay-oḥ

The substitute long vowel āT replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] mahát-° 'great' [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1] having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-na=adhi-kar-aṇa-°) and [the affix 3.1.1] °-jātī́yaR (5.3.69).

mahā́n devá-ḥ = mahát+∅¹+devá+sU = maha-ā-devá-ḥ = mahā-devá-ḥ 'the Great God Śiva'; so also *mahā-brāhmaṇá-* 'great brahmin'; *mahā́-bala-* 'possessed of great strength'; *mahā-jātī́ya-* 'moderately large'; *mahā-bhāratá-* 'the great epic dealing with the deeds of Bharata's descendants'. But *mahát-aḥ pu-trá-ḥ = mahat-putrá-ḥ* 'son of a great person' (absence of same frame of reference).

6.3.47 dvy-àṣṭan-aḥ saṁkhyā́-y-ām á-¹bahuvrīhi=²aśī́ty-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 46 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] of dví-° 'two' and aṣṭán-° 'eight' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] consisting of a numeral (saṁ-khyā́-y-ām), excluding a Bahuvrīhí compound or [before 1.1.66] °-aśī́tí- 'eighty'.

dv-aú ca dáśa ca = dví+dáśa = dvā́-daśa '12' (accent by 2.35). Similarly *aṣṭā́-daśa* 'eighteen'.

Exceptions: (a) bahuvrīhi compound: *dv-aú va tráy-aḥ vā a-smín = dvi-tr-ā́-ḥ* (5.4.73) 'consisting of two or three'; (b) °aśī́tí-: *dví+aśī́tí- = dvy-àśīti-* '82'.

6.3.48 tré-s tráyaḥ

The substitute morpheme tráyas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the numeral 47] trí-° 'three' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 consisting of number words excluding a Bahuvrīhí compound or °aśī́tí- 'eighty' 47].

trí+dáśan = tráyas+dáśan+sU = tráyo-daśa∅ (1.68; 8.2.7) thirteen'; *tráyo-viṁśat* '33', but *tráyo vā dáśa vā a-smín = tri-daś-ā́-ḥ* (5.4.73) consisting of three or ten'; *try-àśīti-* '83'.

6.3.49 vibhāṣā catvāriṁśát-pra-bhr̥-t-au sarvé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 numerals 47] beginning with °-catvāriṁśát- '40' [other than in a Bahuvrīhí compound or °-aśī́tí- '80' 47] operations introduced for all (sarvé-ṣāṁ dví-°, aṣṭán- 47 and trí-° 48) take place optionally (vibhāṣā).

dví-°/dvā́+catvāriṁśat- '42'; *trí-°/tráyas-°+catvāriṁśat-* '43'; *aṣṭá-°/aṣṭā́-° +pañcāśat-* '85'.

6.3.50 hŕ̥daya-sya hŕ̥d=[1]lekhá-[2]yàT=[3]áṆ-[4]lāsé-ṣu

The substitute morpheme hŕ̥d- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] hŕ̥daya- 'heart' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] consisting of °-lekhá- 'line, scratch, furrow', and [affixes 3.1.1] °-yàT- and °-áṆ- and the expression °-lās-á- 'jumping, palpitating'.

> *hŕ̥dayam likh-á-ti* = *hŕ̥d+likh+áṆ* (3.2.1) = *hr̥l-lekh-á-ḥ* (8.4.60) 'anxiety'; *hŕ̥daya-sya priy-á-ḥ* = *hŕ̥d-ya-ḥ* (4.4.95) 'dear to the heart'; *hŕ̥d+áṆ* = *hārd-á-* (4.3.120) 'relating to the heart'; *hŕ̥daya-syà lās-á-ḥ* = *hr̥l-lāsá-* 'palpitation'.

6.3.51 vā [1]śoká-[2]ṢyaÑ-[3]róge-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme hŕ̥d- 50] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 hŕ̥daya- 'heart' 50 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-śoká- 'sorrow', [the affix 3.1.1] ṢyaÑ (5.1.123) and °-róga- 'disease'.

> *hŕ̥daya-sya śoká-ḥ* = *hŕ̥t+śoká-ḥ* = *hr̥c-choká-ḥ* (8.4.40,63) *hr̥daya-śokáḥ* 'heart-ache'; *sú-hr̥daya+ṢyaÑ* = *saú-hr̥day∅-ya-/saú-hārd-ya-* (7.3.19) 'amity, friendship'; *hŕ̥daya-sya róga-ḥ* = *hr̥daya-rogá-ḥ/hr̥d-rogá-ḥ* 'heart disease'.

6.3.52 pādá-sya padá=[1]ājí=[2]ātí=[3]gá-[4]úpa-ha-te-ṣu

The substitute morpheme padá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādá- 'foot [before 1.1.66 final members 1] °-ājí- 'who goes', °-ātí 'who goes', °-gá- 'ibid.' and °-úpa-ha-ta- 'struck by'.

> *pādā́-bhyām áj-a-ti/át-a-ti/gácch-a-ti* = *padá+aj/at+iṆ* (*uṆ-ādi*) *pad-āj-í-/pad-āt-í-*, *padá+gam+Ḍa* (3.2.48 vārt.) = *pada-gá-* 'foot-soldier, infantryman'. Similarly *pād-éna úpa-ha-ta-ḥ* = *pad-ó-pa-ha-ta-ḥ* 'kicked by the foot' (accent by 2.2 and 1.161).

6.3.53 pád yàT-i=á-tad-arth-e

The substitute morpheme pád- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādá- 'foot' 52 [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yàT (4.4.83) except when denoting the sense of 'suitable for it' (á-tad-arth-e).

> *pād-aú vídh-ya-ti* = *pādá+yàT* = *pád+yàT* = *pád-ya-* 'piercing the foot', but *pād-ārthá-m udaká-m* = *pādá+yaT* = *pā́d∅-ya-m* (5.4.25) 'meant for the foot'.

6.3.54 ¹himá-²kāṣí-³há-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādá- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-himá- 'snow', °-kāṣ-ín- 'rubbing' and °-há-ti- 'stroke' also (ca).

> *pādá-sya himá-m = pád+himá-m = pad-dhimá-m* (8.4.68) 'chill or coldness in the foot'; *pād-aú káṣ-i-tum śī́la-m a-syá = pád+kaṣ+Níni* (3.2.78) = *pat-kāṣ-ín-* 'pedestrian'; *pādā́-bhyāṁ han-yá-te = pādā́-bhyām+han+KtiN : há-ti-ḥ = pád+há-ti = pád-dha-ti-ḥ* (2.2) 'foot-path, trail'.

6.3.55 ṛ́c-aḥ ś-é

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādá- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-śás- (5.4.43) to denote a quarter of an ṛ́c- (RV verse).

> *pādá+śas = pád+śás = pac-cháḥ* (8.4.40,55,63) *gāyatrī́-m śáṁs-a-ti* 'praises the Gāyatrī́ verse quarter by quarter' but *pāda-śáḥ kārṣāpaṇa-m dá-dā-ti* 'donates a kārṣāpaṇa quarter by quarter'.

6.3.56 vā ¹ghóṣa-²miśrá-³śábde-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53] optionally (vā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādá- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-ghós-a- 'sound, noise', °-miśr-á- 'mixed' and °-śábd-a- 'sound'.

> *pādá-sya ghóṣ-a-ḥ/śábd-a-ḥ = pāda-ghoṣ-áḥ/°-śabd-á-ḥ* or *pad-ghoṣ-á-ḥ/pac-chabd-á-ḥ* (8.4.40,55,63) 'sound of foot-steps'; *pād-éna miśr-á-ḥ = pādá-miśr-a-ḥ/pán-miśr-a-ḥ* (2.1.31; 8.4.45) 'mixed with quarter(s)'.

6.3.57 udaká-sya udá-ḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

The substitute morpheme udá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] udaká- 'water' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when deriving a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām).

> *udaká-sya meghá-ḥ = uda-meghá-ḥ (tá-sya ápatya-m = aúda-megh-i-)* (4.1.95) 'father of Aúdameghi'; *udaká-ṁ váh-a-ti = udá+vah+áN* (3.2.1) = *uda-vāh-á-ḥ (tá-sya ápatya-m = aúda-vāh-i-ḥ)* 'father of Aúdavāhi'. In both cases the basic form is inferred from the names of sons. When not signifying names: *udaka-meghá-* 'rain-cloud' and *udaka-vāh-á-* 'water-carrier'.

6.3.58 [1]péṣam-[2]vās-á-[3]vā́h-ana-[4]dhí-ṣu

[The substitute phoneme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 57 before 1.1.66 final members 1] °-péṣam 'grinding in', °-vās-á- 'living in', °-vā́h-ana- 'carrier' and °-dhí- 'receptacle'.

udak-éna pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi = *udá+piṣ+ṆamuL* (3.4.38) = *uda-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ṭi* 'grinds with water'; *udaká-sya vās-á-ḥ* = *uda-vās-á-ḥ* 'living in water, aquatic'; similarly *uda-vāh-aná-* 'water-carrier'; *udaká-ṁ dhīyá-te a-smín* = *uda+dhā+Kí* = *uda-dh-í-ḥ* (3.3.93) 'sea, ocean'.

6.3.59 eka-ha̱L=ād-au pūr-ay-i-távye=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute morpheme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 37] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] beginning with a single consonant (eka-ha̱L-ād-au) denoting (something) to be filled up (pūr-ay-i-távy-e).

udaká-sya kumbhá-ḥ = *uda-kumbhá-ḥ* 'water-jug or jar'; but *udaka-sthalá-m* 'water cauldron' (beginning with a conjunct consonant) and *udaka-parvatá-ḥ* (which is not something to be filled up). Option provides for alternate forms such as *udaka-kumbhá-ḥ* without the substitute phoneme replacing the prior member.

6.3.60 [1]manthá=[2]odaná-[3]sáktu-[4]bindú-[5]vájra-[6]bhārá-[7]hār-á-[8]vīvadhá-[9]gāhé-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme udá 57 optionally 59 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- 'water' 57] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-manthá- 'mixed beverage', °-odaná- 'rice', °-śaktu- 'barley meal', °-bindú- 'drop', °vájra- 'water-jar', °-bhār-á-, °-hār-á- 'carrier', °-vīvadhá- 'carrying pole or yoke' and °-gāh-á- 'plunger'.

udak-éna manthá-ḥ = *udá-mantha-ḥ* 'beverage mixed with water'; similarly *ud-aú-dana-* 'rice boiled with water'; both alternating with *udaká-mantha-ḥ* and *udak-aú-dana-ḥ*. Likewise *udaká-sya bindú-ḥ* = *udaka-bindú-ḥ/uda-bindú-ḥ* 'drop of water'; similarly *udaka-vajrá-/uda-vajrá-* 'water jet'; *udaka-bhārá-/ °-hār-á, uda-bhār-á-/ °-hār-á* 'water carrier'; *udaka-vīvadhá/uda-vīvadhá-* 'yoke or pole for transporting water'; *udakám gā́h-a-te* = *udaká-/udá+gāh+áṆ* (3.2.1) = *udaka-gāh-á-ḥ/uda-gāh-á-ḥ* 'plunger, diver'.

6.3.61 iK-aḥ=hrasvá-ḥ=á-Ṅy-aḥ gālava-sya

A short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.72] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) (of a first member) not [terminating in 1.1.72] the feminine affix Ṅī (= ṄīP, ṄīṢ, ṄīN) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] according to the grammarian Gālava.

grā́ma-ṁ náy-a-ti = grā́ma+∅¹+nī+KviP = grāma-ṇī́-ḥ, tá-sya put-rá-ḥ = grāma-ṇī-/grāma-ṇi-°putrá-ḥ 'son of a village headman'; *brahma-bandhū-putrá/brahma-bandhu-putrá-* 'son of a nominal brahmin' but *gā́rg-ya+ṄīP = gārg-∅∅+ī* (4.148,150) = *gā́rg-ī, tá-syāḥ putrá-ḥ = gārgī-putrá-ḥ* 'son of Gārgī'.

6.3.62 éka taddhit-é ca

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1] or (ca) a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1] (4.1.76ff.) [a short vowel replaces the stem-final 1.1.72 vowel 61] of éka-° 'one' (in the feminine with ṬāP 4.1.4).

éka-syāḥ ā-ga-tá-m ékā+rūpya-m = eka-rū́pya-m (4.3.81) 'descended from the same woman'; *eka-máya-m* (4.3.82) 'consisting of one (f.)'; *eka-tvá-m/eká-tā* (5.1.19) 'one-ness'; *eka-kṣīrá-m = éka-syāḥ kṣīrá-m* 'milk of one and the same cow' = *eka-dug-dhá-m.*

6.3.63 ¹Ṅī=²āP-oḥ ¹saṁjñā́-²chándas-oḥ=bahulá-m

[A short vowel 61] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the feminine affixes 4.1.3] Ṅī and āP [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1] in the domain of names or of Chándas.

1. domain of names: *revály-āḥ putrá-ḥ = revati-putrá-ḥ* n.pr. (son of Revátī), but *nāndī́-ṁ kár-o-ti = nāndī+kṛ+Ṭá* (3.2.21) = *nāndī-kar-á-ḥ* 'speaker of the prologue (in a stage play)'; *śilā́y-āḥ váh-a-ḥ = śilā-vah-á-ḥ* n.pr., but *lómakāy-āḥ gṛh-á-m = lomaka-gṛh-á-m* (2.2.8) n.pr.
2. domain of Chandas: *kumārī́-ṁ dá-dā-ti = kumāri-dā́-* 'bestower of a daughter'; *urvi-dā́* 'bestower of the earth' but *phālgunī-paurṇamāsī́ = phālgunī́ ca asaú paurṇamāsī́ ca* 'full-moon night in the month of Phālguna'. *ajā́-y-āḥ kṣīrá-m = aja-kṣīrá-m* 'goat's milk' but *ū́rṇā-y-āḥ sū́tra-m = ūrṇā-sūtrá-m* 'woolen fiber'.

6.3.64 tv-é ca

[A short vowel 61 variously 63 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affixes Ṅī and āP 63 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] tvá (5.1.119) also (ca) [in the Chándas 63].

ajā́-y-āḥ bhāv-á-ḥ = *aja-tvá-m/ajā-tvá-m* 'condition of being a she-goat', but *rohiṇī-tvám* 'the state of being Róhiṇī'. Since there is no possibility of deriving a name with this affix, examples occur only in the domain of Chandas.

6.3.65 [1]íṣṭa-kā=[2]iṣī́-kā-[3]mā́lā-n-āṁ [1]citá-[2]tū́la-[3]bhār-í-ṣu

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affix āP 63 of the first members] íṣṭa-kā́-° 'brick', iṣī́-kā-° 'a kind of reed' and mā́lā-° 'garland' [respectively 1.3.10, before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-ci-tá- 'piled', °-tū́la- 'clump', and °-bhār-ín- 'bearer'.

> *íṣṭa-kā-bhis=ci-tá-ḥ* = *íṣṭa-ka-ci-ta-ḥ* (2.1.32) 'piled with bricks'. *iṣī́-kā-y-ās tū́la-m* = *iṣī-ka-tūlá-m* 'clump of reeds'; *mā́lā-m bhár-tum śī́la-m a-syā́ḥ mālā+bhṛ+Níni̱* (3.2.78)+*ṄīP* (4.1.5) = *māla-bhār-íṇ-ī (kan-yā̀)* 'maiden habitually wearing a garland'.

6.3.66 KH-IT-i=án-a-vy-aya-sya

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a first member] excluding indeclinables (án-a-vy-aya-sya) [before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker KH as IT.

> The affixes with KH as IT are: KHáC (3.2.38), KHamu̱Ñ (3.4.25), KHaL (3.3.126), KHáŚ (3.2.28), KHiṣṇúC (3.2.57), KHukaÑ (3.2.57) and KHyuN (3.2.56).
>
> *kālī-m ātmā́na-am mán-ya-te* = *kālī+∅[1]+man+KHáŚ* (3.2.83) = *kālī+mu̱M+man+áŚ* (67) = *kālī-m+man+ŚyaN+á* (3.1.69)+*ṬāP* = *kāli-ṁ-man-y-ā́* 'who considers herself as dark'; the intervention of [mu̱M] does not block this operation according to Kāśikā, while Bhaṭṭoji suggests that replacement precedes the augmentation. In the case of indeclinables: *doṣā-man-yá-m áhaḥ* 'day passing for night'; *divā-man-y-ā́ rā́tri-ḥ* 'night passing for day'.

6.3.67 [1]árus=[2]dviṣát=[3]áC=anta=sya mu̱M

[The infixed increment] mu̱M is inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] árus- 'wound', dviṣ-át- 'hostile, foe, enemy' and those [ending in 1.1.72] in a vowel (áC=anta-sya) [excluding indeclinables 66, before 1.1.66 an affix with marker KH as IT 66].

> *áruḥ tud-á-ti* = *arus+tud+KháŚ* (3.2.35) = *aru-m-s+tud+Śá+á* = *arum∅-tud-á-ḥ* (8.2.23) 'painful, hurting the wound'; *dviṣ-ánt-am tāp-áy-a-ti* = *dviṣ-át+tāp-i+KHáC* (3.2.39) = *dviś-a-mu̱M-t+tap-á-* = *dviṣ-a-n-∅-tap-á-* (4.94; 8.4.65) 'chastising the enemy'; *kāli-m-man-y-ā́* (66).

6.3.68 iC-aḥ=éka=aC-aḥ=am-pratyaya-vát=ca

[Before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker KH as IT 66] the increment [am] is inserted [after 1.1.67] a monosyllabic prior member (éka=aC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iC (= all vowels excluding phoneme class a), and this increment functions like the [affix 3.1.1] [am] (of sUP).

gā́-m ātmā́n-am mán-ya-te = *go+∅*[1]*+man+KHáŚ* (3.2.83) = *go+am+man+ŚyaN+aŚ* = *gā-m+man-y-á-ḥ* 'thinking oneself a cow'; similarly *striy-am-man-y-á-* 'thinking oneself a woman' (4.8), but with a polysyllabic stem: *lékhā iva bhrū-r a-syāḥ* = *lékhā-bhrū-ḥ* 'whose eyebrow is like a line' yields: *lekhā-bhru-m-man-y-á-* (66).

6.3.69 [1]vāca-ṁ-yam-á-[2]pura-ṁ-dar-aú

The expressions vāca-ṁ-yam-á- and pura-ṁ-dar-á- are introduced [with increment /am/ which functions like the affix /am/ 68].

vā́c-am yácch-a-ti = *vāc+∅*[1]*+yam+KHáC* (3.2.40) = *vāc-aṁ+yam-á-* 'who restrains his speech as an act of religious observance'; *púr-am dār-áy-a-ti* = *pur+am+dr̥̥+ṆíC+KHáC* (3.2.41) = *pur-aṁ-dr̥̥+∅+á* (4.51) = *pur-aṁ-dar-á-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.

6.3.70 kār-é [1]sat-yá=[2]agadásya

[Before the final member 1] °-kār-á- 'agent, doer' [the infixed increment mu̱M 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] sat-yá-° 'truth' and agadá-° 'drug, medicine'.

The expression [kār-á-] is derivable either by itself with affix GHaÑ or as a posterior member of a kr̥t compound (3.2.1): *satyám kar-ó-ti* = *satya+mu̱M+kr̥̥+áṆ* (3.2.1) = *satya-ṁ-kār-á-ḥ/satyásya kār-á-ḥ* 'ratification'; similarly *a-gada-ṁ-kār-á-ḥ* 'physician'.

6.3.71 [1]śyená-[2]tilá-sya pāt-é Ñ-e

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhita 4.1.76ff. affix 3.1.1] °Ña- (4.2.58) [introduced after 3.1.2 the final member 1] °-pāt-á- [the infixed increment mu̱M 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] śyená-° 'falcon' and tilá-° 'sesamum'.

śyená-sya pā́t-áḥ a-syā́m krīḍā́-y-ām = *śyena-pāt-a+Ña+ṬāP* (4.1.4) *śyaína+mu̱M+pāt∅-a+ṬāP* = *śyaína-m-pāt-ā mr̥̥ga-y-ā́* 'hunting with a falcon, falconry'. Similarly *taila-m-pāt-ā* 'a game in which sesamum seeds are thrown'.

6.3.72 rā́tre-ḥ kŕ̥t-i vibhāṣā

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72] a kŕ̥t (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1, the infixed increment mu̱M 67] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first member] rā́tri-° 'night'.

> *rā́tr-au cár-a-ti* = *rā́tri+cár+Ṭá* (3.2.16) = *rātri+mu̱M+car-á-* = *rātri-ṁ-car-á-/rātri-car-á-* 'nocturnal wanderer', but *rātri-m-many-á-* (KHaŚ 3.2.53) [66].

6.3.73 na̱-lop-áḥ náÑ-aḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1] lopa (∅) replaces the phoneme /n/ of the privative particle náÑ.

> *náÑ+brāhmaṇá-ḥ* = *á-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* (2) 'non-brahmin'.

6.3.74 tá-smāt=nu̱Ṭ=aCi

After that (tá-smāt) [= ∅ replacement of phoneme /n/ of náÑ 73 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 beginning with 1.1.51] a vowel (aC-i), [the initial increment 1.1.46] nu̱Ṭ is inserted at the beginning [of the final member 1].

> *náÑ+áśva-* = *∅á+áśva-* (73) = *á+n-aśva-* 'not a horse'; so also *á-n-ā-tur-a-* 'not eager'; *á-n-īśa-* 'not a king' etc. If the increment were for [náÑ] instead of the posterior member 8.3.32 would have operated, yielding unacceptable forms like *an-n+aśva-.

6.3.75 [1]ná-bhrāj=[2]ná-pāt=[3]ná-vedas=[4]nā́-satyā-[5]ná-muc-i-[6]ná-kula-[7]ná-kha-[8]ná-puṁs-aka-[9]ná-kṣatra-[10]ná-kra-[11]nā́-ke-ṣu pra-kŕ̥-ty-ā

[The privative particle náÑ 73] retains its original form (pra-iŕ̥-ty-ā) in the expressions ná-bhrāj- 'cloud', ná-pāt- 'nephew', ná-vedas- 'ignorant', nā́-satyā (nom.du.) 'the Aśvin twins', ná-muc-i- 'n.pr. of a demon', ná-kula- 'mongoose' and as n.pr. 'the fourth Pāṇḍava brother', ná-kha- 'nail', ná-puṁs-aka- 'neuter', ná-kṣatra- 'asterism', ná-kra- 'alligator, crocodile' and n-ā́-ka- 'heaven'.

> These expressions are variously derived: 1. *ná bhrā́j-a-te* = *ná-bhrāj+Kvi̱P* = *ná-bhrāj-* (3.2.177); 2. *ná pā-ti* = *ná+pā+ŚatR̥* = *pā+∅[1]+at* = *ná-pāt*; 3. *ná vét-ti* = *ná+vid+asu̱N* = *ná-ved-as-*; 4. *ná-saty-aú* = *á-saty-au*, *ná á-saty-au* =

n-á-saty-a+Ḍā (7.1.39) = *n-á-saty-ā*; 5. *ná muñc-á-ti* = *na+muc+Ki* = *ná-muc-i-* (3.1.135); 6. *ná kúla-m a-syá* = *ná-kula-*; 7. *ná khá-m a-syá* = *ná-kha-*; 8. *ná strī́ ná púmān* = *ná-puṁs-aka-*; 9. *ná kṣár-a-te/kṣī-yá-te vā* = *ná-kṣatra-*; 10. *ná krā́m-a-ti* = *ná+kram+Ḍa* = *ná-kra-*; 11. *ná á-kam a-smín* = *n-ā́-ka-*.

6.3.76 éka=ādi-s=ca=éka-sya ca=ā́duK

[The privative particle náÑ 73, co-occurring with the number-word] éka-° 'one' as a first member (éka=ādi-s) [retains its original form 75] and the final increment āduK is inserted after éka-° (1.1.46).

ék-ena ná viṁśa-tí-ḥ = *éka+ād+ná+viṁśatí-* = *ék-ān-na-viṁśati-ḥ* 'nineteen (lit. not twenty by one)'.

6.3.77 ná-ga-ḥ=á-prāṇi-ṣu=anya-tará-syām

The expression ná-ga- is introduced to denote an inanimate object (á-prāṇi-ṣu) [with the privative particle náÑ 73 retaining its original form 75 before a final member 1] °-ga.

ná gácch-a-ti = *ná+gam+Ḍa* = *ná-ga-/∅á-ga-* 'tree, mountain', but *á-ga-ḥ vr̥ṣalá-ḥ sīt-éna* 'V. is unable to move on account of chill'. The expression °*gá-(gam+Ḍá)* is formed prior to its composition with *náÑ* as in the case of *ná+krá* = *ná-kra-* (10 above in 76).

6.3.78 sahá-sya sá-ḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

The substitute element sá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sahá-° 'with' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] to derive a name (saṁjñ-ā́-y-ām).

sahá aśvatth-éna = *sá+aśvattha-m* = *s-ā́-śvattha-m* 'n.pr. of a forest'; similarly *sá-palāśa-m, sá-siṁśapa-m*. *sahá yodh-i-tá-vān* = *saha+yudh+KvaniP* (3.2.96) = *saha-yúdh-van-* 'fighting together'; *saha-kŕ̥-t-van-* 'working together'. [But RV. *sa-jí-t-van-* 'victorious'].

6.3.79 [1]grantha=antá=[2]ádhi-k-e ca

[The substitute element sá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 sahá- 78] also (ca) when it denotes 'up to the end of a text' (grantha=anta-°) or 'more, in excess; (°-ádhi-k-e) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

1. *sahá kaláy-ā (= kalā́=antam)* = *sahá+kalā* = *sa-kalá-m* (2.1.6) 'up to the end of

the section on kalā (a chapter in an astronomical work); similarly *sa-muhūrtá-m'*.

2. *dróṇ-ena sahá khārí = sá-droṇā khārí* (2.2.28) 'a khārí measure in excess by a droṇa'.

6.3.80 dvi-tī́y-e ca=án-upa=aty-ay-e

[The substitute element sá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 sahá- 78 when the final member 1] also (ca) refers to a second item (dvi-tī́y-e) which is not directly perceived (án-up-ā-ty-ay-e).

agní-nā sahá kapóta-ḥ = sá+agni-ḥ kapóta-ḥ = s-ā́gni-ḥ kapóta-ḥ 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of a fire (which is not perceived)'; so also *piśāc-éna sahá vātyā́ = sá-piśācā vātyā́* (2.2.28) 'a hurricane (indicative of the presence of) a piśācá (which is inferred but not directly perceived)'.

6.3.81 avyayī-bhāv-é ca=á-kāl-e

In an Avyayībhāvá compound [the substitute element sá replaces the whole of 1.1.55 sahá-° 78 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] not designating time-words (á-kāl-e).

sahá cakr-éṇa dhe-hí = sa-cakrá-ṁ dhe-hí (2.1.6: *yauga-pad-ya-*) 'place with a wheel'; *sahá dhúray-ā pr-ā́-ja = sa-dhurá-m pr-ā́-ja* 'drive with a plough', but *saha-pūrv-ā-hṇá-m* 'with the morning'.

6.3.82 vā=upa-sárj-ana-sya

[The substitute element sá- 76] optionally (vā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 sahá- before 1.1.66 a final member 1] in a Bahuvrīhí compound (upa-sárj-ana-sya).

putr-éṇa sahá = sá-putra-ḥ/sahá-putra-ḥ (2.2.28) 'accompanied by the son'; but *saha-yúdh-van-* 'brother-in-arms'.

6.3.83 pra-kṝ́-ty-ā āśíṣ-i=a-[1]gó-[2]vatsá-[3]halé-ṣu

[sahá 78] retains its original form (pra-kṝ́-ty-ā) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] excluding °-gó- 'cow/bull', °-vatsá- 'calf' and °hal-á- 'plough', when expressing blessing (āśíṣ-i).

sv-astí devadattā́-ya sahá-putrāya 'may welfare attend upon Devadatta, accompanied by his son(s)'; but *sv-astí bhávat-e sá-gav-e/sahá-gav-e* (82) 'welfare to

your honor, accompanied by cattle' and similarly *svastí bhá-vat-e sáha-vatsā-ya/sá-vatsā-ya/sahá-halā-ya/sá-halā-ya.*

6.3.84 samāná-sya chándas-i a-[1]mūrdhá(n)=[2]prá-bhr̥-ti=[3]udarké-ṣu

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element sá- 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem] samāná- 'common, equal, similar' [before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] excluding °-murdhán- 'head', °-prá-bhr̥-ti- 'commencement' and °-udarká- 'consequence'.

anu-bhrātā́ sá-garbhya-ḥ (= *samān-é gárbh-e bháva-ḥ* = *sá=garbh-ya-ḥ* 4.4.114) 'consanguinous younger brother', but *sa-māná-mūrdhan-* 'equal-headed', *samāná-pra-bhr̥-ti-* 'beginning equally' and *samān-ó-darka-* 'consequence'.

6.3.85 [1]jyótis-[2]janapadá-[3]rā́tri-[4]nā́bhi-[5]nā́ma(n)=[6]gotrá-[7]rūpá-[8]sthā́na-[9]várṇa-[10]váyas-[11]vac-aná-[12]bándhu-ṣu

[The substitute element sá 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 samāná- 'common, similar, equal' before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1] °-jyótis- 'light', °-janapadá- 'inhabited locality', °-rā́tri- 'night', °-nā́bhi- 'navel', °-nā́-man- 'name', °-gotrá- 'family, lineage', °-rūpá- 'form, shape', °-sthā́na- 'place', °-várṇa- 'color', °-váy-as- 'age', °-vac-aná- 'word' and °-bándhu- 'kin'.

samāná-m jyótir a-syá = *sá-jyotis-* 'having the same or similar luster'; similarly: *sá-janapada-/sá-rātri/sá-nābhi/sá-nāman/sá-gotra-/sá-rūpa-/sá-sthāna-/sá-varṇa-/sá-vayas-/sá-vac-ana-/sá-bandhu-* 'fellow countryman/having a similar night/having the same nave or centre/having the same name/belonging to the same family or lineage/similar in form/sharing the same place/of same or similar color or homogeneous/of the same or identical age/having similar speech/sharing the same kin'.

6.3.86 cár-aṇ-e brahma-cār-íṇ-i

[The substitute element sá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 samāná- 'similar, equal' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-brahma-cār-ín- 'student of the Veda' to denote a school or branch of the Veda (cár-aṇ-e).

samāna-ḥ brahma-cārī́ = *sá-brahma-cār-ī* 'fellow student of the same branch of the Veda'.

6.3.87 tīrth-é y-è

[The substitute element sá 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 samāná- 'similar' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-tīrthá- 'preceptor, teacher, adviser' co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] °yà- (= yàT 4.4.107).

samāna-tīrth-é vās-í (4.4.107) = ***sa-tīrth-yà-ḥ*** 'sharing a common teacher or preceptor, co-student'.

6.3.88 vibhāṣā=udár-e

[The substitute element sá 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 samāná- 'similar' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-udára- 'womb' [co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1 °-yà- 87] optionally (vibhāṣā).

samān-o-dar-é śay-i-tá-ḥ = *sa+udara+yá* (4.4.109) = ***s-o-dar-yá-/samān-ó-dar-ya-*** (*yàT* 4.4.108) 'co-uterine'.

6.3.89 [1]dṛ̥ś=[2]dṛ̥śa=[3]vatU-ṣu

[The substitute element sá 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 samāná- 84 before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °dṛ̥ś-, °-dṛ̥śa- 'perceiver' and [the affix 3.1.1] °-vatU(P).

samāná-m (ātmán-am) páśy-a-ti = *samāná+dṛ̥ś+KviN* = *sa-dṛ̥ś-/sa+dṛ̥ś+KaN* = ***sa-dṛ̥ś-a-*** (3.2.60+vārt.) 'like, similar, resembling'. The expression [°vatU-ṣu] is with reference to the following sūtra-s.

6.3.90 [1]idám-[2]kím-or [1]īŚ-[2]kī

The substitute elements īŚ- and kī [respectively 3.1.10] replace [the whole of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] idám- 'this' and kím- 'who, what, which?' [before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1 °-dṛ̥ś-, °-dṛ̥ś-a- 'perceiver' and affix 3.1.1 vatU(P) 89].

idám+dṛ̥ś/dṛ̥ś-a- = ***ī-dṛ̥ś/dṛ̥ś-a-*** 'like this'; *idám+vatUP* = *ī+gh-atUP* (5.2.4) = *ī+iy-at* (7.1.2) ***∅-íy-at-*** (4.148) 'this much'; similarly ***kī-dṛ̥ś-/dṛ̥ś-a-*** 'like who, what or which?' and ***k-íy-at*** 'how much?'.

6.3.91 ā sarva-nāmn-aḥ

The substitute element /ā/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 final members in a compound °-dṛ̥ś-, °dṛ̥ś-a- and affix °-vatUP 89].

> *tád+dṛ̥ś-/dṛ̥śa-/vatU = ta-ā+dṛ̥ś/dṛ̥ś-a-/vatU = tā-dṛ̥ś-/dṛ̥ś-a-* 'like that' and *tā́-vat-* 'that much'. Similarly *yā-dṛ̥ś-/dṛ̥ś-a-* 'like what (relative)' and *yā́-vat-* 'as much'.

6.3.92 [1]víṣva(ñ)c-[2]deváy-os=ca ṬE-r adri=áñc-a-tau va̱-praty-ay-é

The substitute element adri- replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (ṬE-r) of (the first members) víṣv-añc- 'going in all directions' and devá-° 'divinity' and (ca) [pronominal stems 91 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-añc- co-occurring with the affix -v (= Kvi̱N 3.2.59).

> *víṣv-ag añc-a-ti = víṣv-añc+añc+Kvi̱N = viśv-adri+añc+∅* (6.1.87) = *viṣv-adry-añc-* 'all-pervading'; similarly *tad+añc+Kvi̱N = t-adri+añc+∅ = t-adry-áñc-* 'turned towards that'.

6.3.93 sám-aḥ sami

The substitute element sami- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sám-° [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc- co-occuring with affix v (Kvi̱N) 92].

> *sám+añc+Kvi̱N = sami+áñc+∅ = samy-áñc-* 'turned together in one direction'.

6.3.94 tirás-as tiri=a-lop-é

The substitute element tiri- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] tirás- 'across, beyond' [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc co-occurring with the affix v (Kvi̱N) 92] when ∅-replacement (lopa) of the phoneme /a/ (4.138) does not take place.

> *tirás+añc+Kvi̱N = tiri+áñc+∅ = tiry-áñc-au/tiry-añc-aḥ, tiry-añc-am*, but before weak affixes beginning with vowels: *tirás+añc+Kvi̱N+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe/Nas = tirás-c-as/ā/e/as* etc. (4.138).

6.3.95 sahá-sya sadhrí-ḥ

The substitute element sadhrí- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sahá- [before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1 °-añc- co-occurring with the affix v (KviN) 92].

sahá-añc+KviN = *sadhri+áñc+∅* = *sadhry-àñc-* 'turned in the same direction'. Before weak affixes beginning with a vowel: *sadhrī́-c+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* etc.

6.3.96 sadhá [1]mā́da-[2]stháy-os=chándas-i

In the Chándas the substitute element sadhá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 sahá- 95 before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] °-mā́d-a- 'intoxicating' and °-sthá- 'remaining, standing'.

sahá mā́d-ena várt-a-te = *sadha+mā́d-a-* 'drinking together, carousel' and similarly *sahá tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *sadha+sthā+Ka* (3.2.4) = *sadhá-stha-* 'standing together, present'. The accent in the first shows that it is a regular kr̥t=anta samāsa while in the second it is *sadhá+stha-* (2.2.28). In addition RV has *sadhá-vīra-* 'joined with heroes', *sadhá-stu-ti-* 'joint praise', *sadhá-stu-t-ya-* 'ibid', and Gaṇapāṭha records *sadhá-mitra-* as a n.pr.

6.3.97 [1]dví=[2]antár=[3]upa-sarg-é-bhyaḥ áp-aḥ īT

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-áp- 'water' [after 1.1.67 first members in a compound] dví-° 'two', antár-° 'within', and preverbs.

dvír ga-tā́-ḥ ā́p-aḥ a-smín = *dvi+ap+á* (5.4.74) = *dvi-īp-á-* = *dv-ī-pá-ḥ* 'island, peninsula'; similarly *antar-īp-á-ḥ* = *antar-ga-tā́-ḥ ā́p-aḥ a-smín* 'island'; *saṁ-ga-tā́-ḥ ā́p-aḥ a-smín* = *sam-īp-á-* 'contiguous, proximate'.

6.3.98 ūT=án-or déś-e

The substitute element long ū(T) replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áp- 'water', co-occurring after 1.1.67 the first member in a compound] ánu-° when indicating the name of a locality (déś-e).

anu-ga-tā́-ḥ ā́p-aḥ a-smín = *anu+ap+á-* = *anu+ūp+á* = *an-ūp-á-* 'n.pr. of a locality', but *anv-īp-á-* 'watery'.

6.3.99 [1]á-ṣaṣṭhī=[2]á-tṛ-tīya-sthasya=anyá-sya duK [1]āśís=[2]āśā=[3]ā-sthā́=[4]ā-sthi-tá=[5]ut-su-ká=[6]ūtí-[7]kā́r-aka-[8]rāgá=[9]che-ṣu

The final increment duK is inserted [after the nominal stem] anyá-° 'another, other, else' not [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth or third sUP triplets [before 1.1.66 final members of a compound 1] °-āśís- 'benediction', °-ā́śā- 'hope', ā-sthā́ 'regard', °-ā-sthi-tá- 'occupied', °-ut-su-ká- 'eager', °-ū-tí- 'assistance, aid, help', °-kā́r-aka- 'agent, doer', °-rāgá- 'passion' and [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.138).

anyā́ āśī́ḥ = *anya-d-āśís-* 'a different benediction or blessing'; similarly: *anya-d-āśā́* 'a different wish'; *anya-d-āsthā́* another or different wish'; *anya-d-ā-sth-tá-* 'occupied differently'; *anya-d-ut-su-ká-* 'eager for something else'; *anya-d-ūtí-* 'a different aid'; *anya-t-kar-aká-* 'a different agent'; *anya-d-rāgá-* 'a different passion'; *anyá+cha* (4.2.138) = *anya-d-ī́ya-* 'belonging to another'. But *anyá-sya āśī́ḥ* = *anyāsī́h*, *any-éna ā́-sthita-ḥ* = *any-ā́-sth-i-ta-h*.

6.3.100 árth-e vibhāṣā

[The final increment duK 99] optionally (vibhāṣā) [is inserted after the nominal stem 4.1.1 anyá- 'another, other, else' 99 before 1.1.66 the final member in compound 1] °-ártha- 'purpose, object, use'.

anyá-smai idám = *anya+arthá-m* = *any-ā-rthám/anya-d-arthám* (2.1.36) 'for another purpose, object or use'.

6.3.101 kó-ḥ kat tatpuruṣ-é=aC-i

The substitute element kát- (or kád-) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] kú- 'bad' in a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i 1.1.54).

kú+áśva = *kád-aśva-* (2.2) 'a bad horse'; similarly *kád-aja-* 'worthless goat'; *kád-anna-m* 'stale or spoiled food' but *kú-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* 'vile brahmin'.

6.3.102 [1]rátha-[2]vadáy-os=ca

[The substitute element kát- or kád] also (ca) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 ku-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-rátha- 'chariot' and °-vad-á 'speaker'.

kú+ratha- = *kád-ratha-* 'bad or inferior chariot'; *kád-vad-a-* 'bad speaker, speaking

ill or indistinctly'. Extension of 101 to posterior members beginning with a consonant.

6.3.103 tṛ́ṇ-e ca jā́-t-au

[The substitute element kát- or kád-] also (ca) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-tṛ́ṇa- 'grass' to denote a genus (jā́-t-au).

kú+tṛṇa- = *kát-tṛṇa-* 'water-house leek or Pistia Stratiotis' but *kuts-i-tám tṛ́ṇa-m* = *kú-tṛṇa-m* 'rotten grass'.

6.3.104 kā́ [1]páthi(n)=[2]ákṣay-oḥ

The substitute element kā́ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-páthin- 'path' and °-ákṣi- 'eye'.

kú+páthin = *kā-path-á-* (5.4.74) 'bad road'; similarly *kú+akṣi-* = *kā+akṣ-á-* = *k-ā-kṣ-á-* 'evil eye'.

6.3.105 īṣad-arth-é

[The substitute element kā́ replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when it means 'a little' (īṣad-arth-é).

īṣát madhurá-m = *kā́-madhura-m* 'sweetish'; similarly *kā́-lavaṇa-* 'slightly saltish'.

6.3.106 vibhāṣā púruṣ-e

[The substitute element kā́-° 104] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-púruṣa- 'person'.

kā́-puruṣa-/kú-puruṣa- 'a contemptible person', but *īṣát-puruṣa-ḥ* = *kú-puruṣa-ḥ* 'somewhat less than a man'.

6.3.107 kava-ṁ ca=uṣ-ṇ-é

The substitute element kava-° as well as (ca) [kā́-° 104 replace the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-uṣ-ṇa- 'hot' [to denote the sense of 'a little, slightly' 105].

The word [vibhāṣā] recurs here from the preceding sū́tra and brings into operation [kád-] also from 101 above.

kavá-/kā́/kád+uṣ-ṇa- = *kav-ó-ṣ-ṇa-/k-ó-ṣ-ṇa-/kád-uṣ-ṇa-* 'tepid, slightly warm'.

6.3.108 path-í ca=chándas-i

[The substitute element kavá-° 107 optionally 106 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-páthin- 'path' in addition to (ca) [kā́-° 104 and kú-° 101] in the domain of Chándas.

kú+páthin+á [5.4.74] = *kava-path-á-/kā-path-á-/ku-path-á-* 'wrong or bad road'.

6.3.109 pṛ̥ṣ-o-dara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-ṭá-m

The class of compounds beginning with (°-ādī-n-i) pṛ̥́ṣ-o-dara- 'having a spotted belly' is introduced as currently taught (by the learned speakers: yath-o-pa-diṣ-ṭá-m).

These involve a number of irregularities which have not been subjected to specific rules. Thus *pṛ̥́ṣad udáram a-syá* = *pṛ̥́ṣa∅+udara-* = *pṛ̥́ṣ-o-dara-*.

6.3.110 [1]saṁ-khyā́-[2]ví-[3]sāy-á=pūrva-sya ahná-sya áhan anya-tará-syāṁ Ṅ-au

The substitute morpheme áhan- optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the final member of a compound 1] °-ahná- [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet 4.1.2] Ṅi, [when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyā́-°), ví-° and sāyá-° 'evening'.

dváy-or áhn-or bháv-a-ḥ = *dvi+ahan+ṭhaÑ* (2.1.51; 4.3.11) *dvi+ahan+∅*[1] (4.1.88) = *dvi+ahan+ṬáC* (5.4.91) = *dvi+ahna+ṬáC* (5.4.88) = *dvy-ahn∅-á* (4.148); *dvy-ahn-á+Ṅi* = *dvy-ahan+Ṅi* = *dvy-ahan-i/dvy-ah∅n-i* (4.136); similarly *vy-apa-ga-tá-m áh-aḥ* = *vy-ahn-á-ḥ, tá-smin* = *vy-ahan-i/vy-ahn-i; sāy-á-m áhn-aḥ* = *sāy-ā-hná-ḥ, tá-smin sāy-ā-hán-i/sāy-ā-hn-í.* In addition to these the regular forms: *dvy-ahn-é/vy-ahn-é/sāy-ā-hn-é.*

6.3.111 ḍh-rá̱-lop-e pū́rva-sya dīrghá-ḥ=aṆ-aḥ

A substitute long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum aṆ (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.66] a lópa (∅) replacement of phonemes /ḍh, r/ when immediately preceding it (pū́rva-sya).

lih+Ktá = *liḍh+Ktá* (8.2.31) = *liḍh+dhá* (8.2.40) = *liḍh+ḍhá* (8.4.41) = *li∅+ḍha* (8.3.13) = *lī-ḍhá-* 'licked'.

agní+sU+rátha+sU = *agní+rU+rátha+rU* (8.2.66) = *agnír rátha-ḥ* (8.3.15) = *agní-∅ rátha-ḥ* (8.3.14) = *agnī́ rátha-ḥ* 'fire chariot'; but *dr̥h+Ktá* = *dr̥ḍh+ḍhdá-* = *dr̥∅-ḍhá-* 'fixed, firm'. The metarule 8.2.1 is not operative here since [ḍh-ra̱-lop-e] is specifically mentioned in this rule.

6.3.112 [1]sáhi̱-[2]vah-or oT=a-varṇá-sya

The substitute phoneme /o/ replaces the phoneme-class /a/ of the verbal stems sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905) and vah- 'carry' (I 1053) [before 1.1.66 ∅ replacement of the phoneme /ḍh/ 111].

sáh+tumu̱N = *sáḍh-tum* = *sáḍh+dhum* = *sáḍh+ḍhum* = *sá∅+ḍhum* = **sā-ḍhum* (222) = *só-ḍhum* 'to endure'; similarly *sah+tr̥N/távya* = *só-ḍhr̥-/so-ḍhávya-* etc. Likewise *váh+tr̥N* = *váḍh+dhr̥N* = *váḍh+ḍhr̥-* = *vá-∅+ḍhr̥-* = *vó-ḍhr̥-* 'carrier, bearer', but *vah+Ktá* = *uh+Ktá* (1.15) = *uḍh+dhá uḍh+ḍhá* = *u∅-ḍha* = *ū-ḍhá-* 'borne, carried'.

6.3.113 sā́-ḍhyai sā-ḍvhvā́ sā́-ḍha=iti ni-gam-é

In the Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expressions sā́-ḍhyai, sā-ḍhvā́ and sā́-ḍhr̥- are introduced [without the replacement of the stem vowel /a/ 112].

sah+dhyaiN/Ktvā́ = *sáḍh+dhyaiN/Ktvā́* = *sáḍh+ḍhyaiN/ḍhvā́* = *sā́∅-ḍhyai/sā-ḍhvā́* 'having prevailed or conquered'; similarly *sáh+tr̥N* = *sáḍh+ḍhr̥-* = *sā́-ḍhr̥-* 'conqueror'. The implication of [iti] in this rule is to extend the scope of this rule: *sah+Ktá* = *sadh+ḍhá-* = *sā∅-ḍhá-* 'overcome, prevailed', cf. *á-sā-ḍha-* 'invincible'. In current speech: *so-ḍhvā́, só-ḍhr̥-, so-ḍhá-*.

6.3.114 sáṁ-hi-t-ā-y-ām

In continuous utterance.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] extending up to the end of this Pāda and it recurs in all the subsequent rules of this section.

6.3.115 kárṇ-e lákṣana-sya a-[1]viṣ-ṭá-[2]aṣṭá(n)-[3]páñca(n)=[4]maṇi-[5]bhin-ná-[6]chin-ná-[7]chid-rá-[8]sruvá-[9]svasti-ká-sya

[Before 1.1.66 the final members in a compound 1] °-kárṇa- 'ear' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior members] denoting the brand mark (lákṣaṇa-sya), excluding viṣ-ṭá-° 'pierced', aṣṭán-° 'eight', páñcan-° 'five', maṇí-° 'jewel', bhin-ná-° 'cleft', chin-ná-° 'split', chid-rá- 'bored', sruvá-° 'ladle' and svastiká-° 'the swastika mark' [in continuous utterance 114].

dā́tra-m kárṇ-e yá-sya = *dātrā-kárṇa-* 'branded with the mark of a sickle on the ear' (accent according to 2.112); but *viṣ-ṭa-kárṇa-, aṣṭa-kárṇa-, pañca-kárṇa-, maṇi-kárṇa-, bhinna-kárṇa-, chin-na-kárṇa-, chidra-kárṇa-, sruva-kárṇa-, svastika-kárṇa-*. For *maṇi-kárṇa-* as n.pr. cf. 2.113.

6.3.116 [1]náhi̱-[2]vŕ̥ti̱-[3]vŕ̥ṣi̱-[4]vyadhi̱-[5]rúci̱-[6]sáhi̱-[7]táni̱-ṣu Kv-au

[A long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of a prior member of a compound before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 consisting of verbal stems] náh- 'bind' (IV 57), vŕ̥t- 'turn' (I 795), vŕ̥ṣ- 'rain' (I 738), vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 72), rúc- 'please' (I 781), sáh- 'endure, bear, tolerate' (I 905) and tán- (VIII 1) 'extend' co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvi̱ (= Kvi̱N, Kvi̱P) [in continuous utterance 114].

úpa-nah-ya-te = *úpa-nah+Kvi̱P* = *upā-náh-* 'sandal'; similarly *parī-ṇáh-* 'enclosure'; *upā-vŕ̥t-* 'return'; *prā-vŕ̥ṣ-* 'rainy season, monsoon'; *hŕ̥daya-ṁ vídh-ya-ti* = *hr̥dayā-vídh-* 'piercing the heart'; *nī-rúc-* 'tasteless, insipid'; *ŕ̥ti-ṁ sáh-a-te* = *r̥tī-ṣáh-* 'conquering enemies' and *pári-tan-o-ti* = *pari+ta∅+Kvi̱P* (4.40) = *parī-ta+tu̱K+∅* = *parī-tát* (1.71) 'encircling'.

6.3.117 [1]vána-[2]giry-óḥ saṁjñā́-y-āṁ [1]koṭará-[2]kiṁśulaka=ādī-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-vána- 'forest' and °-girí- 'hill, mountain' [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel of the classes of first members] beginning with koṭará-° 'name of a plant' and kiṁ-śulaka- 'name of a plant' [respectively 1.3.10 in continuous utterance 111] to derive a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

koṭarā́-ṇ-ām vána-m = *koṭarā-vaṇá-m* 'n.pr. of a forest containing Ipomoea Turpenthum or Alangium decapetalum'.

kiṁśulakā-girí- 'n.pr. of a mountain'.

6.3.118 val-é

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] °-valá- (= valáC 5.2.112ff.) [a long substitute vowel replaces 111 the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of the first member in composition 1 in continuous utterance 114].

kr̥sí+valáC = *kr̥sī-valá* (5.1.112) 'farmer'. *dánta+valáC* = *dantā-valá-* (5.2.113) 'elephant'; *ā-su-tí+valá-* = *ā-su-tī-valá-* 'distiller, brewer'.

6.3.119 mat-AU bahv-áC-aḥ=án-ajira=ādī-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a polysyllabic nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding those beginning with ajirá-° 'rapid' [in continuous utterance 114 to derive names 117].

udumbára+matUP+ṄīP (4.1.4) = *udumbarā-vat-ī́* (4.2.85; 6.1.220; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river'; but *vrīhi-mát-ī* (1.176) 'n.pr. of a river' (dissyllabic) and in non-proper names: *vála-ya-vat-ī* 'wearing bracelets'; similarly *ajira-vat-ī́, khadira-vat-ī́* etc. (1.220).

6.3.120 śará=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 119 a long substitute vowel 111] also (ca) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with śará- 'reed' [to derive proper names 117 in continuous utterance 114].

Exception to the constraint of polysyllabic stems in 119 above. *śará+matUP+ṄīP* = *śarā-vat-ī́* (1.220) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also *ahī-vat-ī́, munī-vat-ī́, hánū-mat-ī* etc.

6.3.121 iK-aḥ=váh-e=á-pīl-óḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-váh-a- 'bearer, carrier' [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, r̥, l̥) [of the first members 1] excluding pīlú-° 'n.pr. of a tree' [in continuous utterance 114].

ŕ̥sī-ṇ-ām váh-a-ḥ = *r̥sī-vah-á-ḥ* 'carrying sages'; *kapī-vah-á-* 'carrying monkeys' but *piṇḍa-vah-á-*. *pīlu-vah-á-*.

6.3.122 upa-sarg-á-sya GHaÑ-i=á-manuṣy-e bahulá-m

[A substitute long vowel 111] variously (bahulá-m) [replaces the final vowels 1.1.52 of] preverb particles (upa-sarg-á-sya) [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ, except when denoting a human being (á-manuṣy-e) [in continuous utterance 114].

> *ví+klid+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *vī-kled-á-* 'getting wet'; *ví+mr̥j+GHaÑ-* = *vī-mārg-á-* 'a broom'; *apā-mārg-á-* 'the plant Achyranthus Aspera'. But: *prá+siv+GHaÑ* = *pra-sev-á-* 'sack or leather bottle', and *ní+sad+GHaÑ* = *ni-ṣād-á-* 'hunter'.

6.3.123 iK-aḥ kāś-é

[Before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-kāś-á- 'appearance' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, r̥, l̥) [in continuous utterance 114].

> *ni+kāś-á-* = *nī-kāś-á-* 'appearance, look'; similarly *anū-kāś-á=* 'reflection (of light)' but *pra-kāś-á-* 'light'.

6.3.124 d-as t-i

[Before 1.1.66 the t-replacement] (of the verbal stem) dā- 'give' (III 9) [7.4.47, a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 denoted by the siglum iK 123 in continuous utterance 114].

> *ni+dā+Ktá* = *ni+t+Ktá* (7.4.47) = *nī-t-tá-* 'passed down as a gift'. So also *parī-t-tá-* 'given away', but *pra-t-tá-*.

6.3.125 aṣṭán-aḥ saṁjñā́-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] aṣṭán- 'eight' to derive a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

> *aṣṭ-aú vakrá-ṇ-i a-syá* = *aṣṭā́-vakra-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a person' but *aṣṭá-putra-* 'person having eight sons'.

6.3.126 chándas-i ca

In the Chándas also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of prior member aṣṭán- 'eight' 125 in continuous utterance 114].

> *aṣṭá-su kapā́le-ṣu sám-s-kṛ-ta-m* = *aṣṭa∅-kapāla+áṆ* (4.4.3; 8.2.7) = *aṣṭa+kapāla+∅* (4.1.88) = *aṣṭā́-kapāla-* 'offered in eight pans'; similarly *aṣṭā́-hiraṇya-* 'consisting of eight pieces of gold', *aṣṭā́-pad-ī* 'verse consisting of eight lines'.

6.3.127 cíte-ḥ kaP-i

[Before 1.1.66 the samāsāntá 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] °-kaP (5.4.151) [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] cí-ti-° 'layer' [in continuous utterance 114].

> *ékā cí-ti-r a-syá* = *éka+cí-ti+kaP* = *éka-ci-tī-ka-ḥ* 'having one layer of bricks'; similarly *trí-ci-tī-ka-* 'three-layered'.

6.3.128 víśva-sya [1]vásu-[2]rā́ṭ-oḥ

[Before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] °-vásu- 'riches' and °-rā́ṭ 'king' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] víśva-° 'all, universal' [in continuous utterance 114].

> *víśva-ṁ vásu* = *viśvā́-vasu-* 'n.pr. of Viṣṇu' (accent by 2.106). In the case of °*-rā́ṭ* the rule applies only when the stem *rā́j-* 'king' has that form at the end of a padá: *viśvā-rā́ṭ, viśvā-rā́ṭ-bhyām/bhis/bhyas/su* but *viśva-rā́j-am/au/as/ā/e/i/os*.

6.3.129 nár-e saṁjñā́-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-nára- 'man' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member víśva- 'all, universal' 128] to derive a name (saṁjñā́-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

> *víśv-e nár-ā-ḥ a-smín* = *viśvā́-nara-* 'n.pr. of the father of Agní'; cf. *vaíśvā-nar-i* 'Agni, son of Viśvā́-nara'.

6.3.130 mitr-é ca=ṛ́ṣ-au

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-mitrá- 'friend' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member víśva- 'all' 128 to derive a name 129] denoting a Vedic seer (ṛ́ṣ-au) [in continuous utterance 114].

viśvā́-mitra- 'n.pr. of a Vedic seer', but *víśva-m mitrá-m a-syá = víśva-mitra-* 'having all as friends'.

6.3.131 mántr-e [1]sóma=[2]áśva=[3]indriyá=[4]viśvá-devya-sya mat-AU

In the Mántra (section of the Veda) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme of first members 1] sóma-° 'n.pr. of a sacred plant', áśva-° 'horse', indiryá-° 'sense organ', and viśvá-dev-ya- 'relating to all divinities' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in continuous utterance 114].

sóma+matUP+ṄīP (4.1.4) = *somā-vat-ī́* 'containing soma' (8.2.9; 6.1.220); similarly *aśvā-vat-ī́* 'possessing horses'; cf. RV 10.97.7. *indriyā-vat-ī́* 'powerful, mighty'; *viśva-devyā-vat-ī́* 'dear to all gods'.

6.3.132 óṣadhe-s=ca ví-bhak-t-au=á-prathamā-y-ām

[In the Mántra section of the Veda 131 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhi-° 'herb, plant' [before 1.1.66] ví-bhak-ti (1.4.104) [affixes 3.1.1] excluding the first sUP triplets (á-prathamā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

óṣadhī+bhis/bhyas but *oṣadhi+sU/am = óṣadhis/óṣadh-i-m, oṣadhi-patí-* 'lord of herbs'.

6.3.133 ṛc-i [1]tú-[2]nú-[3]gha-[4]makṣú-[5]taṄ-[6]kú-[7]tra= [8]uruṣ-yā́-ṇ-ām

In the Ṛgveda [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the particles] tú, nú, gha, makṣú, the l-substitute taṄ, the particle kú, [the affix 3.1.1] traL and the finite verbal form uruṣyá 'do thou protect' [in continuous utterance 114].

1. *á tū́ na indra vṛtra-han*; 2. *nū́ márta-ḥ*; 3. *utá vā ghā syā́l-ā́t* (RV 1.109.2); 4. *makṣū́ gó-mant-am ī-mahe* (RV 8.33.3); 5. *bhár-a-tā jā-tá-ved-as-am* (RV 10.176.2); 6. *kū́-manas-* 'wicked-minded'; 7. *á-trā te bhad-rā́*; 8. *uruṣyā́ ṇaḥ* (RV 1.91.15).

6.3.134 iK-aḥ suÑ-i

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52] denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u,ṛ,ḷ) [before 1.1.66 the particle] °súÑ [in continuous utterance 114].

abhī́ ṣū́ ṇaḥ sákhī-n-ām (RV 4.36.33) (8.3.107; 4.27).

6.3.135 dvy-áC-aḥ=aT-as tiṄ-aḥ

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] aT of a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) verbal form (tiṄ-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 l-substitute] tiṄ (= a finite verbal form) [in continuous utterance 114].

vid-mā́ hí tvā gó-pati-m śūra gó-n-ām (RV 10.47.1) 'we recognize you, O hero, as the lord of all cattle'. But *áśvā bhav-a-ta vāj-ín-aḥ* (VS 9.6); *ā́ dev-ā́-n vak-ṣi yák-ṣi ca* (RV 5.26.1).

6.3.136 ni-pāt-á-sya ca

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a long substitute vowel 111] also replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 aT 135] of a particle (ni-pāt-á-sya) [in continuous utterance 114].

evā́ te (RV 10.20.10); *ácchā jar-i-tā́r-aḥ* (RV 1.2.2).

6.3.137 anyé-ṣām ápi dṛś-yá-te

[A substitute long vowel 111] is seen (dṛś-yá-te) to replace [the phoneme aT 135] of other (anyé-ṣām) (padá-s) [in continuous utterance 114].

keśā-keśí, daṇḍā-daṇḍí, kacā-kací (2.2.27); *jala+sah+Ṇvi̱* = *jalā-sā́h-* (3.2.63). *śvan+danta-/daṁṣṭra-/karṇa-* = *śvā-dantá-* 'dog's tooth'; *śvā́-daṁṣṭra-/karṇa-* 'having tusks/ears like a dog'.

6.3.138 c-au

[Before 1.1.66] the form °-c° of °-añc- (resulting from 92 above and 4.24,138 below) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme of the first member in composition 1].

dadhi+c+Śas = *dadhī-c-áḥ* and similarly *dadhī-c+á̄/é/ós/í.*

6.3.139 sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-sya

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme] resulting from vocalization (sam-pra-sā́r-ṇa-sya) substitution (of a semivowel 1.1.45) [in continuous utterance 114].

kā́rīṣa-gandhe-r ápatya-m = *kā́rīṣa-gandhi+áṆ* (4.1.92) = *kā́rīṣa-gandhi+ṢyáṄ* (4.1.78)+*CāP* (4.1.74) = *kārīṣa-gandhØ-yā́+putrá-* = *karisa-gandhiā-putra* (1.13) = *kārīṣa-gandhi-putrá-* (1.108) = *kārīṣa-gandhī-putrá-* 'son of a female descendant of Kā́rīṣa-gandhi'.

6.4.1 áṅga-sya

[The operations stated hereafter, up to the end of the seventh adhyāyá 'chapter' apply generally to the pre-affixal] base or stem (áṅga-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] heading the section 6.4.1 to 7.4.97 and the word [áṅga-sya] will recur in each subsequent rule.

6.4.2 ha̲L-aḥ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the pre-affixal stem-final 1.1.72 samprasāraṇa vowel 3.129 denoted by the siglum aṆ (of iK) 111 following 1.1.67] a consonant (ha̲L-aḥ) [of the pre-affixal stem 1].

hve+Ktá = *hue+tá-* (1.15) = *hu+tá-* (1.108) = *hū-tá-* 'called, summoned, challenged'; but *nir+ve+Ktá* = *nir-u-tá-* where the vocalized vowel is not preceded by a pre-affixal consonant 'non-woven', and *tri+tī́ya-* = *tr̥-tī́ya-* (5.2.55) 'third' since /r̥/ is not a member of the [aṆ] siglum. So also in *vyadh+Ktá* = *vidh+dhá-* (6.2.40; 4.53) the sam-pra-sār-aṇa vowel [i] is not pre-affixal final.

6.4.3 nām-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the áṅga-final 1 (1.1.72) vowel before 1.1.66] the sixth sUP (plural) triplet °-n-ām.

devá+n-ām (7.1.54) = *devā́-n-ām* 'of gods/divinities'; similarly *agnī́-n-ām/ vāyū́-n-ām/pitr̥̄́-ṇ-ām* respectively from *agní-/vāyú-/pi-tŕ̥-*.

6.4.4 ná [1]tisŕ̥-[2]cátasr̥

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] does not (ná) [replace the áṅga-final 1 (1.1.72) of the nominal pre-affixal 1 stems] tisŕ̥- 'three' (f.) and cátasr̥- 'four' (f). [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

tisr̥-ṇ-ā́m/catasr̥-ṇ-ā́m. (Accent by 1.179).

6.4.5 chándas-i ubhayá-thā

In the domain of Chándas [a substitute long vowel 3.111] both (ubhayá-thā) [does and does not replace the áṅga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of *tisŕ̥-* 'three' (f). and cátasr̥- 'four' (f.) 4 before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

tisr̥-ṇ-ā́m/tisr̥̄-ṇ-ā́m; catasr̥-ṇ-ā́m/catasr̥̄-ṇ-ā́m.

6.4.6 nṝ ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] also [both does and does not replace the áṅga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nṝ- 'man' [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

nṛ-ṇ-ā́m/nṝ-ṇ-ā́m 'of men'.

6.4.7 na=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the] penultimate (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) vowel [of a pre-affixal 1 stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] /n/ [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

páñcan+n-ām (7.1.55) = *páñca∅+n-ām* (8.2.7) = *pañcā-n-ā́m* 'of five' (1.179 for accent).

6.4.8 sarva-nāma-sthān-é ca=á-sam-bud-dh-au

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66] strong (sarva-nāma-sthān-é) sUP triplets, excluding the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

rā́j-an+sU = *rā́j-an+∅* (1.68) = *rā́j-ā∅* (8.2.7); *rā́j-an+au* = *rā́j-ān-au; rā́j-an+Jas* = *rā́j-ān-as* = *rāj-ān-aḥ* (8.3.15) *rā́j-an+am* = *rāj-ān-am* but in the vocative: *rā́j-an+∅* (8.2.8) and *rā́j-an+Ṅi* = *rā́j-an-i*; similarly *sā́man+Śi* = *sā́mān-i*.

6.4.9 vā ṣá-pūrva-sya ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [a substitute long vowel 3.11] optionally (vā) replaces [the penultimate 7 vowel] preceded by (°-pūrva-sya) phoneme /ṣ/ [of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

tákṣan+au/Jas/am = *tákṣaṇ-au/am/as/tákṣāṇ+am/au/as,* but in the colloquial speech: *tákṣāṇ-au/am/as.*

6.4.10 [1]sá=anta-[2]mahát-aḥ saṁ-yog-á-sya

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 preceding áṅga 1] final /s/, forming a conjunct (sam-yog-á-sya) [with phoneme /n/ 7] as well as [the penultimate vowel 7 of the pre-affixal stem 1] mahát- 'great' [before strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative 8].

1. *śrá+Iyasu̱N* = *śr-é-yas+sU* = *śr-é-ya-n-s+sU* (7.1.70) = *śr-é-yā-n-s+∅* (1.68) = *śr-é-yān∅* (8.2.23). Similarly *śr-é-yā-ṁ-s+am/au/as (Jas)* (8.3.24). So also *yáśas+Śi* = *yáśā-ṁ-s-i*.
2. *mahát+sU* = *mah-á-n-t+sU* = *mah-á-n-t+∅* (1.68) = *mah-ā́-n∅* (8.2.23), *mah-ā́-n-tau/am/as*.

6.4.11 [1]áp-[2]tr̥N-[3]tŕ̥C-[4]svásr̥-[5]náp-tr̥-[6]néṣ-ṭr̥-[7]tváṣ-ṭr̥-[8]kṣat-tŕ̥=[9]hó-tr̥-[10]pó-tr̥-[11]pra-śās-tŕ̥-ṇ-ām

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of pre-affixal stems 1] áp- 'water', [those ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] tr̥N and tŕ̥C and svásr̥- 'sister', náp-tr̥- 'nephew', nés-ṭr̥- 'n. of an official priest', tváṣ-ṭr̥- 'n.pr. of a divinity', kṣat-tŕ̥- 'charioteer, coachman, attendant', hótr̥-, pótr̥- and pra-śās-tŕ̥- 'names of officiating priests' [before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

1. *áp+Jas* = *ā́p-as* = *ā́p-aḥ* (8.3.15); *baháv-aḥ ā́p-aḥ e-ṣú taḍā́ge-ṣu* = *bahv-áp+Śi* = *bahv-ā́-m-p-i* (7.1.72) *taḍāgā-n-i* 'pools overflowing with water'.
2. *kár-tr̥/kar-tŕ̥C+au* = *kár-tār-au/kar-tā́r-au*. Similarly: *svásār-au, náptār-au, néṣṭār-au, tváṣṭār-au, kṣat-tā́r-au, hó-tār-au, pó-tār-au, pra-śās-tā́r-au*, etc.

6.4.12 [1]ín-[2]hán-[3]pūṣá(n)=[4]arya-mṇ-ā́ṁ Ś-au

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ín-, °-hán-, °-pūṣ-án- and °-arya-mán- 'names of divinities' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] Śi.

1. *baháv-aḥ daṇḍ-ín-aḥ e-ṣā́m s-ánti* = *bahu-daṇḍ-ín+Śi* = *bahu-daṇḍ-ī́n-i* 'consisting of numerous staff-bearers'; 2. *vr̥trá-m ha-távān* = *vr̥trá+han+KviP* (3.2.87) = *vr̥tra-hán-; baháv-aḥ vr̥tra-háṇ-aḥ y-éṣu tā́-n-i* = *bahu-vr̥tra-hā́-ṇ-i*; similarly *bahu-pūṣā́ṇ-i, bahv-aryamā́ṇ-i*.

The present rule is meant to restrict the operation of 8 above: *vr̥tra-háṇ-au/Jas/am*.

6.4.13 s-AU ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-ín-, °-hán-, °-pūṣ-án- and °-arya-mán- 'names of divinities' 12 before non-vocative 8 sUP triplet] sU also.

daṇḍ-ín+sU = *daṇḍ-ī́n+∅* (1.68) = *daṇḍ-ī́∅* (8.2.7); similarly *vr̥tra-hā́, pūṣā́, arya-mā́*, but vocative singular: *dáṇḍ-in, vŕ̥tra-han, pū́ṣ-an, árya-man* (8.2.8).

6.4.14 ¹atU=²ás-anta-sya ca=á-dhāto-ḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a non-vocative 8 sUP triplet sU 13 a substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of a pre-affixal stem 1] other than a verbal stem (á-dhāto-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] °atU- or °-as-.

1. °-atU represents three affixes: (a) in *bháv-atU* 'your honor, your worship', the second honorific personal stem and (b) *KtávatU,* (c) *matUP/vatUP/ḌmatUP.* (a) *bhávat+sU* = *bháva-n-t+sU* (7.1.70) = *bháv-ānt+∅* (1.68) = *bháv-ā-n* (8.2.23); (b) *kr̥-távā-n*; (c) *gó-mā-n*; in the generation of this form the replacement takes place prior to augmentation by 7.1.70.
2. *°-as: su-yaś-ás+sU* = *su-yaś-ā́s=∅* (1.68) = *su-yaś-ā́ḥ* 'having good reputation'; but in *píṇḍa-ṁ grás-a-ti* = *piṇḍa+grás+KviP,* *°-grás-,* being a verbal stem, results in *piṇḍa-grás+∅* (1.68) = *piṇḍa-gráḥ* 'who eats a ball of rice'.

6.4.15 ánu-nās-ika-sya ¹Kvi̱-²jha̱L-oḥ K-Ṅ-IT-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal phoneme (ánu-nās-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvi̱ or those beginning with non-nasal consonants (°-jha̱L-oḥ) with marker K or Ṅ as IT.

pra+śám+Kvi̱P = *pra-śā́m+∅* 'unhurt, painless, tranquil'. *pra-śā́m+sU* = *pra-śā́n+∅* (8.2.64); *pra+tam+Kvi̱P* = *pra-tā́m-, pra+dam+Kvi̱P* = *pra=dā́m-.*
śam+Ktá = *śām+tá-* = *śān-tá-* 'quiet, calm, pacified'; similarly from *dam+Ktá* = *dān-tá-* (8.4.58), but *gam-yá-te* 'is understood' *(gam+yáK). gam+tr̥N* = *gán-tr̥-* 'goer', the first though a K-IT is an affix beginning with a semivowel, while the second, though beginning with a non-nasal stop is not a K-IT.

6.4.16 ¹aC=²hanÁ-³gam-āṁ saN-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-°) and han- 'hurt, kill' (II 2), gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN [beginning with non-nasal consonant (jha̱L) 15].

1. *ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP=cí+sa+a+ti* (1.9) = *cí-cī-ṣ-a-ti* (1.97; 8.3.57) 'desires to pile up'; 2. *han+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *ha∅-han+sa+a+ti* (2.9; 7.4.60) = *ji-han-s-a-ti* (1.97; 7.4.62, 79) = *ji-ghan-s-a-ti* (7.3.55) = *ji-ghān-s-a-ti* = *ji-ghāṁ-s-a-ti* (8.3.24) 'desires to kill'; similarly 3. *ádhi+gam+saN+ŚaP+te* (2.4.48) = *ádhi-ji-gāṁ-s-a-te* 'wishes to know', but *ádhi-ji-gam-i-ṣ-a-ti* (7.2.35; 4.62) 'desires to go'.

6.4.17 tan-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] tan- 'extend' (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 16 beginning with a jhaL (non-nasal consonant)].

tan+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *ti-tan+sa+a+ti* (1.9; 7.4.79) = *ti-taṁ-s-a-ti/ti-tāṁ-s-a-ti* (8.3.24) 'desires to extend', but *ti+tan+iṬ-saN+ŚaP+tiP* (7.2.49:*Kāśikā*) = *ti-tan-i-ṣ-a-ti*.

6.4.18 krám-as=ca Ktv-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 optionally 17 replaces the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] krám- 'stride' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́ [beginning with jhaL (non-nasal consonant) 15].

kram+Ktvā́ = *krām+tvā́* = *krān-tvā́* (8.4.58) 'having stridden', but *kram-i-tvā́* (7.2.56).

6.4.19 ¹c-ch-²v-oḥ ¹ś-²ūṬH=ánu-nās-ik-e ca

The substitute elements ś and ūṬH [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ [of pre-affixal stems 1 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a non-nasal consonant with K or Ṅ as IT marker 15] as well as nasal consonants (ánu-nās-ik-e ca).

prach+náṄ (3.3.90) = *pracch+ná* (1.73) = *praś-ná-* 'query, question, interrogation'; *prach+Ktá* = *pr̥cch+tá-* (1.13,16) = *pr̥ṣ-ṭá-* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked'; *śábda-m pr̥cch-á-ti* = *śabda+prach+KviP* = *śabda-prāś-* (*Uṇādi* 2.58).
div+ná = *di-ū+ná- dyū-ná-* (8.2.49) 'playing, sporting' but *dyū-tá-* 'desiring victory (vi-ji-gī-ṣ-ā); akṣ-aír dī́v-ya-ti* = *akṣa+div+KviP* = *akṣa-di-ūṬH+∅* = *akṣa-dyū́-* 'gambling with dice'.

6.4.20 ¹jvárÁ-²tvára-³srívi=⁴ávi-⁵máv-ām upa-dhā́-y-ās=ca

[The substitute element ūṬH replaces phoneme /v/ 19 of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] jvár- 'be feverish' (I 813), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812). srív- 'become dry' (IV 3), áv- 'protect, aid' (I 631) and máv- 'move, go' (I 630) as well as (ca) of the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 Kvī and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ṅ as IT or with nasal consonants 19].

1. *jvár+KviP* = *jū́-ar* = *jū́r-* 'fever'; *jvár+KtiN* = *jū́r-ti-* 'fever'; *jvár+Ktá* = *jūr-ṇá-* (8.2.42) 'had temperature'.

2. Similarly: *tū́r, tū́r-ti-* 'haste'; *tūr-ṇá-* 'has hastened'.
3. *sríṿ-: sriū́ = srū́-* 'dryness, aridity'; *srū-tá-* 'withered'.
4. *áv: ū́-* 'protector, savior'; *ū-tí-* 'protection'; *ū-tá-* 'protected'.
5. *máv-: mū́-* 'mover'; *mū́-ti-* 'moving', *mū-tá-* 'has moved'.

6.4.21 r-āt=lópa-ḥ

Lopa (∅) replaces [phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ 19 after 1.1.67] phoneme /r/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 Kvi̱ and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ṅ as IT 15].

1. *múrch+Kvi̱P = múr∅+∅ = múr-* 'swoon'; *murch+Ktá = mūr-tá-* (8.2.76) 'formed' and *murch+KtiN = mū́r-ti-* 'material form, embodiment'.
2. *túrv+Kvi̱P = túr∅+∅ = túr-* 'running a race'; *túrv+KtiN/Ktá = tū́r-ti-* 'overwhelming', *tūr-ṇá-* 'overpowered, overwhelmed' (8.2.42).

6.4.22 á-sid-ha-vat=á-tra=ā́ bh-āt

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter, operations introduced by the subsequent rules are considered] inoperative (á-sid-dha-vat) (with respect to other operations stated in the subsequent rules) up to 129 below (ā́ bh-āt) beginning with [bha-sya].

as+lOṬ+siP = as+∅[1] (of *ŚaP* 2.4.72)+*hí* (3.4.57) = *a-e+hí* (119) = *e-hí* (1.97); but by 101 *hí* itself is replaced by *dhí* when preceded by a pre-affixal non-nasal consonant (jha̱L). To arrive at the correct form *e-dhí* the operation by 119 is not supposed to have taken place in applying 101. Normally in the situation *as+hi* both 101 and 119 are competitive and by metarule 1.4.2, 119 would prevail and would make 101 inapplicable. The present governing rule corrects this situation and yields the expected surface form.

This principle also applies to the section governed by the adhi-kār-á sūtra 129 below.

6.4.23 Śn-ā́t=na̱-lopá-ḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces the [áṅga 1] phoneme /n/ [after the class-marker 1.1.67] ŚnáM (3.1.78).

anj (VII 2)+*ŚnáM+Tip = a+ná+nj+tiP* (1.1.47) = *a-ná-∅j+ti = a-ná-k-ti* (8.2.30) 'smears, anoints'.

6.4.24 án-iT=IT-ām haL-aḥ=upa-dhā́-y-āḥ K-Ṅ-ITi

[Lópa (∅) 23] replaces the penultimate (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) [phoneme /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] not marked by I as IT (an-iT=IT-ām) [ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or Ṅ as IT.

sráns- (I 790) 'fall' *Ktá* = *sra∅s-tá=* = *sras-tá-* 'fallen', but from *ṬU-nád-Í* (I 67)+*yáK+te* = *na-n-d-yá-te* 'is filled with delight'.

6.4.25 ¹dansÁ-²sanjÁ-³svanj-ām Śap-i

[Lopa (∅) 23 replaces penultimate phoneme 24 /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] danś- (I 1038) 'bite', sanj- 'attach' (I 1036) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker] ŚaP (3.1.68).

1. *danś+ŚaP+tiP* = *dá∅ś-a-ti* = *dáś-a-ti* 'bites'; similarly: 2. *sanj+ŚaP+tiP* = *sáj-a-ti* 'clings, sticks'; 3. *svanj+ŚaP+tiP* = *sváj-a-ti* 'embraces, clasps'.

6.4.26 ranje-s=ca

[Lópa (∅) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga 1 of] ranj- 'to be dyed or colored' (I 1048) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker ŚaP 25].

ranj+ŚaP+tiP = *rá∅j-a-ti* = *ráj-a-ti* 'dyes'. A separate rule has been framed for the following application restricted to this verbal stem only.

6.4.27 GHaÑ-i ca ¹bhāv-á-²kár-aṇay-oḥ

[Lópa (∅) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga 1 ranj- 26 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ to denote a state (bhāv-á-°) or an instrument (°-kár-aṇay-oḥ).

1. *ranj+GHaÑ* = *rā∅g-á-*: *āścár-y-aḥ rāg-á-ḥ* 'wonderful is the state of the color'; 2. *raj-yá-te an-éna* = *ranj+GHaÑ* = *rāg-á-ḥ* (7.2.116, 3.52, 6.1.159) 'dye', but *ráṅg-a-* 'stage' = *ráj-a-nti tá-smin*.

6.4.28 syáda-ḥ jáv-e

The expression syád-a- is introduced [with the affix GHaÑ 27 and ∅ replacement 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga 1] syand- 'flow' (I 798) to denote speed (jáv-e).

syand+GHaÑ = *syá∅d-a-* 'speed', but *syánd-a-* 'flow, trickle'.

6.4.29 [1]av-o-d-á=[2]édh-a=[3]ód-ma(n)-[4]pra-śrath-á-[5]hima-śrath-ā́ḥ

The expressions av-o-d-á-, édh-a, ód-man-, pra-śrath-á- and hima-śrath-á- are introduced [with affixes 3.1.1 GHaÑ and maniN and ∅ replacement of penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga-s und- 'wet' (VII 20), co-occurring after preverb ava-°, indh- 'kindle' (VII 11), with Uṇ-ādi affix °-man- and śranth- 'discharge' (IX 39) co-occurring after prá-° and himá-°].

1. *ava+und+GHaÑ* = *ava+od-á-* = *av-o-d-á-* 'humidity'; 2. *indh+GHaÑ* = *i∅dh+GHaÑ* = *édh-a-* 'combustible'; 3. *und+man(iN) ú∅d+man-* = *ód-man-* 'flooding'; 4. *prá+śranth+GHaÑ* = *pra-śrath-á-* 'laxity'; 5. *himá+sranth+GHaÑ* = *hima-śrath-á-* 'loosening or melting of ice'.

6.4.30 ná=ance-ḥ pūjā́-y-ām

[Lópa (∅) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga 1] anc- (1.203) does not (na) take place [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ṅ as IT and beginning with a consonant 24] to denote honor (pūjā́-y-ām).

The verbal stem *ánc-Ú gáti-pū́j-anay-oḥ* (I 203) has two distinct range of meanings: 'movement' and 'honor' and the present rule applies only when the second meaning is denoted. *anc+Ktá* = *anc+iṬ+Ktá* (7.2.53) = *añc-i-tá-* 'honored', but *úd+anc+Ktá* = *ud-a∅c+Ktá-* = *ud-ak-tá-* (8.2.30) 'lifted up, raised'.

6.4.31 Ktv-i [1]skandi-[2]syandy-oḥ

[Lópa (∅) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal áṅga-s 1] skand- 'leap' (I 1028) and syand- 'flow' (I 798) [does not take place 30 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́.

1. *skand+Ktvā́* = *skant-tvā́* (8.4.55) 'having leapt'.
2. *syand+Ktvā́* = *syant-tvā́/syand-i-tvā́* (7.2.44) 'having flown or trickled'.

6.4.32 ¹já=anta-²naś-ām vibhāṣā

[Lópa (∅) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not take place 30] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the verbal áṅga 1 stems] ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /j/ or of naś- 'disappear' (IV 85) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ktvā́ 31].

ranj+Ktvā́ = raṅk-tvā́/ra∅k-tvā́ = rak-tvā́ 'having dyed'.
naś+Ktvā́ = na-nuM-ś+ktvā́ (7.1.60) = *na-ṁ-ṣ-ṭvā́/naṣ-ṭvā́/* (8.2.36; 4.41) 'having disappeared'.

6.4.33 bhanjes=ca CiṆ-i

[Lópa (∅) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not 30 optionally 32 take place of the verbal áṅga 1] bhanj- 'break' (VI 16) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] CiṆ (3.1.66).

áṬ+bhanj+CiṆ (3.1.66) = *á-bhanj-i/á-bhāj-i* 'was broken'.

6.4.34 śās-aḥ=iT=¹áṄ-²haL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the penultimate 24 vowel of the verbal áṅga 1] śās- 'teach, instruct' (II 66) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áṄ and those beginning with a consonant (°-haL-oḥ) [with K or Ṅ as IT marker 24].

śās+lUṄ = śās+Cli (3.1.43) = *áṬ+śis+aṄ+t* (3.1.56) = *á-śiṣ-a-t* (8.3.60) 'has instructed'; *śās+Ktá = śiṣ-ṭá-* (8.3.60; 4.41) 'taught'; but *śās+∅¹+tiP = śās-ti* and *śās+∅¹+tas śiṣ-ṭáḥ* where l-substitute °*-tas* is regarded as Ṅ-it by 1.2.4.

6.4.35 śā h-au

The substitute morpheme śā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1 śās- 'teach' (II 66) 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-hí (3.4.87).

śās+hí = śā-dhí (22, 101) 'please instruct/teach'. All constraints (34, 3.4.87-88: a-P-IT/P-IT) are inoperative here.

6.4.36 hán-te-r ja-ḥ

The substitute morpheme ja- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 hí 35].

han+hí = ja-hí 'kill, hurt, strike'. Here °*-hí* is not subject to ∅¹ replacement by 105 below because of the governing rule 22 above.

6.4.37 án-udātta=[1]upa-deś-a-[2]ván-a-ti-[3]tan-ó-ti=ādī-n-ām anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ jhaL-i K-Ṅ-IT-i

Lópa (∅) replaces a nasal stop (anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ) [of the áṅga 1 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ánudātta-°) when first introduced (upadeśé: in the Dhp.), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) [before the affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] non-nasal consonants (jhaL-i) with marker K or Ṅ as IT.

1. Verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced and ending in a nasal stop are: yam- 'check, restrain' (I 1033), ram- 'sport' (I 906), nam- 'bend, bow down' (I 1030), gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, hurt, strike' (II 2) and man- 'think' (IV 67). Before affix *Ktá: ya-tá-, ra-tá-, na-tá-, ga-tá-, ha-tá-, ma-tá-.*
2. *van+KtiN = vá∅-ti-* 'liking', but *van+KtíC = van-tí-* (39).
3. *tan+Ktá = ta∅-tá- = ta-tá-* 'extended'; *tan+lUṄ = tan+siC+ta* (3.1.44) = *áṬ+tan+∅+ta* (2.4.79) = *á-ta-ta* since this l-substitute is a Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4.

6.4.38 vā LyaP-i

[Lópa (∅) 37] optionally (vā) replaces [the nasal stop 37 of the áṅga 1 of verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced, ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the substitute morpheme 7.1.37] LyaP (for Ktvā́).

This is a regulated option (vy-ava-sth-ta-vi-bhāṣ-ā): ∅ necessarily operates in the case of pre-affixal stems not ending in /n/ and optionally in the case of those ending in /m/.

1. *pra+yám+LyaP = pra-yá∅-tuK+ya = pra-yá-t-ya/°yám=ya; pra-rá-t-ya/°rám-ya-*, etc.
2. *ā-há-t-ya; pra-má-t-ya, pra-vá-t-ya, pra-kṣá-t-ya-.*

6.4.39 ná KtiC-i dīrghá-s=ca

[Lópa (∅) 37] does not (ná) replace [the nasal stop 37 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced (in the Dhp), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KtíC nor (ca) the substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the aṅgá 1 vowel 15].

yam+KtíC = yan-tí (8.4.58) 'restraint'; similarly *van-tí-/tan-tí* 'liking/extension'.

6.4.40 gam-aḥ Kv-a̱u̱

[Lópa (∅) replaces the nasal stop 37 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvi̱(P).

> *ádhvān-am gácch-a-ti* = *ádhvan+∅^{1}+gam+Kvi̱P* = *adhva∅+gá∅+Kvi̱P* (8.2.7) = *adhva-gá-t-* 'traveller'.

6.4.41 ^{1}vi̱Ṭ=^{2}van-or ánu-nās-ika-sya=āT

The substitute long vowel /ā(T)/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of an áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal stop (ánu-nās-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] vi̱Ṭ (3.2.67) and van (3.2.75).

1. *ap-sú já-ya-te* = *áp+jan+vi̱Ṭ* (3.2.67) = *ap-ja-á+∅* (1.67) = *ab-já-* (8.4.53) 'born in water, aquatic'; similarly *gá-m san-ó-ti* = *go-ṣá-* 'bestower of cattle'; *dádhi krám-a-ti* = *dadhi-krá-* 'n.pr. of a divinity'; *ágr-e gácch-a-ti* = *ágr-e+gam+vi̱Ṭ* = *agr-e-gá-* 'leader'.
2. *ví-jā-ya-te* = *vi+jan+vani̱P* (3.2.75) = *vi-ja-ā+van* = *vi-já-van-* 'born, come into existence'.

6.4.42 ^{1}jánÁ-^{2}sánÁ-^{3}khán-āṁ ^{1}saN=^{2}jha̱L-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 41 replaces the áṅga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] ján- 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), sán- 'gain, donate' (I 492, VIII 2) and khán- 'dig' (I 927) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and those beginning with a non-nasal consonant (°jha̱L) [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 37].

> The recurring expression [jha̱l-i] from 37 onwards also qualifies the desiderative marker [saN].
>
> saN: *san+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sí-san+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (1.9; 7.4.60, 79) = *sí-sa-ā+sa+a+ti* (8.3.59) = *sí-sā-sa-ti* (1.97)/*sí-san-i-ṣa-ti* (8.3.61 for non-retroflexion of the stem-sibilant), *jí-jan-i-ṣa-ti, cí-khan-i-ṣa-ti*.
>
> The inclusion of [saN] in this rule is restricted only to the verbal stem [san-] which is optionally [sa=iṬ 7.2.49] while the other two are necessarily so, whence the constraint [jha̱L] applies only to it.

6.4.43 y-e vibhāṣā

[The substitute long vowel āT 41] optionally (vi-bhāṣ-ā) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems ján- 'be born', sán- 'gain, donate' and khan- 'dig, excavate' before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme y-° [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 37].

jan+yaK+te = *ja-ā-yá-te* = *jā-yá-te/jan-yá-te,* but *jan+ŚyaN+te* = *jā́-ya-te* (7.3.79). *jan+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *ja-ja-ā-yá-a-te* = *jā-jā-yá-te* (1.97; 7.4.83)/ *ja-n-jan-yá-te* (7.4.85).

Similarly: *sā-yá-te/san-yá-te; sā-sā-yá-te/san-san-yá-te* = *saṁ-san-yá-te* (8.3.24); *khā-yá-te/khan-yá-te; cā-khā-yá-te/caṅ-khan-yá-te.*

6.4.44 tan-ó-te-r yáK-i

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the áṅga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] tán- 'extend' (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáK.

tan+yáK+te = *ta-ā-yá-te* = *tā-yá-te/tan-yá-te* 'is stretched'.

6.4.45 sán-aḥ KtíC-i lópa-s=ca asyá=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the áṅga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] sán- 'gain, donate' (I 492, VII 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KtíC (3.3.174), and optionally (anya-tará-syām) lópa (∅) also (ca) replaces it.

san+KtíC = *san-tí-/sa-ā+ti-* = *sā-tí-/sa∅+tí* = *sa-tí-* 'gain, donation'.

6.4.46 ā́rdha-dhātu-k-e

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 69 below the phrase) 'before an ā́rdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114-17)' [affix 3.1.1] will recur in each operation.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-a-sūtrá].

6.4.47 bhrasj-aḥ ¹ra̱=²upa-dháy-oḥ ra̱M anya-tará-syām

The infixed (1.1.47) substitute phoneme r(a̱M) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces both the phoneme /r/ and the penultimate (°-upa-dháy-oḥ) [of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 an ā́rdha-dhātu-ka 46 affix 3.1.1].

bhrasj+tumuN = *bhrájj+tumuN* (8.4.40,53) = *bh∅-á-ra̱M-∅-j+tum* = *bhárṣ-ṭum/bhráj+tum* = *bhráṣ-ṭum* (8.2.36; 4.41); *bhrasj+tṛN/távya-* = *bhárṣ-ṭṛ-/bhráṣ-ṭṛ-, bharṣ-ṭávya-/bhraṣ-ṭávya-.*

6.4.48 aT-aḥ lopa-ḥ

Lopa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short a(T) [before 1.1.66 an ārdhadhātula 46 affix 3.1.1].

kr̥+saN+tumuN = *kr̥+saN+iT-tum* = *cí-kīr-ṣa+i-tum* = *cí-kīr-ṣ∅-i-tum* = *cí-kīr-ṣ-i-tum* 'wishing to do'; *dhinv+ú+tiP* (3.1.80) = *dhina+ú+ti* = *dhin∅-ú+ti* = *dhin-ó-ti, dhin-ú-taḥ*. *kr̥+saN+NvuL* = *cí-kīr-ṣa+NvuL* = *ci-kī́r-ṣ∅-aka-* 'who wishes to do', blocking out 7.2.115; *kr̥+saN+yáK+te* = *cí-kīr-ṣá+yá-te* = *ci-kīr-ṣ∅-yá-te* = *ci-kīr-ṣ-yá-te* blocking out 7.4.1. Here the metarule 1.4.2 is contravened. So also in the case of 47 above: *bhrasj+Ktá-* = *bhr̥ṣ-ṭá-* where vocalization (1.16) blocks the operation 47 above.

6.4.49 ya-sya haL-aḥ

[Lópa (∅) 48 replaces áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] ya- [after 1.1.67] a consonant [before 1.1.66 an ārdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

bhid+yáṄ+iT-tumuN = *bé-bhid-ya+i-tum* = *bé-bhid-∅∅-i-tum* = *bé-bhid-i-tum* 'to break frequently'; similarly *be-bhid-i-távya-* 'should be broken repeatedly'.

Since the syllable [ya] is involved in this operation it does not apply to verbal stems like *īrṣy-* 'envy', *mavy-* 'bind' whence *ī́rṣy-i-tum, mávy-i-tum*; the constraint 'after a consonant' blocks this operation in *ló-lū-y-i-tum* 'to cut or reap repeatedly'.

6.4.50 Kyá-sya vibhāṣā

[Lopa (∅) 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the áṅga 1 final syllable ya after a consonant 49 of the affix 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8, and KyáṄ 3.1.11) [before 1.1.66 an ārdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

ātmán-ah samídh-am icch-á-ti = *sam-ídh+KyáC* (3.1.8)+*iT-tumuN* = *sam-idh-yá+i-tum* = *sám-idhy-i-tum* (48)/*sámidh∅-i-tum* = *sám-idh-i-tum*; similarly *sam-íd iva á-car-a-ti* = *sam-ídh+KyaṄ+iT+tumuN* = *sám-idh-y-i-tum/sám-idh-i-tum.*

6.4.51 Ṇé-r an-iṬ-i

[Lópa (∅) 48 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] causative marker Ṇí(C) [before 1.1.66 an ārdhadhatūka 46 affix 3.1.1] not co-occurring with initial increment iṬ.

Exception to replacement by (iyaṄ 77 below) or (yaṆ 82) or guṇá (7.3.84) or vr̥ddhi (7.2.115) or by a long vowel (7.4.25).

1. *takṣ+ṆíC+lUṄ* = *takṣ+í+CaṄ* (3.1.48)+*t* = *áṬ* (71)+*takṣ+i+CaṄ+t*

á-ta-takṣ+i+a+t (1.11; 7.4.60) = *á-ta-takṣ+∅-a-t* = *á-ta-takṣ-a-t* 'has fashioned'; exception to 77 below.

2. *aṭ+Ṇí+lUṄ* = *ā́Ṭ* (72)+*a-ṭi-ṭí* (1.2)+*CaṄ+t* = *ā́-ṭi-ṭ-∅-a-t* = *ā́-ṭi-ṭ-a-t* 'has wandered'; exception to yaṆ 82.
3. *kṛ+ṆíC+LyuṬ+ṬāP* = *kār-í+ana+ā* = *kā́r-∅-aṇ-ā* = *kā́r-aṇ-ā* 'instigation, urging'; exception to guṇá (7.3.84).
4. *kṛ+ṆíC+ṆvuL* = *kār-í+aka-* = *kā́r-∅-aka-* = *kā́r-aka-* 'urger, instigator, producer'; exception to vṛ́ddhi on account of marker Ṇ of ṆvuL(7.2.115).

6.4.52 niṣṭhā́-y-āṁ s-e-Ṭ-i

[Lópa (∅) 48 replaces the causative marker Ṇí 51 before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26: Ktá, KtávatU) co-occurring with initial increment iṬ (sa=iṬ-i).

kṛ+ṆíC+Ktá- = *kār-i+iṬ-Ktá* = *kār-∅-i-tá-* = *kār-itá-* 'caused to be done', but *kṛ+ṆíC+iṬ+tumuṆ* = *kā́r-e-i-tum* = *kā́r-ay-i-tum* 'cause to do'.

6.4.53 jan-i-tā́ mántr-e

The expression jan-i-tṛ́- 'progenitor' is introduced in the Mántra section of the Veda [with lópa (∅) 46 replacement of the causative marker Ṇí 51 before 1.1.66 the seṬ 52 ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 tṛ́C].

yó naḥ pi-tā́ jan-i-tā́ (RV 10.82.3) 'who is our father progenitor': = *jan+ṆíC+iṬ+tṛ́C+sU* = *jan-∅-i-tṛ́+sU* = *jan-i-tā́* (7.1.94; 6.4.11). Cf. 92 below, for exception to 7.2.115.

6.4.54 śam-i-tā́ yajñ-e

The expression śam-i-tṛ́- 'carver of the sacrificial meat' is introduced in the domain of sacrifice (yajñ-e) [with lópa (∅) 46 replacement of the causal marker Ṇí 51 before 1.1.66 the seṬ 52 ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 tṛ́C].

śṛ-tá-m havíḥ śam-i-taḥ 'Oh carver of cooked sacrificial oblation!' : *śam+ṆíC+iṬ-tṛ́C+sU* = *śam-i-tā́*.

6.4.55 ay [1]ā́m=[2]ánta=[3]ālú=[4]ā́yya=[5]itnú=[6]iṣṇú-ṣu

The substitute element ay replaces [Ṇí 51 before 1.1.66 ā́rdhadhatuka 46 kṛ́t 3.1.93 affixes 3.1.1] °-ā́m (3.1.35), °-ánta (Uṇādi), °-ālú(C 3.2.158),

°-ā́yya (Uṇādi), °-itnú (Uṇādi) and °-iṣṇú(C 3.2.136) and °-KHiṣṇú-C (3.2.57).

1. *°-ā́m: kr̥+ṆiC+ā́m+ca-kā́r-a* (3.1.35,40) = *kār-i+ā́m ca-kā́r-a* = *kār-ay-ā́m ca-kā́r-a* (or *kār-e+ā́m* = *kār-ay-ā́m ca-kā́r-a*) 'has caused to make' (7.3.84).
2. *°-ánta: maṇḍ+ṆíC+ánta-* = *maṇḍ-ay-ánta-* 'ornament'.
3. *°-ālúC: spr̥h+ṆíC+ālúC* = *spr̥h-ay-ālú-* 'desirous'.
4. *°-ā́yya: spr̥h+ṆíC+ā́yya-* = *spr̥h-ay-ā́yya-* ibid.
5. *°-itnú: stana+ṆíC+itnu* = *stan∅-í+itnú-* (48) = *stan-ay-itnú-* 'thunder'.
6. *°iṣṇú: pāra+ṆíC+iṣṇú* = *pār∅-ay-iṣṇú-* = *pār-ay-iṣṇú* 'conveying to the opposite shore'.

6.4.56 LyaP-i laghú-pūrv-āt

[The substitute element ay 55 replaces the causative marker Ṇí 51] preceded by a metrically light syllable (laghú-pūrv-āt) [before 1.1.66 the substitute ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] LyaP.

pra+nam+ṆíC+LyaP = *pra-ṇam-áy-ya* 'having caused to bow down' (the verbal stem being a M-IT, 7.2.115 is inoperative by 92 below), but *pra+pat+ṆíC+LyaP* = *pra-pā́t-∅-ya* (51) 'having caused to fall down'.

6.4.57 vibhāṣā āp-aḥ

[The substitute element ay 55] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the causative marker ṆíC 51 introduced after the verbal stem] āp- 'attain, reach' (V 14) [before 1.1.66 the substitute ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 LyaP 56].

pra+āp+ṆíC+LyaP = *pr-ā-p-áy-ya/pr-ā́p+∅-ya* = *prā́p-ya* 'having caused to attain or reach'.

6.4.58 [1]yu-[2]pluv-or dīrghá-s=chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas a substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] yu- 'mix' (II 23) and plu- 'float, swim' (I 1007) [before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 56].

dā́nty anu-pūrvá-m vi-yū́-ya (RV 10.131.2); *yátrā yó dákṣiṇā pari-plū́-ya* (*KaṭhS.* 25.3) but in the spoken language *saṁ-yú-t-ya, ā-plú-t-ya* (1.71).

6.4.59 kṣíy-aḥ

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] kṣi- 'destroy, waste away' (1.255), 'reside' (VI 114) [before the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 56].

prá+kṣi+LyaP = pra-kṣī́-ya 'having wasted away (I)/having resided (VI)'.

6.4.60 niṣṭhā́-y-ām á-ṆyaT=arth-e

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣí- 'waste away/reside/ (I 255/VI 114) before 1.1.66 ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26: Ktá-, KtávatU) when the meaning implied is not that of the affix ṆyàT.

Affix [ṆyàT] implies either an impersonal [= bhāv-é] or passive [kár-maṇ-i] construction; consequently the context here refers to the active [kar-tár-i] construction.
ā-kṣi+Ktá = ā-kṣī-ṇá- (8.2.46; 4.2), *pari-kṣī-ṇá-* 'vanished'; *pra-kṣī-ṇá-* 'destroyed, perished', but in passive and impersonal constructions *kṣi-tá-*.

6.4.61 vā [1]ā-kroś-á-[2]daí-n-yay-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel 58] optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣí- 'waste away/reside (I 255/VI 114)' 59 before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́, when not expressing the sense of the affix ṆyàT 60] to indicate reproach (ā-kroś-á-°) or pity (°-daí-n-yay-oḥ).

1. *ā-kroś-é: kṣi-t-ā́-yus-/kṣī-ṇ-ā́-yus-* 'whose life-span is miserable' in a curse with *é-dhi* 'may your life be miserable'; 2. *daí-n-y-e: kṣi-tá-/kṣī-ṇá-* in the expression *kṣi-tá-ḥ/kṣī-ṇá-ḥ ayám tap-as-vī́* '(alas!) this ascetic is emaciated'.

6.4.62 [1]syá-[2]si̱C-[3]sīyu̱Ṭ-[4]tā́si̱-su [1]bhāv-á-[2]kár-maṇ-oḥ upa-deś-é [1]aC=[2]hanÁ-[3]gráhA-[4]dṛ̥ś-āṁ CiṆ-vát=iṬ ca

When the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kár-maṇ-i) construction is denoted by the l-replacements (3.4.69), those operations which apply [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-CiṆ also [optionally 61 apply before 1.1.66 the l-markers] °-syá-, °-si̱C-, °-sīyu̱T and °-tā́si-, and (ca) if the operations are applied then initial increment iṬ is inserted before them and is valid after verbal stems [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-°) as well as the verbal stems han- 'kill, strike, hurt' (II 2), gráh- 'seize' (IX 61) and dṛ̥ś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037).

1. Stems ending in vowels: *ci+sya* (3.1.33)+*te/cāy+iṬ+sya+te* (7.2.115) = *ce-ṣyá-te/cāy-i-ṣyá-te* as in *áT+ci+CiṆ+ta* = *á-cāy-i∅* (104); similarly: *á-ci+síC+ātām/á-ci+iṬ+siC+ātām* = *á-ce-ṣ-ātām/á-cāy-i-ṣ-ātām*; so also *ce-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa/cāy-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa; ce-tā́s-mi/cāy-i-tā́s-mi*. [syá, tā́si] introduced by 3.1.33; [síC] by 3.1.44; [sīyuṬ] by 3.4.102.
2. *han-i-ṣyá-te/ghān-i-ṣyá-te* after *áṬ+han+CiṆ* = *a-ghān-i* (7.4.54); *á-ha∅-s-ātām/á-ghān-i-ṣ-ātām; vadh-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa/ghān-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa; han-tā́s-mi/ghān-i-tā́s-mi*.
3. *grah-ī-ṣyá-te/grāh-i-ṣyá-te* after *áT+grah+CiṆ* = *á-grāh-i; á-grah-ī-ṣ-ātām/á-grāh-i-ṣ-ātām; grah-ī-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa; grāh-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa; grah-ī-tā́s-mi/grāh-i-tā́s-mi*. 7.2.37 applies only to [iṬ] introduced by 7.2.35 but not to that introduced by this rule.
4. *drak-ṣyá-te/darś-i-ṣyá-te* after *áṬ+dr̥ś+CiṆ+ta* = *á-darś-i-∅*. *á-dr̥k-ṣ-ātam/á-darś-i-ṣ-ātām; dr̥k-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa/darś-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭa; draṣ-ṭā́s-mi/darṣ-ṭā́s-mi/darś-i-tā́s-mi* (1.58).

Since this is an extension of operations within the governing rule 1 of [áṅga], it blocks out the operations of áṅga replacements introduced by 2.4.42-43 for [han-], 2.4.5 for [iṆ 'go' II 36] and 2.4.48-50 for [iṄ 'study' II 37].

6.4.63 dīṄ-aḥ yuṬ=aC-i K-Ṅ-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yuṬ is inserted at the head [of an ārdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) with marker K or Ṅ as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga 1 stem] dīṄ- 'perish' (IV 26).

úpa+dī+lIṬ+eŚ (3.4.81) = *úpa-di-dī+eŚ* (1.8; 7.4.59) = *úpa-di-dī+yuṬeŚ* = *úpa-di-dī-y-e* (*eŚ* being a *K*-IT by 1.2.5). So also *úpa-di-dī-y-āte/úpa-di-dī-y-ire*.

6.4.64 āT-aḥ lópa-ḥ iṬ-i ca

Lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] phoneme āT (long ā) [before 1.1.66 the initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ and (ca) [ārdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel with marker K or Ṅ as IT 63].

1. °-*iṬ: pā+lIṬ+thaL* = *pa-pā́* (1.8; 7.4.59)+*iṬ+thaL* = *pa-p∅-i-tha* = *pa-p-í-tha* 'thou hast drunk'; similarly *pa-pā+us* = *pa-p∅-us* = *pa-p-úḥ* 'they have drunk' (K-IT 1.2.5).
2. *Ṅ*-IT: *prá+dā+aṄ+ṬāP* (3.3.106) = *pra-d∅+á+ā* = *pra-d-ā́* = *prá-dī-ya-te* 'gift'.

6.4.65 īT=yàT-i

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme ā(T) 64 before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] yàT.

dā+yàT = *dī+yàt* = *dé-ya-* (7.3.84) 'to be given or donated'. The relevance of substitute long phoneme /ī/ becomes clear in the following sū́tra-s; here the same result would have been realized with a substitute short /i/ vowel.

6.4.66 ¹GHU-²mā-³sthā-⁴gā-⁵pā-⁶já-hā-ti-⁷s-ām̐ h̲aL-i

[The substitute phoneme long ī(T) 65 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 long phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20: having the shape of dā or dhā, with the exception of dāP/daiP) and mā- 'measure' (II 53, III 6, IV 34), sthā- 'stop, remain' (I 975), gā- 'go, move' (I 998) 'praise' (III 25), 'sing, sound' (I 965) and substitute morpheme for iṆ (2.4.45), for iṄ (2.4.48-50), pā- 'drink' (I 972), hā- 'abandon (III 8) and sā- (= so- IV 39) 'destroy' [before 1.1.66 ā́rdha-dhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant (h̲aL-i) [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 63].

1. GHU: *dā+yáK+te* = *dī-yá-te* 'is given'; 2. *mā+yáK+te* = *mī-yá-te* 'is measured'; similarly 3. *sthī-yá-te*, 4. *gī-yá-te*, 5. *pī-yá-te*, 6. *hī-yá-te*, 7. *áva-sī-ya-te*.

dā+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = *de-dī-y-á-te* (1.9; 7.4.82); *me-mī-yá-te, te-ṣṭhī-yá-te, je-gī-yá-te, pe-pī-yá-te, je-hī-yáte, áva-se-sī-ya-te*.

6.4.67 e-r lIṄ-i

The substitute vowel phoneme /e/ replaces [áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems denoted by the t.t. GHU as well as mā-, sthā-, gā-, pā-, hā- and sā- 66 before 1.1.66 ā́rdhadhātuka 46] l-substitutes of lIṄ [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 63].

dā+lIṄ+t = *dā+yā́su̲Ṭ+su̲Ṭ-t* (3.4.103,107) = *de-yā́+∅+∅+t* (7.2.70) = *de-yā́-t* (since increment [yā́su̲Ṭ] is Ṅ-IT) 'let him give'; similarly: *me-yā́-t, sthe-yā́-t, ge-yā́-t, pe-yā́-t, he-yā́-t, áva-se-yā-t*; but *dā+sīyu̲Ṭ+su̲Ṭ+tá* (3.4.102, 107) = *dā-sī-ṣ-ṭá* (1.66; 8.3.59; 4.41).

6.4.68 vā anyá-sya sam̐-yog-á=āde-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme /e/ 67] optionally [vā] [replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems] other than (anyá-sya) [those listed in 66 above] which begin with a conjunct consonant

(sam-yog-á=āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 ā́rdhadhātuka 46 l-substitutes of lIṄ 67 with K or Ṅ as IT marker 63].

glai+lIṄ+t = *glā+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* (1.45) = *gle-yā́+ØØ-t* (7.2.79) = *gle-yā́-t/glā-yā́-t* 'may (he/she/it) become tired', but *glā+sīyuṬ+suṬ+tá* = *gla-sī-ṣ-ṭá*.

6.4.69 ná LyaP-i

[The substitute phoneme e 67] does not (ná) replace the [áṅgá 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems listed in 66 above before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1] LyaP (for Ktvā́).

pra+dā́+LyaP = *pra-dā́-ya* 'having gifted'; similarly: *pra-mā́-ya, pra-sthā́-ya, pra-gā́-ya, pra-pā́-ya, pra-hā́-ya, ava-sā́-ya*.

6.4.70 may-a-te-r iT=anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme short i(T) optionally (anya-tarásyām) replaces the [áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 long vowel āT 64 of the verbal stem] meṄ- 'exchange, trade, barter' (I 1010) [before 1.1.66 the ā́rdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 69 (for Ktvā́)].

apa+me+LyaP = *apa-mā́-ya/apa-mí-t-ya* (1.71) 'having exchanged or bartered'.

6.4.71 [1]lUṄ-[2]lIṄ=[3]lR̥Ṅ-k-ṣu=áṬ=udā́tta-ḥ

The initial increment (1.1.46) áṬ is inserted, with high pitch (udā́tta-ḥ) [at the head of a verbal áṅga 1 before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] lUṄ (Aorist), lAṄ (Imperfect) and lR̥Ṅ (Conditional).

1. *kr̥+lUṄ* = *kr̥+tiP* (3.4.77) = *kr̥+t* (3.4.100) = *kr̥+Cli+t* (3.1.43) *kr̥+siC+t* (3.1.44) = *kār+s+t* (7.2.1) = *kār+s+īṬ+t* (7.3.96) = *áṬ-kār-ṣ-ī-t* = *á-kār-ṣ-ī-t*. The insertion of the initial increment may take place at any stage of the various operations. It may, however, be convenient to consider the theme itself to be *áṬ+kr̥-* before l-substitutes of the three tenses are in place, since it is an áṅga increment.
2. *kr̥+lAṄ* = *áṬ+kr̥+u+tiP* = *á-kar+o+t* (3.1.79; 7.3.84) 'did'.
3. *kr̥+lR̥Ṅ* + *á-kr̥+sya+tiP* = *á-kr̥+iṬ-sya+t* (3.1.33; 7.2.70; 3.4.100) = *á-kar-i-ṣya-t* 'if he had done'.

6.4.72 ā́Ṭ áC=ādī-n-ām

The initial increment (1.4.46) ā́Ṭ [with high pitch 71 accent is inserted at the head of a verbal áṅga l] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādī-n-ām) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of lUṄ, lAṄ and lṚṄ 71].

1. lUṄ (Aorist): *īkṣ+lUṄ = ā́Ṭ+īkṣ+iṬ+siC+ta* (7.2.35) = *aíkṣ-iṣ-ṭa* (1.90; 8.3.59; 4.41) 'has perceived'.
2. lAṄ (Imperfect): *īkṣ+lAṄ = ā́+īkṣ+ŚaP+ta = aí-kṣ-a-ta* (1.90) 'saw'.
3. lṚṄ (Conditional): *īkṣ+lṚṄ = aíkṣ+iṬ-sya+ta* (3.1.33; 7.2.35) = *aíkṣ-i-ṣya-ta* (8.3.59) 'if he had seen'.

6.4.73 chándas-i=ápi dṛś-yá-te

In the Chándas [the initial increment ā́Ṭ 72 with high pitched accent 71] is seen (dṛś-yá-te) [inserted at the head of a verbal áṅga l] (ápi) [other than one beginning with a vowel 72].

su-rúc-o vená ā-váḥ (VS 13.3): *á-vṛ+lUṄ+t = á-vṛ+∅+t* (2.4.8) *á-var+t* (7.3.84) = *á-var+∅* (1.68) = *á-vaḥ* (8.3.15).
yuj+lAṄ = á+yuj+SnaM+t = á-yu-na-j+t = á-yu-na-j+∅ (1.68) = *á-yu-na-k* (8.2.30).

6.4.74 ná mā́Ṅ-yog-e

[The initial increments aṬ 71 and ā́Ṭ 72] are not (ná) [inserted at the head 1.1.46 of a verbal áṅga 1 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lUṄ, lAṄ and lṚṄ 71] when co-occurring with the prohibitive particle mā́Ṅ.

mā́+á-kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ = mā́ kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ 'do not do it'. *mā́+á-kar-o-s = mā́ kar-o-ḥ* 'do not do'. Similarly *mā́ bhavān īkṣ-i-ṣ-ṭa/īkṣ-a-ta* (72).

6.4.75 bahulá-ṁ chándas-y á-māṄ-yog-e=ápi

In the Chándas [the initial increments áṬ and ā́Ṭ 72 with high-pitched accent 71 are not inserted 74 at the head of 1.1.46 a verbal áṅga l] even (ápi) when the prohibitive particle māṄ is not co-occurring [or co-occurring (with the verbal form)] variously (bahulá-m).

1. *ján-i-ṣ-ṭhāḥ+ugrá-ḥ = ján-i-ṣ-ṭhā ugrá-ḥ = á-jan-i-ṣ-ṭhāḥ* 'hast been born'; 2. *mā́ vaḥ kṣétr-e para-bījā́-n-i á-vāp-s-uḥ*.

The force of the expression [bahulám] is to indicate non-conformity with the constraints restricting the operation of this rule.

6.4.76 iray-aḥ re

The substitute element re [variously 75 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] ire (C) (3.4.81 of jha) [in the Chándas 75].

dhā+lIṬ = *dhā+jha* = *da-dhā+iréC* (1.8; 3.4.81) = *da-dh∅+iréC* (64) = *da-dh-ré* 'they have borne' for *da-dh-iré*, but *ca-kr-iré* 'they have made'.

6.4.77 aC-i [1]Śnu-[2]dhā́tu-[3]bhruv-ām [1]y-[2]v-or [1]iyaṄ=[2]uvaṄ-au

The substitute elements iyaṄ and uvaṄ [respectively 1.3.10 replace 1.1.53] the vowels i and u [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i) [when they are áṅgá 1 final 1.1.52 of a theme ending in 1.1.72] the present class marker Śnu (3.1.73), or of a verb (°-dhā́tu-°) or of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhrū́ 'brow'.

1. *āp+lOṬ* = *āp+Śnú+jhi* = *āp-nú+anti* (7.1.3) = *āp-núv-anti* 'they attain'.
2. *kṣi+lIṬ* = *ci-kṣi+ús* (1.8; 3.4.82) = *ci-kṣiy-úḥ* (1.189) 'have wasted away or emaciated'; similarly *lū+lIṬ* = *lu-lū+ús* = *lu-luv-úḥ* 'they have cut'.
3. *bhrū́+au* = *bhrúv-au*, but *vadhū́+au* = *vadhv-aù*.

Guṇá and Vṛ́ddhi replacements block the operation of this rule: *ci+LyuṬ/ṆvuL* = *cé+ana* (7.3.84) = *cáy-ana-* (1.78)/*caí+ṆvuL* (7.2.115) = *cā́y-aka-*.

6.4.78 abhy-ās-á-sya=á-sa-varṇ-e

[The substitute elements iyaṄ and uvaṄ 77 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels i, u 77 occurring at the end of 1.1.72] the reduplicative syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) [before 1.1.66] a non-homogeneous vowel (á-sa-varṇ-e).

iṣ+lIṬ = *i-iṣ+ṆaL* (1.8; 3.4.82) = *iy-éṣ-a* (7.3.84) 'has desired'; so also *uṣ+ṆaL* = *u+óṣ+ṆaL* = *uv-óṣ-a* 'has burnt'; but from *iṆ-* 'go' (II 36): *i+lIṬ* = *i+ús* = *i-i+us* = *i-iy+ús* (77) = *īy-úḥ*, *īy-átuḥ* and *iy-ā́y-a* (7.2.115).

6.4.79 striy-ā́ḥ

[The substitute element iyaṄ 77 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel ī 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] strī́ 'woman, female' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

strī́+au/Jas = *stríy-au/stríy-aḥ*; *strī+ām* = *strī+nuṬ+ām* = *strī-ṇ-ā́m* (7.1.54; 8.4.2).

6.4.80 vā [1]am-[2]Śas-oḥ

[The substitute element iyaṄ 77] optionally (vā) [replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel ī 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 strī́ 'woman' 79 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] am and Śas (4.1.2).

strī́+am/Śas = *strī́-m* (1.107)/*stríy-am; strī́-ḥ* (1.102)/*stríy-aḥ*.

6.4.81 iṆ-aḥ yaṆ

The semivowel y(aṆ) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] iṆ- 'go' (II 36) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

i+jhi = *i+ánti* (7.1.3) = *y-ánti* 'they go'; similarly *i+lOṬ* = *i+∅*[1]*+antu* (7.1.3; 3.4.86) = *y-ántu* 'let them go/they may go'.

6.4.82 e-ḥ án-eka=aC-aḥ=á-saṁ-yog-a-pūrva-sya

[The semivowel yaṆ 81 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme /i/ 77] of a polysyllabic verbal stem (án-eka=aC-aḥ), not preceded by (°-pū́rva-sya) a conjunct consonant (á-saṁ-yoga-°) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

nī+lIṬ = *ni-nī+átus* = *ni-ny-átuḥ; ni-ny-úḥ; grāma-ṇī́+au* = *grāma-ṇy-aù* (8.4.2) but *yava-krī́+au* = *yava-kríy-au* 'two purchasers of barley'.

6.4.83 o-ḥ sUP-i

[The semivowel substitute v of yaṆ 81 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme /u/ [of a polysyllabic verbal stem, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a vowel 77].

khála-m pu-nā́-ti = *khála+∅*[1]*+pū́+KvIP* = *khala-pū́* (3.2.178)+*au khala-pv-aú* (1.174) 'two sweepers of a threshing floor'; but *lū+KvIP+au* = *lúv-au* 'two reapers'; *kaṭa-prū́+au* = *kaṭa-prúv-au* 'two gamblers'.

6.4.84 varṣā-bhv-as=ca

[A substitute semivowel v of yaṆ 81 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] varṣā-bhū́- 'rain-born' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

varṣā-bhū́+au = *varṣā-bhv-aú*. This is a prior exception to 85 below.

6.4.85 ná [1]bhū́-[2]su-dhī́y-oḥ

[A substitute semivowel ya̱Ṇ 81] does not replace [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū́ 'becoming' and su-dhī́ 'shrewd' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

prati-bhū́+au = *prati-bhúv-au* 'two sureties'; *su-dhī́+au* = *su-dhíy-au* 'two intelligent persons'.

6.4.86 chándas-i ubha-yá-thā

In the Chándas both (ubhyá-thā) [iya̱Ṅ-uva̱Ṅ 77 and ya̱Ṇ 81 replace the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1 bhū́ 'becoming' and su-dhī́- 'shrewd' 85 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

vóne-ṣu ci-trá-m vi-bhv-àm viśé-viśe (RV 4.7.1) = *vi-bhúv-am viśé* (TS 1.5.5); *su-dhy-ò/su-dhíy-o háv-yam agne*.

6.4.87 [1]hu-[2]Śnuv-oḥ sā́rva-dhātu-k-e

[A substitute semivowel ya̱Ṇ 81 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] hu- 'sacrifice' (III 1) and [of a polysyllabic 82 verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the present class-marker] Śnu (3.1.732) [not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82, before 1.1.66] the sā́rva-dhātuka (3.4.113) [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

hu+lAṬ = *hu+Ślu+jhi* (2.4.75) = *ju-hu+ati* (1.10; 7.1.4) = *jú-hv-ati* 'they sacrifice'; *jú-hv-atu* 'let them sacrifice'.

su+lAṬ = *su+Śnu+jhi* = *su-nu+anti* = *su-nv-ánti* 'they distil'; but *āp-nuv-ánti* 'they reach/attain'.

6.4.88 bhúv-aḥ vu̱K [1]lUṄ-[2]lIṬ-oḥ

The final increment (1.1.46) vu̱K is inserted after the verbal stem bhū́- 'become' (I 1) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lUṄ (Aorist) and lIṬ (Perfect) tenses [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *bhū́+lUṄ* = *áṬ* (71)+*bhū+si̱C* (3.1.44-∅[1] 2.4.77)+*jhi* = *á-bhū-ant* (3.4.100) = *á-bhū-v-ant* = *á-bhū-v-an∅* (8.2.23) = *á-bhū-v-an* 'they have become'.

2. *bhū́+lIṬ* = *ba-bhū́+ṆaL* (1.8; 3.4.82) = *bá-bhū-v+ṆaL* = *ba-bhū́-v-a* 'has become'.

6.4.89 ūT=upa-dhā́-y-āḥ góh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme ūT replaces the penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) phoneme [of the verbal áṅga 1 of] góh- (= gúh- I 944) 'hide' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

The allomorph [góh-] in the rule is to indicate that wherever the verbal stem [gúh-] undergoes a Guṇá replacement, it is replaced by long /ū/, not otherwise.

ní-guh+ŚaP+tiP = *ní-*goh-a-ti* (7.3.84) = *ni-gūh-a-ti* 'hides'; *ni-guh+ṆvuL* = *ni-*góh-aka-* = *ni-gū́h-aka-* 'hiding', but *ní-guh+lIṬ* = *ní+guh+atus* (3.4.82) = *ní-ju-guh-atuḥ* 'they have been hiding' where lIṬ l-substitutes being K-IT (1.2.5) do not operate Guṇá replacement of the light penultimate vowel.

6.4.90 doṣ-aḥ Ṇ-aú

[The substitute phoneme ūT 89 replaces the penultimate phoneme 89 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] doṣ- (= duṣ- IV 76) 'sin, perish, injure' [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] Ṇí(C).

duṣ+ṆíC = *doṣ-í* (7.3.86) *ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68) = *dūṣ-áy-a-ti* 'spoils, corrupts', but *duṣ+GHaÑ* = *dóṣ-a-* 'fault'.

6.4.91 vā cit-ta-vi-rāg-é

[The substitute phoneme ūT 89] optionally (vā) replaces [the penultimate phoneme 89 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem doṣ- 'spoil, sin, perish' 90 before 1.1.66 the causative marker Ṇí 90] when denoting a disturbance of the mind (cit-ta-vi-rāg-é).

cit-tá-ṁ doṣ-áy-a-ti/dūṣ-áy-a-ti 'agitates the mind'.

6.4.92 M-IT-āṁ hrasva-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.18 hrasvá-ḥ) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga of verbal stems which are designated as marked with] M as IT [before 1.1.66 the causative marker Ṇí(C) 90].

In the Dhātupāṭha verbal stems beginning with [ghaṭ- I 800] and ending with [phaṇ- I 873] are so designated.

ghaṭ+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = **ghāṭ-í-a-ti* (7.2.116) = *ghaṭ-áy-a-ti* (7.3.94; 6.1.78) 'brings about'.

6.4.93 CiṆ- ṆamuL-or dīrghá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

A substitute long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the aṅga 1 of verbal stems with M as IT marker 92 before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 90] co-occurring with CiṆ or ṆamuL.

1. *śam+ṆíC+CíṆ* = *áT+śām-i+CiṆ+ta* = *á-śām-∅+í+∅* (148; 104) = *á-śām-i/á-śam-i* 'has quietened'.
2. *śam+ṆíC+ṆamuL* = *śām-i+ṆamuL* = *śām+∅+am* = *śā́m-am śām-am/śám-am śam-am*.

6.4.94 KHaC-i hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.18) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the causative marker and stem-forming affix Ṇí (90) co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1] KHáC (3.2.38ff.).

diviṣ-ánt-aṁ tāp-áy-a-ti = *dviṣát+tap+ṆíC+KHáC* (3.2.39) = *dviṣ-át+tāp-í+KHáC* (7.2.116) = *dviṣ-a+muM-t+tāp-i+KHáC* (3.67) = *dviṣ-am-t+tap+∅+á* (51) = *dviṣ-ant-tap-á-* (8.4.58) = *dviṣ-an∅-tap-á-* (8.2.23) = *dviṣ-an-tap-á-* 'chastiser of enemies'; similarly *púr-aṁ dār-áy-a-ti* = *pura+dār-i+KHáC* = *pura+muM+dār-i+á* = *pura-n+dār-∅-á-* = *puran-dar-á-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.

6.4.95 hlā́d-aḥ niṣṭhā́-y-ām

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] hlā́d- 'rejoice' (I 27) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26: Ktá, KtāvatU).

pra+hlād+Ktá- = *pra-hlān-ná-* (8.2.42) = *pra-hlan-ná-* 'has rejoiced', but *prá-hlād+Ṇí+ŚaP+tiP* = *prá-hlād-ay-a-ti* 'causes to rejoice'.

6.4.96 chād-é-r GHe á-dvi=upa-sarg-a-sya

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] chād-í- (= chad+ṆíC I 290) 'wrap, envelope, cover', not co-occurring with two pre-verb particles [before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1] GHá (3.3.118).

úraś chād-áy-a-ti 'covers the chest': *uras+∅*[1]*+chād-i=GHá* = *uras-chād-∅+á-* = *uraś-chad-á-*; ∅ replacement of ṆíC does not operate the governing rule 22 or 1.1.62 as a result of this specific rule. But *sam-upa-cchād-á-* 'a good coverlet'.

6.4.97 ¹ís-²man-³traN-⁴kvi̱-ṣu ca

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem chād-í- 'cover' 96 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-ís-, °-man-, °-traN- and Kvi̱.

The first three affixes belong to the Uṇādi group; 1. *chād-í+ís* = *chād-∅+ís* = *chad-ís-* 'cover, roof'; 2. *chād-í+man* = *chád-∅+man-* = *chád-man-* 'roof'; 3. *chād-í+traN* = *chát-tra-* 'parasol, umbrella'; 4. *tanú-ṁ chād-áy-a-ti* = *tanu-cchā́d-∅+Kvi̱P* = *tanu-cchád-* 'coat of mail, armour'.

6.4.98 ¹gama̱-²hanÁ-³jána̱-⁴khána̱-⁵ghas-āṁ lópa-ḥ K-Ṅ-IT-i án-aṄ-i

Lópa (∅) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stems] gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, injure' (II 2), ján- 'be born' (III 24) IV 41, khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), ghas- 'eat, consume' (I 747) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or Ṅ as IT, excluding aṄ [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *gam+lIṬ* = *gam+átus* = *ja-gam+átus* = *ja-g∅m-átus* = *ja-gm-átuḥ* (1.8; 7.4.60, 62), *ja-gm-úḥ* but *á-gam-a-t*.
2. *han+lIṬ* = *han+átus/ús* = *ja-ghan+átus/ús* (7.3.55) = *ja-ghn-átuḥ/ja-ghn-úḥ*. Similarly: *ja-jñ-átuḥ/jajñ-úḥ; ja-jñ-é, jajñ-ā́te/jajñ-íre; ca-khn-átuḥ; ja=kṣ-átuḥ* but *á-ghas-a(Ṅ)-t* = *á-ghas-a-t*.

6.4.99 ¹táni̱-²páty̱-os=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [lópa (∅) 98 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the áṅga 1 of verbal stems] tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) and pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

ví+tan+lIṬ = *ví-tan+iréC* (3.4.81) = *ví-ta-tan-iréC* = *ví-ta-tn-ire* 'have extended'; similarly: *pa-pat+má* (1.8; 7.4.60) = *pa-pat+iṬ-má* (7.2.35) = *pa-pt-i-má* 'we have fallen'.

6.4.100 ¹ghasi̱-²bhás-or ha̱L-i ca

[In the domain of Chándas 99 lópa (∅) 98 replaces the penultimate 99 vowel of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stems] ghas- 'eat; devour, consume' (I 747) and bhás- 'devour' (III 18) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant (ha̱L-i) as well as (ca) [with vowels 77, with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

1. *ád+KtiN* = *ghás+KtiN* (2.4.39) = *gh∅s+tí* = *gh-dhí* (8.2.40) = *g-dhí-* (8.4.53); *samānī g-dhí-ḥ* = *sá-g-dhi-ḥ* 'eating together, common meal'.
2. *bhas+lOṬ* = *bhas+Ślu+tā́m* (2.4.75; 3.4.101) = *ba-bhas+tā́m* (1.10; 7.4.60; 8.4.54) = *ba-bh∅s+tā́m* = *ba-bh∅+tā́m* (8.2.26) = *ba-bh+dhā́m* (8.2.40) = *baḅ-dhā́m* (8.4.53). *bhas+Ślu+jhi* = *ba-bhas+ati* = *ba-bh∅s-ati* = *bá-ps-ati* (8.4.55).

6.4.101 [1]hu-[2]jha̱L-bhyaḥ=hé-r dhí-ḥ

The substitute element dhí replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the substitute affix 3.1.1] hí (for siP 3.4.87) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] hu- 'sacrifice' (III 1) and those [ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant (jha̱L-bhyaḥ).

1. *hu+lOṬ* = *hu+Ślu+hí* (3.4.87) = *ju-hu+hí* (1.10) = *ju-hu-dhí*.
2. *bhid+lOṬ* = *bhid+ŚnaM+hí* = *bhi-na-d+hí* (3.1.78) = *bhi-n∅-dh+hí* (111) = *bhi-ndh+dhí* = *bhi-nd-dhí*; but *i-hí, svap-i-hí, krī-ṇī-hí*.

6.4.102 [1]śru-[2]śr̥-ṇú-[3]pr̥̄-[4]kr̥-[5]vr̥-bhyas=chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] śru-/śr̥-ṇú- 'listen, hear' (I 989), pr̥̄- 'fill, fill up' (III 4, IX 19), kr̥- 'do' (VIII 10) and vr̥- 'cover' (V 8).

1. *śru-dhī́ háva-m indra* (RV 2.11.3) 'listen to the invocation, O Indra!'; 2. *śr̥-ṇu-dhī́ gir-aḥ* 'harken to the speech' (RV 8.13.7); 3. *pūr-dhí* (RV 8.78.10) 'fulfill'; 4. *urú ṇas kr̥-dhi* (RV) 'make us wide'; 5. *ápā-vr̥-dhi* (RV 1.7.6) 'uncover'.

6.4.103 á-Ṅ-IT=as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 102 the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101] even when it is not marked with Ṅ as IT (3.4.87-88).

3.4.87 introduces the lOṬ substitute of [siP] as [hi] without marker P as IT and thereby makes it a Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4 while 3.4.88 makes this optional in the case of Chándas. The present rule indicates that in this case also, [dhí] replaces [hí]: *sóma rāran-dhí* (RV 1.91.13) 'O Soma! be pleased' as derived from: *ram+Ślu+dhí* = *ra-ram+dhí* = *rā-ran-dhí* with a long vowel replacing the reduplicated syllable and without ∅ replacement of stem-final nasal (37 above). Similarly *yu+Ślu+hí* = *yu-yo-dhí,* since [hí] is not a Ṅ-IT and permits operation of 7.3.86 for guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel.

6.4.104 CíṆ-aḥ luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the affix **3.1.1** introduced after **3.1.2**] the Aorist marker CíṆ (3.1.66).

By 3.1.66 CíṆ is introduced after verbal stems before the taṄ triplet [ta] in passive and impersonal constructions. Thus corresponding to *kri-yá-te* 'is done', the Aorist form is: *áṬ* (71)+*kṛ+CiṆ+ta* = *á-kār-i+ta* (7.2.115) = *á-kār-i+*$\emptyset^1$ = *á-kār-i*; but in *a-kār-i-tarā́m, tar-ā́m* is not replaced by $\emptyset^1$ because of the $\emptyset^1$ replacement of [ta] being present after CiṆ by 1.1.68.

6.4.105 aT-aḥ hé-ḥ

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 104 replaces the substitute affix 3.1.1] hí [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel a(T).

pac+ŚaP+hí = *pác-a+hí* = *pác-a+*$\emptyset^1$ = *pdác-a* 'cook', but *i+*$\emptyset^1$*+hi* = *i-hí* 'go'. *svap-i-hí* 'lie down'.

6.4.106 uT-as=ca praty-ay-ā́t=á-saṁyog-a-pūrv-āt

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 104] also (ca) replaces [the substitute affix 3.1.1 hí introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 1 terminating 1.1.72 in] an affix [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T), not preceded by a conjunct consonant (á-saṁyog-a-purv-āt).

su+lOṬ = *su+Śnú+hí* = *su-nú+hí* = *su-nú+*$\emptyset^1$ = *su-nú* 'listen, hear'; similarly *tan+lOṬ* = *tan-ú+hí* = *tan-ú+*$\emptyset^1$ = *tan-ú* 'spread, extend', but *āp-nú+hí* = *āp-nu-hí* 'reach'.

6.4.107 lópa-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām ¹m-²v-oḥ

Lopa ($\emptyset$) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the affix 3.1.1 class-marker ending in 1.1.72 short uT, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 106 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] m-° or v-°.

su+lAṬ = *su+Śnú+vás/más* = *su-nu-vás/°-más* = *su-n*$\emptyset$*=vás/más* = *su-nu-váh/su-n-váh; su-nu-máḥ/su-n-máḥ; tan+lAṬ* = *tan-u+vás/más* = *tan-u-váḥ/tan-váḥ; tan-u-máḥ/tan-máḥ.*

6.4.108 nítya-ṁ kar-ó-te-ḥ

[Lópa (∅) 107] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the class marker affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme °-uT 106, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 1] kar-ú- (= kr̥- VIII 10+ú) 'do' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with v-° or m-° 107].

kr̥+lAṬ = *kr̥+ú+vás/más* = *kur-ú+vás/más* (110) = *kur+∅+vás/más* = *kur-váḥ/kur-máḥ*. The operation of 8.2.77 which would have replaced short [u] by the long one is blocked by 8.2.79.

6.4.109 y-e ca

[Lópa (∅) 107 replaces the class-marker °-ú- 106 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal aṅga 1 kr̥- 'do' (VIII 10) 109 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] y-° also (ca) [necessarily 108].

kr̥+lIṄ = *kr̥+u+yā́s-t* (3.4.100) = *kur-u+yā́s+suṬ+t* (110; 3.4.107) = *kur-∅-yā́∅+∅+t* = *kur-yā́-t* (7.2.79), *kur-yā́-tām/kur-y-úḥ*.

6.4.110 aT-aḥ uT sā́rva-dhātu-k-e

The substitute phoneme short uT replaces the phoneme short aT [of the verbal áṅga kar-ú- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the class marker °-ú- 106 before 1.1.66] sā́rvadhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

kr̥+ú+tás/ánti (Ṅ-IT 1.2.4) = *kar-ú+tás/ánti* (7.3.84) = *kur-u-tás/kur-v-ánti*, but *kar-ó-ti* (P-IT); similarly *kar-ú+hí* = *ku-rú+∅* (106).

6.4.111 [1]Śná=[2]as-or aT=lopá-ḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces the short vowel a(T) of the present class marker Śna(M 3.1.78) and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before 1.1.66 sā́rvadhātuka 110 affixes with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

1. *rudh+lAṬ* = *rudh+ŚnáM+tás/ánti* = *ru-na-dh+tás/ánti* = *ru-n∅-dh+tás/ánti* = *rundh+dhás* (8.2.40) = *rund-dháḥ* (8.3.15; 4.53)/*rundh-ánti*.
2. *as+lAṬ* = *as+∅[1]+tás/ánti* = *∅s-táḥ/∅s-ánti*.

6.4.112 [1]Śnā́=[2]abhy-às-tay-or āT-aḥ

[Lópa (∅) 111 replaces] the phoneme long ā(T) occurring in the present class marker Śnā (3.1.81) or [as áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of] a reduplicated verbal theme [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

1. *krī+lAṬ = krī+Śnā́+áte* (3.4.79, 7.1.4) = *krī-ṇā+áte* (8.4.2) = *krī-ṇ∅-áte* 'they buy'; *krī+lOṬ = krī+Snā+átām = krī-ṇā+átām = kri-ṇ∅-átām = krī-ṇ-átām* 'let them purchase'.
2. *dā+lAṬ = dā+Ślu+áte = da-dā+áte* (1.10; 7.4.59) = *dá-d∅+ate* 'they give', *dá-d-atām* 'let them give'.

6.4.113 ī haL-i=á-GHO-ḥ

The substitute phoneme ī replaces [the phoneme long ā occurring in the present class marker Śnā́ or as áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of a reduplicated verbal theme 112] excluding those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant (haL-i) [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

1. *krī+lAṬ = krī+Śnā́+tás/thás/vás/más = krī-ṇā+tás/thás/vás/más = krī-ṇī-táḥ/tháḥ/váḥ/máḥ.*
2. *mā+Ślu+té = ma-mā-té* (1.10; 7.4.59) = *mi-mā-té* (7.4.76) = *mi-mī-té, mi-mā+áte = mí-m-ate* (112). *dā+Ślu+tás = da-dā+tás = da-d∅+tás* (112) = *dat-táḥ* (8.4.55).

6.4.114 iT=daridra-sya

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the phoneme long ā(T) 112 occurring as áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] daridrā- 'be needy' (II 64) [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātika 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

dari-drā+lAṬ = dari-drā+∅+vás/más = dari-dri-váḥ/máḥ but *dari-drā-ti(P).*

6.4.115 bhiy-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme iT 114] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] bhī- 'fear' (III 2) [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

bhī+lAṬ = bhī+Ślu+tás/thás = bi-bhī+tás/thás, bi-bhi-tás/thás but *bhī+yáK+te = bhī-yá-te* since [yáK] is ārdhadhātuka.

6.4.116 já-hā-te-s=ca

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 114] also (ca) [optionally 115 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] hā- 'abandon' (III 8) [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98].

hā+lAṬ = hā+Ślu+tás/thás = ja-hā+tás/thás = ja-hī-tás/thás (113), *ja-hi-tás/thás* but *já-hā-ti(P)*.

6.4.117 ā ca h-aú

The substitute phoneme ā, in addition to (ca) [short i(T) 114 optionally 115 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem hā- 'abandon' (III 8) before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affix 3.1.1] hí.

hā+lOṬ = hā+Ślu+hí = ja-hā-hí/ja-hi-hí (116)/*ja-hī-hí* (113) (1.10; 7.4.59,62).

6.4.118 lópa-ḥ=y-i

Lopa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem hā- 'abandon' (III 8) 116 before 1.1.66 a sārvadhātuka 110 affix 3.1.1 beginning with] y- ° [with marker K or Ṅ as IT].

hā+lIṄ = hā+Ślu+yā́suṬ+suṬ+tām (3.4.103,107) = *ja-hā+yā́∅+∅+tām* (7.2.79) = *ja-h-yā́-tām; ja-h-y-úḥ* (1.96).

6.4.119 [1]GHU=[2]as-or eT=h-aú=abhy-ās-a-lopá-s=ca

The substitute vowel e(T) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) and as- 'be' (II 55) [before 1.1.66 sārvadhātuka 110 affix 3.1.1] hí and lopa (∅) replaces the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-a-lopá-ḥ).

1. *dā+lOṬ = dā+Ślu+hí = da-dā+hí = ∅∅-de-hí = de-hí* 'give!'.
2. *as+lOṬ = as+∅[1]+hi = ae+hí = e+hí* (1.97) = *e+dhí* (22, 101).

6.4.120 aT-aḥ eka-haL-madhy-é=án-ādeśa=āde-r lIṬ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119] replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants (eka-haL-madhy-é) [in a verbal aṅga 1] whose initial is not replaced (án-ādeśa-āde-ḥ) (in the reduplicated syllable 1.8) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lIṬ (Perfect) [with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98 and ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

raṇ+lIṬ = *ra-raṇ+átus/ús* (1.8) = *∅∅-reṇ-átus/ús* = *reṇ-átuḥ/úḥ* 'have resounded', but *ra-rā́ṇ-a* (+*ṆaL*). So also *ram+lIṬ* = *ra-ram+éŚ/āte/iréC* = *∅∅-rem-é/āte/iré*.

Counter-examples: *rās+lIṬ* = *ra-rās+é/āte/iréC* = *ra-rās-é/āte/-iré*, since by 7.4.59 the short vowel replaces the long one in the reduplicated syllable; similarly *kaṇ+lIṬ* = *ca-kaṇ+átus/ús* through the operation of 7.4.62.

The constraint on the initial replacement of the verbal theme before lIṬ is for the purpose of applying this rule to situations where this replacement is conditioned by lIṬ itself: 1.64-65 which are general rules do not come under this operation: *ṣah+lIṬ* = *sah+lIṬ* = *sa-sah+éŚ* = *seh-é* 'has endured', and similarly *ṇam+liṬ* = *nam+lIṬ* = *na-nam+átus/ús* = *nem-átus/ús* since the replacement of retroflex initials by corresponding dentals is not specifically related to lIṬ alone.

6.4.121 thaL-i ca sa=iṬ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants 120 of a verbal áṅga 1 whose initial is not replaced in a reduplicated syllable before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 120] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the lIṬ substitute] thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ [with ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

pac+iṬ-thaL = *pa-pác+i-thaL* = *∅∅-péc-i-tha* 'hast cooked', but when not so co-occurring with [iṬ]: *pa=pác+tha* = *pa-pák-tha* (8.2.80).

6.4.122 [1]tṝ-[2]phálÁ-[3]bhajÁ-[4]tráp-as=ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) of the aṅga 1 of the verbal stems] tṝ- 'cross, traverse' (I 1018), phál- 'fructify' (I 563), bhaj- 'share, serve' (I 1047) and tráp- 'be ashamed' (I 399) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 120 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98] as well as (ca) [before 1.1.66 thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121].

1. *tṝ+lIṬ* = *ta-tar+átus/ús* (7.4.11) = *∅∅-ter-átus/ús* = *ter-átuḥ/úḥ* 'have crossed over'; *tér-i-tha*. Similarly: 2. *phel-átuḥ/úḥ; phél-i-tha* 'have/hast fructified; 3. *bhej-átuḥ/úḥ; bhéj-i-tha* 'have/hast shared or served'; 4. *trep-átuḥ/úḥ; trép-i-tha* 'have/hast become ashamed'.

Exception to 120 with reference to the constraint [án-ādeśa=ādi-].

6.4.123 rādh-aḥ hiṁsā́-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 110 replaces the vowel ā(T)112 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stem] rādh- (IV 84) when designating the sense of 'hurt, injury' (hiṁsā́-y-ām) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 120 with marker K or Ṅ 98 and also before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121 with ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

ápa+rādh+lIṬ = ápa-ra-rādh/atus/us/i-thaL = ápa-redh-atuḥ/uḥ/ápa-redh-i-tha 'have/hast injured'.

In the Dhātupāṭha the verbal stem [rādh-] is defined as [rādhÁ á-kar-ma-k-āt vŕ̥d-dh-au=evá] (intransitive) 'increase' only (IV 71) while [rādhA sáṁ-sid-dh-au] occurs as (V 16) and [radhÁ hiṁsā́-saṁ-rā́d-dhy-oḥ IV 84]. The association of [hiṁsā́] with (V 16) is justified by the general theory of [an-eka-artha-tva] 'multiple senses of verbal stems' since [radh-] which has this meaning has an infixed nasal increment before l-substitutes of lIṬ (7.1.61).

6.4.124 vā [1]jr̥̄-[2]bhrámÚ-[3]trás-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] optionally (vā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 120 of the áṅga 1 of the verbal stems] jr̥̄- 'become old, age' (IV 22; IX 24), bhrám- 'ramble, err' (IV 96), and trás- 'tremble' (IV 10) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 120 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98 and ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119 and before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121, with ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *jr̥̄+lIṬ = ja-jar+átus/ús* (7.4.11) = *∅∅=jer-átus/ús = jer-átuḥ/úḥ/jér-i-tha* 'have/hast grown old or senile'.
2. *bhrem=átuḥ/úḥ/bhrém-i-tha* 'erred, rambled'.
3. *trep-átuḥ/úḥ/trép-i-tha* 'trembled'.

6.4.125 pháṇ-āṁ ca saptā-n-ā́m

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119 optionally 124 replaces the short vowel a(T) 120 of the áṅga 1 of the class of verbal stems consisting of] seven (saptā-n-ā́m) beginning with phaṇ- 'go' (I 873-79) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of lIṬ 120 with marker K or Ṅ as IT and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 with ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

The seven verbal stems are I 873-79: 873 *phán-* 'go, move', 874 *rā́j-* 'shine', 875 *bhrā́j-*/876 *bhrā́s*/877 *bhlā́ś-* 'shine', 878 *syám-* 'sound' and 879 *sván-* 'sound'.

1. *phen-átuḥ/phen-úḥ/phén-i-tha; pa-phan-átuḥ/úḥ/pa-phán-i-tha.*
2. *rej-átuḥ/ra-rāj-átuḥ; réj-i-tha/ra-rā́j-i-tha.*
3. *bhrej-é/ba-bhrāj-é; bhrej-iré/ba-bhrāj-iré.*
4. *bhreś-é/ba-bhrāś-é; bhreś-iré/ba-bhrāś-iré.*
5. *bhleś-é/ba-bhlāś-é; bhleś-iré/ba-bhlāś-iré.*
6. *syem-átuḥ/sa-syam-átuḥ; syém-i-tha/sas-syám-i-tha.*
7. *sven-átuḥ/sa-svan-átuḥ; svén-i-tha/sa-sván-i-tha.*

6.4.126 ná [1]śása-[2]dádA-[3]v=ādi-[4]guṇā́-ṇ-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] does not (ná) replace [the áṅga 1 vowel a(T) 120 of verbal stems] śas- 'cut' (I 763), dad- 'give' (I 17), those beginning with the phoneme v-° (v-ādi-°) and where a(T) is the result of a Guṇá replacement [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 120 with marker K or Ṅ as IT 98 and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 and ∅] does not [replace the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *ví-śas+lIṬ = ví-śa-śas-atuḥ; ví-śa-śas-i-tha* 'dissected'. Similarly: 2. *da-dad-iré* 'have given'; 3. *va-vam-átuḥ, va-vám-i-tha* 'have vomited'; 4. *ví+śr̥̄+atus = ví-śa-śar=atuḥ; ví-śa-śar-i-tha* 'have/hast injured'.

6.4.127 árvaṇ-as tR̥=á-sAU=á-naÑ-aḥ

The substitute element tR̥ replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] árvan- 'courser' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] excluding the sUP triplet sU, provided the stem does not co-occur with the privative particle náÑ (á-naÑ-aḥ).

árvan+au/Jas/am = árvatR̥+au/Jas/am = árva-nuM-t+au/Jas/am (7.1.70) = *dárvant-au/aḥ/am* but *árvan+sU = árvān+sU* (8) = *árvān+∅* (1.68) = *árvā+∅* (8.2.7) = *árvā*; similarly *án-arvā, án-arvāṇ-au/aḥ/am.*
árvan+ṄīP (4.1.5) = *árvatR̥+ī = árvat-ī; árvan+áṆ = ārvat-á-.*

6.4.128 maghávā bahulá-m

[The substitute element tR̥ 127] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] maghá-van- 'n.pr. of Indra, the liberal' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1].

maghá-van+sU/au/Jas/am = maghá-vatR̥+sU/au/Jas/am = maghávā/ maghá-vān, maghá-vān-au/aḥ/am; maghá-vant-au/aḥ/amm; maghávan+

Śas/Ṭā = maghón-aḥ/ā; maghá-vat-aḥ/ā. maghávan+ṄIP = maghón-ī/ maghá-vat-ī; maghá-van+áṆ = māgha-van-á-/māgha-vat-á-.

6.4.129 BHA-sya

(The operations introduced hereafter, up to the end of this chapter apply to the pre-affixal stem 1.4.18-19 designated by the technical term) BHA.

This is a governing rule and the expression [BHA-sya] will recur in all subsequent rules in this chapter.

6.4.130 pād-áḥ pád-

[The substitute morpheme] pád- replaces [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pād- 'foot' [occurring at the end of a compound 5.4.138-40 before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or y-° 1.4.18 other than those designated by the t.t. sUṬ or Śi 1.1.42-43].

The t.t. [BHA] represents a sub-section of [áṅga] before weak affixes [á-sarva-nāma-sthāna] beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° or those ending in °-t- or °-s- before affixes having the sense of the affix matUP (1.4.18-19) and naturally fall within the governing rule 1 of this major section.

dv-aú pā́d-au a-syá = dvi-pā́d (5.4.140)+*Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = dvi-pád-aḥ/ā/e; dv-aú dv-aú pā́d-au dá-dā-ti = dvi-pā́d+vuN* (5.4.1)+*ṬāP = dví-pad-ik-ām̐* (7.3.44) *dá-dā-ti* 'gives two quarters each'; *vyāghrá-sya pā́d-au iva pā́dau a-syá = vyāghrá-pād-, tásya ápatya-m = vyāghrá-pād+yaÑ* (5.4.138; 4.1.105) = *vaíyāghra-pad-ya-ḥ* (7.3.3).

6.4.131 vásO-ḥ sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-m

Vocalization of the semivowel (sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa-m 1.1.45) [of the affix 3.1.1] °-vásU- (= KvásU 3.2.107) [occurring as aṅgá 1 final 1.1.52 of a BHA stem 129] takes place.

vid+vásU+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = vid-úṣ-as/ā/e; vid-vás+ṄIP = vid-úṣ-ī; (1.108; 8.3.59). *vid-vás+áṆ = vai-duṣ-á-.*

6.4.132 vāh-aḥ ūṬH

[The sam-pra-sā́r-aṇa 131 substitute element] ūṬH replaces [the semivowel 131 of áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] °vā́h- [of a BHA 129 stem].

praṣṭhá-m̐ váh-a-ti = praṣṭhá+Ø[1]+vah+Ṇvi (3.2.64) = *praṣṭha-vā́h+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = praṣṭha+ūṬHā́h+aḥ/ā/e = praṣṭh-aú-h-aḥ/ā/e* (1.89, 108).

6.4.133 [1]śvá(n)=[2]yúva(n)=[3]maghón-ām á-taddhit-e

[Vocalization of the semivowel 131 of the BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] śván- 'dog', yúvan- 'youth' and maghá-van- 'bountiful, n.pr. of Indra' replaces [the semivowel v 131 before 1.1.66 non-taddhitá affixes 3.1.1].

1. *śván+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = śuan+as/ā/e = śún-aḥ/ā/e* (1.108); similarly 2. *yúvan+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = yu-uan+as/ā/e = yū́n-aḥ/ā/e* (1.101, 108); 3. *maghón-aḥ/ā/e*. But *śván+aÑ* (4.3.154) =*śaúva∅-a-* (7.3.4).

The present rule operates only on these stems ending in /n/: *yuva-tí* (4.1.77)+*Śas* = *yuvat-ī́-ḥ* (1.102).

6.4.134 aT=lupá-ḥ an-aḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] °-an [of a BHA stem 129].

rā́j-an+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = rā́j-∅ñ-aḥ/ā/e; rā́j-an+ṄīP = rā́j-∅ñ-ī.

6.4.135 [1]ṣa-pūrva-[2]hán-[3]dhr̥-tá-rājñ-ām áṆ-i

[Lópa (∅) replaces the short vowel a(T) 134 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 134 of nominal stems] when it is preceded by the phoneme /ṣ/ or [of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-hán- 'destroyer, slayer' and dhr̥-tá-rāj-an- 'n.pr.' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áṆ.

1. *ukṣ-án+áṆ* (4.1.92) = *aukṣan+á* = *aukṣ-∅ṇ-á-* (8.4.1) = *aukṣ-ṇ-á-* 'descendant of Ukṣán' but *takṣ-an+Nyá* (4.1.151) = *tākṣ-aṇ-yá.*
2. *bhrūṇa-hán+áṆ* = *bhrauṇagh-n-á-* (7.3.54) 'descendant of *Bhrūṇa-hán*'.
3. *dhr̥-tá-rāj-an+áṆ* = *dhār-ta-rāj∅ñ-á-* 'descendant of Dhr̥-tá-rāj-an'. Exception to 144 and 167 below.

6.4.136 vibhāṣā [1]Ṅi-[2]Śy-oḥ

[Lópa (∅) 134] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 135 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] Ṅi (locative singular) and Śī (nominative-accusative neuter dual 7.1.19).

rā́j-an+Ṅi = rā́j-∅ñ-i = rā́j-an-i/rā́j-ñ-i.
sā́m-an+Śī = sā́m-∅-n-ī = sā́m-an-ī/sā́m-n-ī.

6.4.137 ná saṁ-yog-ā́t=¹vá̱=²m=ant-āt

[Lópa (∅) 134] does not (na) replace [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °an 135 of a BHA stem 129] if it is preceded by a conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-ā́t) [ending in 1.1.72] °-v or °m [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-°, 1.4.18].

áthar-van+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe = *áthar-vaṇ-aḥ/ā/e; áthar-van+áṆ* = *āthar-vaṇ-á-*. *bráh-man+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* = *bráh-maṇ-aḥ/ā/e; bráh-man+áṆ* = *brāh-maṇ-á-*, but *tákṣ-an+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* = *tákṣ-ṇ-aḥ/ā/e* (135), similarly *sā́m-n-ā*.

6.4.138 ac-aḥ

[Lópa (∅) replaces the short vowel a(T) 135 of the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] °ac [of a BHA stem 129 before affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

[°-ac-] here denotes the verbal stem [anc-] with ∅ replacement of the nasal phoneme (24 above). *dádhi áñc-a-ti* = *dádhi+añc+KviP* = *dadhi+a∅c+∅* (24; 1.67)+*Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* = *dadhi+∅c-as/ā/e* = *dadhī-c-aḥ/ā/e; dadhi+ac+áṆ* = *dādhī-c-á-* (3.138).

6.4.139 úd-aḥ īT

The substitute long vowel ī(T) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 °-ac- of a BHA stem 129 after 1.1.67 the preverb particle] úd-° [before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

úd+añc-a-ti = *ud+anc+KviṆ* (3.2.59) = *úd-anc+∅+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* = *úd-a∅c+as/ā/e* (3.138) = *ūd-īc-aḥ/ā/e*. *úd-anc+kha* (5.4.8) = *ud-īc-ī́na-* 'northern'; *úd-anc+yàT* (4.2.101) = *ud-īc-yà-* 'being or living in the north'.

6.4.140 āT-aḥ dhā́to-ḥ

[Lópa (∅) 134 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52] long vowel ā(T) of a verbal (dhā́to-ḥ) [BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

kīlā́la-m píb-a-ti = *kīlā́la+pā+viC* = *kīlāla-pā́-* 'drinking the beverage of gods' +*Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe* = *kīlāla-p∅-as/ā/e*.

6.4.141 mántre-ṣu āṄ-i ādé-r ātmán-aḥ

In the Mántra section of the Veda [lópa (∅) 135 replaces] the initial (ādé-ḥ) phoneme [of the nominal stem 4.1.1] ātmán- 'self' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] āṄ (instrumental singular = Ṭā).

ātmán+āṄ = ātmán-ā = ∅tmán-ā but elsewhere *ātmán-ā*.

6.4.142 ti viṁśaté-r Ḍ-IT-i

[Lópa (∅) 135 replaces the aṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] °-ti [of the BHA stem 129] viṁśa-tí- 'twenty' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ḍ as IT.

viṁśa-ty-ā́ krī-tá-ḥ = viṁśa-tí+ḌvuN (5.1.24) = *viṁśa+∅∅+vuN = víṁśa+aka-* (7.1.1) = *víṁś∅-aka-* (148) = *víṁś-aka-* 'bought, with twenty pieces'. *viṁśa-té-ḥ pū́r-aṇa-ḥ = viṁśa-tí+ḌáṬ* (5.2.48) = *viṁśa+∅∅+á- = viṁś-á-* '20th'.

6.4.143 ṬE-ḥ

[Lópa (∅) 135 replaces the aṅgá 1 final syllable 1.1.52 of a BHA 129 stem] (beginning with the last vowel ṬE-ḥ 1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ḍ as IT 142].

kú-mud-a+ḌmatUP (4.2.87) = *kú-mud-∅+matUP = kú-mud-vat-* (= **kú-mut+vat* 8.4.56, being a BHA stem by 1.4.19; 8.2.10) 'abounding in lotuses'. Similarly *vetasá-/naḍá+ḌmatUP vetas-vát-/naḍ-vát. triṁśát-ā krī-tá-ḥ = triṁśát+ḌvuN* (5.1.24) = *tríṁś-∅∅+aka- = tríṁś-aka-* 'purchased for thirty pieces'.

6.4.144 n-as taddhit-é

[Lópa (∅) 135 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme /n/ [before 1.1.66] a taddhitá (4.1.76) [affix 3.1.1].

agni-śarman+iÑ (4.1.96) = *ágni-śarm∅∅+i = ágni-śarm-i* 'descendant of Agni-śarman'.

6.4.145 áhn-as=[1]Ṭá-[2]kh-or evá

[Lópa (∅) 134 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ahan- 'day' only (evá) [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1] Ṭa(C 5.4.91) and kha (5.1.87).

dv-é áhan-ī sam-ā́-hr̥-t-e = *dví+áhan+ṬaC* (5.4.91) = *dvi+ah∅∅+á-* = *dvy-ah-á-* 'a period of two days'. *dv-é áhan-ī adh-í-ṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhr̥-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhāv-í* = *dví+áhan+kha* = *dvy-ah∅∅-ína-ḥ* = *dvy-ah-ína-ḥ* 'accomplished in two days', but *ahn-ā nír-vr̥t-ta-m* = *áhan+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.79) = *āh∅n-iká-m* 'diurnal'.

6.4.146 o-r guṇá-ḥ

Substitute Guṇá (1.1.2: a,e,o) replaces [the aṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] /u/ [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 144 affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

babhrú+yaÑ (4.1.106) = *bā́bhro+ya* = *bā́bhrav-ya-* (1.79) 'descendant of Babhrú'. So also *mádhu+yaÑ* = *mā́dhav-ya-* 'brahmin descendant of Mádhu'; *śaṅkú+yàT* (5.1.2) = *śaṅko+yàT* = *śaṅkav-yà* 'fit for a peg'.

6.4.147 ḍh-e lópa-ḥ á-kadrv-āḥ

Substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class u 146 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 146 affix 3.1.1] ḍha (= éya- 7.1.2) excluding that of °kadrū́ 'n.pr.'

kamaṇḍalu+ḍhaÑ = *kā́maṇḍal∅+eya-* = *kā́maṇḍal-eya-* 'descendant of Kamaṇḍalu' but *kadrū+ḍháK* (4.1.120) = *kādro+eyá-* (146, 7.2.118) = *kādrav-eyá-* (1.78) 'descendant of Kadrū'.

6.4.148 y-a-sya īT-i ca

[The substitute lópa (∅) 147 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.66 phonemes /i/ or /a/ of BHA stems 129 before 1.1.66] the phoneme long ī(T) as well as (ca) [taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

1. °-i:∅ : *dákṣa-sya ápatya-ṁ strí* = *dákṣa+iÑ* (4.1.95)+*ṄíṢ* (4.1.65) = *dā́kṣ∅-i+í* = *dākṣ∅-í* 'female descendant of Dákṣá. *duli+ḍháK* (4.1.122) = *daul∅-eyá-* = *daul-eyá-* 'descendant of Duli'.
2. °-a:∅ : *dákṣa+iÑ* = *dā́kṣ∅-i-* 'descendant of Dákṣa'. *kumārá+ṄīP* (4.1.20) = *kumār∅+í* (1.161) 'maiden'.

6.4.149 [1]sū́rya-[2]tiṣyà-[3]agástya-[4]mátsyā-n-āṁ y-aḥ upa-dhā́-y-āḥ

[Lópa (∅) 147 replaces the áṅga 1] penultimate (upa-dhā́y-āḥ) phoneme /y/ [of the BHA stems 129] sū́rya- 'sun', tiṣyà- 'n.pr. of an asterism or lunar mansion', agástya- 'n.pr. of a seer', and mátsya- 'fish' [before 1.1.66 the phoneme long ī(T) 148 as well as taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

sū́ry-eṇa éka-dik = *sū́rya+áṆ* (4.1.112)+*ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *sauryØ+á+ī* (148) = *saury+Ø-ī* (148) = *saurØ-ī́* = *saur-ī́ balā́kā* 'a crane moving in the direction of the sun'; similarly *tiṣỳ-eṇa yuk-tá-ḥ kālá-ḥ* = *tiṣyà+áṆ* = *taiṣyØ+á* (148) = *taiṣ-á-ḥ; agástya-sya ápatyaṁ strī́* = *agástya+áṆ+ṄīP* = *āgast-ī́; mátsya+ṄīṢ* = *māts-ī́.*

6.4.150 haL-as taddhitá-sya

[Lópa (∅) 147 replaces the áṅga 1 penultimate phoneme y 149 of a BHA stem 129 occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (hdaL-aḥ) belonging to a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1 before 1.1.66 the long phoneme ī(T)148].

gargá+yaÑ (4.1.105) = *gā́rgØ-ya+ṄīP* (4.1.16) = *gā́rg-ØØ+ī́* (148, 150) 'female descendant of Gargá', but *kā́rikā+ḍháK* (4.1.120)+*ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *kdārikØ+eyá+ī* = *kdār-ik-eyØ-ī́* (6.4.148).

vaid-yá-sya bhāryā́ = *vaid-ya+ṄīṢ* (4.1.48) = *vaid-Ø-Ø-ī́* = *vaid-ī́.*

6.4.151 ā́pat-ya-sya ca taddhit-é=án-āT-i

[Lópa (∅) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149] of a patronymic (ā́pat-ya-sya) [affix 3.1.1 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66] a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1] which does not begin with the long vowel ā(T) (án-āT-i).

gā́rg-ya (4.1.105)+*vuN* (*sam-ūh-é* 4.2.37) = *gā́rg+Øa+vuÑ* = *gā́rg-Ø-aka-* = *gā́rg-aka-* 'a group of Gargá's descendants', but *gā́rg-ya+phaK* (4.1.101) = *gā́rg-yØ+āyaná-* (148) = *garg-y-āyaṇá-* (8.4.2) 'descendant of Gā́rgya' and *kārik-eyá+iÑ* = *kā́rikeyØ+iÑ* = *kā́rik-ey-i-* 'gotra descendant of Kārikeyá'.

6.4.152 [1]Kyá-[2]Cvy-os=ca

[Lópa (∅) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149 of a patronymic affix 152 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129] also

(ca) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8. KyáṄ 3.1.11) and Cvi̱.

1. Kyá: *ātmán-aḥ vā́ts-yam icch-á-ti = vā́ts-ya+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *vātsØa+KyáC+a=ti vāts-ī-yá-a-ti* (7.4.33) = *vāts-ī-yá-ti* (1.97).
2. Cvi̱: *á-vāts-ya-ḥ vā́ts-ya-ḥ bháv-a-ti = vā́ts-ya+Cvi̱+bháv-a-ti = vāts-Øa+Cví̱+bhav-a-ti = vāts-ī́=bhav-a-ti* (7.4.32).

6.4.153 bilvà-ka=ādi-bhyas=cha-sya luK

luK (Ø[1]) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.90) [introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with bilvà-ka- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 151 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

This is a sub-group included in the class of nominal stems headed by naḍá- 'reed' with final increment [ku̱K 4.2.91] before the affix [cha]. *bilv-ā̀-ḥ a-syā́m̐ s-ánti = bilvà+ku̱K+cha* (4.2.91)+*ṬāP = bilva-kØ-ī́ya+ā = bilva-k-ī́yØ-ā; tá-syām̐ bháv-a-ḥ = bilvà-ku̱K+cha+ṬāP+áṆ = bilva-ku̱K+cha+ā+áṆ = bilva-k-Ø+Ø+áṆ* (64) = *bailva-k-á* 'growing in a Bilvà grove or forest'.

6.4.154 tu-r [1]iṣṭha(N)=[2]imá(ni̱C)-[3]īyas-su

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 affix 3.1.1] °-tr̥- (= tr̥N, tŕ̥C) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imáni̱C- and °-īyasUN.

1. *kr̥+tr̥+iṣṭhaN = kar+Ø[1]+iṣṭhaN = kár-iṣṭha-* 'doing most'.
2. *duh+tŕ̥C+īyasUN+ṄīP* (4.1.6) = *doh+tŕ̥+īyas+ī* (7.3.84) = *dóh+ØØ+īyas-ī = dóh-īyas-ī* 'yielding more milk'.

The inclusion of affix [imani̱C] is for the following rules; the other two occur in the Chándas (5.3.59).

6.4.155 ṬE-ḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable of a BHA stem 129] beginning with the last vowel (1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imáni̱C- and °-īyasUN 154].

laghú+iṣṭhaN/imáni̱C/īyasUN = lágh-iṣṭha-/lagh-imán-/lágh-īyas 'shortest, lightest/shortness, lightness/shorter, lighter.

6.4.156 ¹sthūlá-²dūrá-³yúva(n)=⁴hrasvá-⁵kṣip-rá-⁶kṣudrā́-ṇ-āṁ yáṆ=ādi páram pū́rva-sya ca guṇá-ḥ

[Lópa (∅) 147 replaces áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] beginning with a semi-vowel (yáṆ-ādi pára-m) [of the BHA stems 129] sthūlá- 'gross', dūrá- 'far', yúvan- 'young', hrasvá- 'short', kṣip-rá- 'rapid' and kṣud-rá- 'small' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imániC- and °=īyasUN 154] while guṇá (1.1.2) replaces the preceding [vowel iK 1.1.3].

1. *sthū-lá+iṣṭhaN/imániC/iyasUN = stho+∅∅-iṣṭha/imán/īyas = stháv-iṣṭha=/sthav-imán-/stháv-īyas-* 'grossest/grossness/grosser'; similarly: 2. *dáv-iṣṭha-/dav-imán/dáv-īyas-* 'farthest/far/farther'; 3. *ydáv-iṣṭha-/yav-imán-/yáv-īyas-* 'youngest/youth/younger'; 4. *hrás-iṣṭha-/hras-imán-/hrás-īyas-* 'shortest/shortness/shorter'; 5. *kṣép-iṣṭha-/kṣep-imán-/kṣép-īyas-* 'fastest/fastness/faster'; 6. *kṣód-iṣṭha-/kṣod-imán-/kṣód-īyas-* 'smallest/smallness/smaller'.

6.4.157 ¹priy-á-²sthi-rá-³sphi-rá-⁴urú-⁵bahu-lá-⁶gurú-⁷vr̥d-dhá-⁸tr̥p-rá-⁹dīrghá-¹⁰vr̥ndārakā-ṇ-ām ¹pra-²stha-³spha-⁴var-⁵baṁhi-⁶gar-⁷varṣi-⁸trap-⁹drāghi-¹⁰vr̥nd-ā-ḥ

The substitute morpheme elements pra-, stha-, spha-, var-, baṁhi-, gar-, varṣi-, trap-, drāghi- and vr̥ndá- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the nominal BHA stems 129] priy-á- 'dear', sthi-rá- 'firm', sphi-rá- 'fat', urú- 'broad, wide, large', bahu-lá- 'thick', gurú- 'heavy', vr̥d-dhá- 'increased', tr̥p-rá- 'satisfying', dīrghá- 'long' and vr̥ndāraka- 'excellent [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and īyasUN 154].

1. *priy-á+iṣṭhaN/imániC/īyasUN = pra+iṣṭha-/imán/īyas- = pr-é-ṣṭha=/pre-mán-/pr-é-yas-* 'dearest/dearness/dearer'; similarly: 2. *sthirá-: sth-é-ṣṭha-/sth-e-mán-/sth-é-yas-* 'firmest/firmness/firmer'; 3. *sphi-rá-: sph-é-ṣṭha-/sph-e-mán-/sph-é-yas-* 'fattest/fatness/fatter'; 4. *urú-: vár-iṣṭha/vari-mán/vár-īyas-* 'largest/largeness/larger'; 5. *bahu-lá-: báṁh-iṣṭha-/baṁh-imán-/baṁh-īyas-* 'thickest/thickness/thicker'; 6. *gurú-: gár-iṣṭha-/gar-imán/gár-īps* 'heaviest/heaviness/heavier'; 7. *vr̥d-dhá-: várṣ-iṣṭha-/varṣ-imán-/várṣ-īyas-* 'oldest/senility/older'; 8. *tr̥p-rá-: tráp-iṣṭha-/trap-imán-/tráp-īyas-* 'most satisfying/satisfaction/more satisfying'; 9. *dīrghá-: drā́gh-iṣdṭha-/drāgh-imán-/drā́gh-īyas-* 'longest/length/longer'; 10. *vr̥ndāraka-: vŕ̥nd-iṣṭha-/vr̥nd-íman-/vŕ̥nd-īyas-* 'most excellent / excellence / more excellent'.

6.4.158 bahó-r lópa-ḥ=bhū ca bahó-ḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the affixes 3.1.1 imán-iC and īyas-UN 154 introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú- 'many', and the substitute element bhū- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] of bahú-.

The affix iṣṭhaN is mentioned separately in the following sūtra. *bahú+imán/īyasUN* = *bhū+imán-/bhū́+īyas* = *bhū-∅mán/bhū́-∅yas-* = *bhū-mán-/bhū́-yas-* 'abundance/more abundant'.

6.4.159 iṣṭha-sya yiṬ ca

The initial increment yiṬ is inserted at the head of [affix 3.1.1] iṣṭha(N) [introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal BHA stem 129 bahú- 'many' and the substitute element bhū- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 bahú- 158].

bahú+iṣṭhaN = *bhū́-yiṬ+iṣṭha* = *bhū́-y-iṣṭha-* 'most abundant'.

6.4.160 jy-āt=āt=īyas-aḥ

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) [replaces the initial 1.1.54 of the affix 3.1.1] īyas(UN) [introduced after 1.1.67 the replacement BHA stem 129] jya- [for pra-śas-ya- or vṛd-dhá- (5.3.62)].

jyá+īyasUN = *jyá+āyas-* = *jyā́-yas-* 'better/older'.

6.4.161 ra ṛT=aḥ=háL-āde-r laghó-ḥ

The substitute element ra replaces the phoneme short ṛ(T) preceded by a consonant (háL-āde-ḥ), constituting a light syllable (laghó-ḥ) [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and īyasUN 154].

pṛthú-iṣṭhaN/imániC/īyasUN = *prath∅+iṣṭjaN/imániC/iyasUN* (155) = *práth-iṣṭha-/prath-imán-/práth-īyas-* 'broadcast, widest/breadth, width/ broader, wider'; but from *ṛjú-* 'upright, straight': *ṛ́j-iṣṭha-/ṛj-imán-/ṛ́k-īyas-* 'most upright/righteousness/more upright'; *kṛ́ṣ-ṇiṣṭha-* 'blackest'.

6.4.162 vibhāṣā=ṛj-ós=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element ra 161] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the short vowel ṛT 161 of the BHA stem 129] ṛjú- 'straight, upright' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and īyasUN 154].

ṛ́j-iṣṭha-/rā́j-iṣṭha- etc.

6.4.163 pra-kṛ́-ty-ā éka=aC

A monosyllabic [BHA stem 129] (éka=aC) retains its original shape (pra-kṛ́-ty-ā) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN/imániC and īyasUN 154].

sraj+vin(5.2.121)+iṣṭhaN = *sraj+∅*[1] (5.3.65) = *srā́j-iṣṭha-* 'possessing the most garlands'; similarly *srā́j-īyas-*. *sruc+matUP* = **sruc+vat* (8.2.10)+*īyasUN* = *sruc+∅*[1] (5.3.65)+*īyasUN* = *srúc-īyas-* 'owning a large number of sacrificial ladles'. But from *vásu+matUP+iṣṭhaN* = *vás∅* (155)+*∅*[1] (5.3.65)+*iṣṭha-* = *vás-iṣṭha-* 'wealthiest'.

6.4.164 ín áṆ-i=án-apaty-e

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áṆ which is not patronymic (án-apaty-e: 4.1.92ff.) [a BHA 1.29 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ín- [retains its original form 163].

saṁ-kūṭ-a+ínuṆ (3.3.44)+*áṆ* (5.4.15) = *sāṁ-kūṭ∅-ín+áṆ* = *sāṁ-kūṭ-in-ám* 'total conflagration'; *srag-víṇ-aḥ idám* = *srag-vín+áṆ* (4.3.120) = *srāg-viṇ-ám* 'pertaining or belonging to one who wears a garland', but *medhā-vín-aḥ ápatya-m* = *medhā-vín+áṆ* (4.1.92) = *maidhā-v∅∅-á-ḥ* (144).

6.4.165 [1]gāth-í(n)=[2]vidath-í(n)=[3]keś-í(n)-[4]gaṇ-í(n)=[5]paṇ-ín-as=ca

[The BHA stems 129 of] gāth-ín-, vidath-ín-, keśín-, gaṇ-ín- and paṇ-ín- 'names of persons' [retain their original form 1.63] also (ca) [before the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164 (when designating a descendant 4.1.92)].

A separate rule has to be framed because the restriction 'not a patronymic affix' is not applicable to these stems.

1. *gāth-ín-aḥ ápatya-m/idám* = *gāth-ín+áṆ* = *gāth-in-á-* 'descendant of or belonging to Gāth-ín'. Similarly: 2-5: *vaidath-in-a-/kaiś-in-á-/gāṇ-in-á-/pāṇ-in-á-*.

6.4.166 saṁ-yog-á=ādi-s=ca

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °ín- 164 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164] when °-ín- is preceded by a conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-á=ādi-ḥ).

śaṅkh-ín+áṆ (4.1.92) = *śāṅkh-in-á-* 'descendant of Śaṅkhin'. Similarly *vajr-ín+áṆ* = *vājr-iṇ-á-*.

6.4.167 an

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an- [retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164, either non-patronymic 164 or patronymic 165].

Exception to 144. For a prior exception cf. 135 above.
sā́mn-aḥ idám = sā́-man+áṆ (4.3.120) = *sāman-á-* 'relating to a chant'.

6.4.168 y-e ca á-[1]bhāva-[2]kar-maṇ-oḥ

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semi-vowel y-° when not expressing a state (bhā́va-°) or an action (°-kár-maṇ-oḥ).

sā́ma-su- sādhú-ḥ = sā́-man+yàT (4.4.98) = *sā-man-yà-ḥ* 'fit or proper for a sāman', but *rā́jñ-aḥ bhāv-á-ḥ karma vā = rā́j-an+yáK = rāj-∅+yá-m* (144) = *rāj-yám.*

6.4.169 [1]ātmá(n)=[2]ádh-vān-au kh-e

[The BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] āt-mán- 'self' and ádh-van- 'road' [retain their original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] kha.

1. *ātmán-e hi-tá-ḥ = āt-mán+kha* (5.2.16) = *āt-man-ī́na-ḥ* 'good or suitable for oneself'; 2. *ádh-vān-am alaṁ-gām-ī́ = ádh-van+kha* (5.1.9) = *adh-van-ī́na-ḥ* 'traveler'. But *āt-mā́n-am práti = prati+āt-man+ṬáC* (2.1.6; 5.4.108) = *praty-atm∅-a-m; ádhvān-am práti = praty-adhv-á-m* (5.4.84).

6.4.170 ná mạ́-pūrva-ḥ=ápaty-e=á-var-maṇ-aḥ

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167] preceded by the phoneme /m/, excluding the word vár-man-, does not (ná) [retain its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164] introduced to derive patronymics (ápaty-e).

su-ṣā-mn-aḥ ápatya-m = su-ṣā-man+áṆ = sau-ṣā-m∅-á- (144) = *sau-ṣā-m-á-* 'descendant of Suṣāmán' but *sút-van-aḥ ápatya-m = sút-van+áṆ = saut-van-á-ḥ.* When [áṆ] is not patronymic: *car-maṇ-ā pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ = car-man+áṆ* (4.2.10) = *cār-maṇ-a-ḥ* (167).

6.4.171 brāhm-á-ḥ=á-jā-t-au

The expression brāh-m-á 'proper to a brahmin' is introduced [with ∅ replacement of BHA 179 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bráh-man- [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164] except when denoting genus (á-jā-t-au).

When indicating genus: *bráh-man+áṆ* = *brāh-maṇ-á-* (167). The present rule is an exception to 144 above.

6.4.172 kārm-á-ḥ tā́c-chīl-y-e

The expression kār-m-á is introduced [with ∅ replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 kár-man- before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ṇá 4.4.62] to denote habitual nature (tā́c-chīl-y-e).

kár-ma śī́la-m a-syá = *kár-man+Ṇá* = *kār-m∅-á-ḥ* 'habitually active, laborious' but *kár-maṇ-aḥ idám* = *kar-man+áṆ/kár-maṇ-ā yuk-tá-m* = *kar-man+áṆ* (5.4.36) = *kār-maṇ-á-m*.

6.4.173 aukṣ-á-m án-apty-e

The expression aukṣ-á- 'proper to a bull' is introduced [with ∅ replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- of the nominal stem 4.1.1 ukṣ-án- 'bull' before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áṆ 164] when not introduced as a patronymic (án-apaty-e).

When used as a patronymic: *ukṣ-ṇ-áḥ ápatya-m* = *ukṣ-án+áṆ* = *auk-ṣ∅ṇ-á-* (135) = *auk-ṣṇ-á-*.

6.4.174 [1]dāṇḍin-āyaná-[2]hāstin-āyaná-[3]ātharvaṇ-iká-[4]jaihmāśín-eyá-[5]vā́sin-eyani-[6]bhraúṇa-hat-ya-[7]dhaí-vat-ya-[8]sāravá-[9]aikṣvāká-[10]maítreya-[11]hiraṇ-máyā-n-i

The expressions beginning with dāṇḍin-āyaná- (numbering eleven) are introduced as fully formed derivatives.

1. *daṇḍ-ín-aḥ ápatya-m* = *daṇḍ-ín+phaK* (4.1.99) = *dāṇḍ-in-ayaná-* (*°-in-* retaining its original form 163); 2. *hast-ín+phaK* = *hāst-in-āyaná-*; 3. *áthar-vaṇ-ā pr-ók-ta-ḥ granthá-ḥ* = *áthar-van-; tám adh-ī́-te* = *átharvan+ṭháK* (4.2.63) = *āthar-vaṇ-iká-*; 4. *jihm-āśín-aḥ ápatyam* = *jihm-ā-ś-ín+ḍhaK* (4.1.123) = *jaihmāś-in-eya-*; 5. *vās-ín-aḥ ápatya-m* = *vās-ín+phiÑ* (4.1.157) = *vā́s-in-āyani-*; 6. *bhrūṇa-hán+ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124) = *bhraúṇa-ha-t-ya-* (with /t/ replacing /n/ of the verbal stem). 7. *dhī́-van+ṢyaÑ* = *dhaí-vat-ya-*; 8.

saráyv-ā́m bháv-a-ḥ = *sarayū́+aṆ* = *sārav-á-* (with /va/ replacement of /yū́/ of the nominal stem); 9. *ikṣvākú-ṣu jana-padé-ṣu bháv-a-ḥ* = *aikṣvāka-* (4.1.168); *ikṣvākó-r ápatya-m* = *ikṣvākú+áṆ* = *aikṣvāk-á-* (with ∅ replacement of stem-final /u/); 10. *mitrayó-r ápatya-m* = *mitra-yú+ḍhaÑ* (4.1.136) = *maítr-eya-* (7.3.2); 11. *híraṇya- sya vi-kār-áḥ* = *híraṇya+máyaṬ* = *hiraṇ-máya-* (4.3.143) (with ∅ replacement of final syllable of the nominal stem).

6.4.175 [1]ŕ̥tv-ya-[2]vā́stv-ya=[3]vāstv-á-[4]mādhv-ī́-[5]hiraṇya-yā́-n-i chándas-i

In the Chándas the five expressions beginning with ŕ̥tv-ya- 'seasonal' are introduced as fully derived (irregular) forms.

1. *r̥tú+yàT* (4.4.110) = *r̥t-aú bháv-a-m* = *ŕ̥tv-yam* (exception to 146); 2. *vastu+yaT* = *vā́stv-ya-*; 3. *vástu+áṆ* (4.3.120) = *vāstv-á-* = *(vástu-ni bháv-a-)*; 4. *mádhu+aṆ+ṄīP* = *mādhv-ī́*; 5. *híraṇya+máyaṬ* (4.3.143) = *hiraṇya-yá* (with ∅ replacement of the initial syllable of the affix).

The irregularity in examples 1-4 is in the replacement of stem-final vowel by the corresponding semivowel before initial y-° of the affix.

7.1.1 [1]yu-[2]vo-r [1]ana-[2]ak-au

The substitute elements ana and aka [respectively 1.3.10] replace the cover symbols [nasalized 1.3.2] yu and vu [of affixes 2].

1. yu is the cover symbol for KHyuN (3.2.56), Ṭyu/ṬyuL (4.3.23), ṆyuṬ (3.1.147ff.), yuC (3.2.148), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuṬ (3.3.113,115).
2. vu is the cover symbol for ḌvuN (5.1.24), ṆvuC (3.3.111), ṆvuL (3.1.133; 3.10,108ff.), vuK (4.2.103), vuC (5.3.80), vuÑ (3.2.146ff.; 4.2.39ff.), vuN (3.1.49; 4.2.61) and ṢvuN (3.1.145).

nand+Lyu (3.1.134) = *nánd-ana; kr̥+ṆvuL* = *kā́r-aka-* (7.2.114).

7.1.2 [1]āyan-[2]ey-[3]īn-[4]īy-[5]iy-aḥ [1]pha̱-[2]ḍha̱-[3]kha̱-[4]cha̱-[5]gh-ām praty-ay-a=ādī́-n-ām

The substitute elements āyan-, ey-, īn-, īy- and iy- [respectively 1.3.10] replace the initial phonemes ph, ḍh, kh, ch and gh of affixes.

1. Affixes with initial ph: CphaÑ (4.1.98), phaK (4.1.99ff.), phaÑ (4.1.110ff.), phi(Ñ) (4.1.149ff.), phiN (4.1.160), Ṣpha (4.1.17) and ṢphaK (4.2.99ff.).
2. With initial ḍh: ḍhaK (4.1.119ff.), ḍhaKa̱Ñ (4.1.140; 2.95ff.), ḍhaÑ (4.1.135ff.), ḍhinu̱K (4.3.109) and ḍhraK (4.1.129,131).
3. With initial kh: kha (4.1.139ff.) and khaÑ (4.1.142; 3.1 ff).
4. With inital ch: cha (4.1.143ff.) chaṆ (4.1.132,134; 2.80) and chaS (4.2.115).
5. With initial gh: gha (4.1.138 etc.), ghaC (4.4.117), ghaÑ (4.2.26 etc.) and ghaS (5.1.106).

1. *naḍa+phak* = *nāḍ∅-āyaná-* (7.2.117); 2. *vinatā́+ḍhaK* (4.1.120) = *vainat∅-eyá-*; 3. *kúla+kha* (4.1.139) = *kul∅-ī́na-; śā́lā+cha* = *śā́l∅-ī́ya-; kṣátra+gha* (4.1.138) = *kṣtar∅-íya.*

7.1.3 jh-aḥ=anta̱-ḥ

The substitute element ant- replaces the phoneme jh- occurring [as initial of an affix 2].

The only two affixes with initial jh- are jhi and jha of the l-substitutes denoted by the siglum tiṄ (3.4.78).

bhū́+ŚaP+jhi = *bhó+a+ant-i* (7.3.84) = *bháv-a-nti* (6.1.78,97) 'become'. *édh+ŚaP+jha* = *édh-a+ant-a* = *édh-a-nt-a* (6.1.97) 'grow, increase' → *edh-ante* (3.4.79).

7.1.4 at=abhy-às-t-āt

The substitute element /at-/ replaces [the phoneme jh- occurring as initial of an affix 3 introduced after 3.1.2] a reduplicated verbal stem (abhy-às-t-āt : 6.1.5).

jákṣ (+*ŚaP*→*luk* 2.4.72) = *jákṣ*+$\emptyset^1$+*jhi* = *jákṣ*+*at-i* 'they eat'. *dā*+*Ślu* (2.4.75)+*jhi*/*jha* = *dá-dā*+*at-i*/*at-a* (6.1.10) = *dá-d*$\emptyset$+*at-i*/*at-a* = *dá-d-ati*/*at-e* (3.4.79; 6.4.64) 'they give'.

7.1.5 ātmane-padé-ṣu=án-aT-aḥ

[The substitute element at- 4 replaces the phoneme jh- 3 occurring as initial] of an Ātmanepadá (taṄ 1.4.100) l-substitute [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal theme] not [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T).

āsA (II 11) *upa-vé́ś-an-e*+$\emptyset^1$+*jha* = *ā́s*+*at-e* (3.4.79) 'they sit'; *ās*+*lOṬ* = *ās*+$\emptyset^1$+*jha* = *ā́s-at-*$\emptyset$*ām* (3.4.90) 'let them sit'; but *víd*+$\emptyset^1$+*jhi* (Parasmaipadá) = *vid-ánt-i* 'they know' and *édh-a-nte* (= *édh-a*+*ant-e*: theme ending in -a-).

7.1.6 śīṄ-aḥ=ruṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] ru̱Ṭ is inserted at the head [of /at/ replacement 5 of jh 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] śīṄ 'lie down, sleep' (II 22).

śī+$\emptyset^1$+*jha* = *śe*+*ru̱Ṭ-at-e* (7.4.21) = *śé-r-ate* 'they lie down'; *śī*+*lOṬ* = *śī*+$\emptyset^1$+*ru̱Ṭ-at-ām* (3.4.9$\emptyset$) = *śér-at-ām* 'let them lie down'. Similarly *á-se-r-ata* *(lAṄ)* 'they lay down'.

7.1.7 vét-te-r vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 ru̱Ṭ is] optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted at the head of the /at/ 4 replacement of jha 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] víd- 'know' (II 55).

The governing rule 5 above operates here; while [víd] is normally Parasmaipadín, it takes on Ātmanepadá l-substitutes when co-occurring with the preverb [sám-° 1.3.29]: *sám*+*vid*+$\emptyset^1$+*jha* = *saṁ-vid*+*r-at-e*/*sáṁ-vid-at-e* *(lAṬ)*; *sám*+*vid*+*lOṬ* = *saṁ-vid*+$\emptyset^1$+*jha* = *sáṁ-vid-r-at-ām*/*sám-vid-at-ām*; *sám*+*vid*+*lAṄ* = *sam*+*āṬ-vid-r-at-a*/*sam-á-vid-at-a*; but from *vid-* (VII 13): *vid*+*ŚnáM*+*jha* = *vi-ná-d*+*jha* = *vi-n*$\emptyset$*-d*+*jh* (6.4.111) = *vind-at-e* *(lAṬ)*, *vind-at-ām* *(lOṬ)*, *á-vind-at-a* *(lAṄ)*.

7.1.8 bahu-láṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46 ru̱Ṭ 6] is variously (bahulá-m) [inserted at the head of the /at/ replacement 5 of jh introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1].

duh+lAṄ = *áT+duh+∅¹+jha* = *á-duh+r-at-a* = *á-duh-r-a* (41) 'have milked'. *á-dṛś-r-am a-syá ketáv-aḥ* (RV 1.50.30) 'I saw his rays of light': *dṛś+lUṄ* = *áT+dṛś+aṄ+am* (3.1.57) = *á-dṛś-r-am* (6.1.97), the expression [bahulá-m] blocking out also the operation of 7.4.16 preventing Guṇá replacement of /ṛ/ of the verbal stem. The initial increment does not appear in *á-duh-at-a*.

7.1.9 aT-aḥ=bhis-aḥ=ais

The substitute element ais replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] bhis [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel a(T).

devá+bhis = *deva+ais* = *dev-aís* (6.1.88) = *dev-aíḥ* (8.3.15), but *śā́lā-bhiḥ, agní-bhiḥ, nadī́-bhiḥ, dhenú-bhiḥ, vadhū́-bhiḥ, pitṛ́-bhiḥ* etc.

The expression [at-aḥ] with svaritá accent 1.3.11 recurs in the following sūtras up to 17 below.

7.1.10 bahu-lá-ṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element ais 9] variously (bahulá-m) [replaces the sUP triplet bhis 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT or not].

1. After stems not ending in short vowel aT: *nadī́+bhis* = *nadī́+ais* = *nady-aìs* = *nady-aìḥ*.
2. Does not replace [bhis] after stems ending in [aT]: *pū́rva+bhis* = *pū́rve-bhiḥ* (Rv. 1.1.2) (3.103 below).

7.1.11 ná=¹idám=²adás-or á-k-oḥ

[The substitute element ais 9] does not (ná) replace [the sUP triplet bhis 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] idám- 'this' and adás- 'that' when not co-occurring with phoneme /k/.

1. *idám+bhis* = *idáa+bhis* (2.102) = *id-a-bhis* (6.1.97) = *∅-a+bhis* (2.103) = *e-bhíḥ* (6.1.168 for accent).
2. *adás+bhis* = *adáa+bhis* (2.102) = *ada+bhis* (6.1.97) = *am-ī́+bhis* (8.2.80-81) = *amī́-bhiḥ*.

idám and *adás* can contain the phoneme /k/ by introduction of the affix [ákaC 5.3.71] deriving forms *imá-ka/amú-ka-* (7.2.108/8.2.80)+*bhis* = *imá-k-aiḥ/ amú-k-aiḥ*.

7.1.12 ¹Ṭā-²ṄasI-³Ṅas-ām ¹ina=²āt=³sy-āḥ

The substitute elements -ina, -āt and -sya [respectively 1.3.10 replace the sUP triplets] -Ṭā (instr. sing.), ṄasI (abl. sing.) and Ṅas (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel aT 9].

> *devá+Ṭā/ṄasI/Ṅas* = *devá+ina/āt/sya* = *dev-éna* (6.1.87)/*dev-ā́t* (6.1.101)/ *devá-sya* but *sákhi+Ṭā* = *sákhy-ā* (6.1.77).

7.1.13 Ṅe-r ya-ḥ

The substitute element ya replaces [the sUP triplet] Ṅe (dative sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

> *devá+Ṅe* = *devá+ya* = *devā́-ya* (3.102), but *sákhi+Ṅe* = *sákhy-e.*

7.1.14 sarva-nāmn-aḥ smai

The substitute element smai [replaces the sUP triplet Ṅe 13 introduced after 3.1.2] a pronominal stem (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

> *sarvá+Ṅe* = *sárva+smai* = *sárva-smai* 'for all' (6.1.191 for accent).

7.1.15 ¹ṄasI-²Ṅy-oḥ ¹smāt-²smin-au

The substitute elements smāt and smin [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the sUP triplets] ṄasI (abl. sing.) and Ṅi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

> *sarvá+ṄasI/Ṅi* = *sárva+smāt/smin* = *sárva-smāt* / *sárva-smin.*

7.1.16 pūrva=ādi-bhyaḥ=navá-bhyaḥ=vā

[The substitute elements smāt and smin 15] optionally (vā) replace [the sUP triplets ṄasI and Ṅi 15 respectively 1.3.10, introduced after 3.1.2] the nine [pronominal stems 14] beginning with pū́rva- 'prior'.

> These nine stems are: 1. pū́rva- 'prior, eastern'; 2. pára- 'far, distant'; 3. ávara- 'posterior, hinder'; 4. dákṣiṇa- 'right, southern'; 5. út-tara- 'higher, upper,

northern'; 6. ápara- 'later, posterior'; 7. ádhara- 'lower, inferior'; 8. svá 'own' and 9. ántara- 'interior'.

1. *pū́rv-āt/pū́rva-smāt; pū́rv-e/pū́rva-smin.* 2. *pár-āt/pára-smāt; pár-e/pára-smin.* 3. *ávar-āt/ávara-smāt; ávar-e/ávara-smin.* 4. *dákṣiṇ-āt/dákṣiṇa-smāt; dákṣiṇ-e/dákṣiṇa-smin.* 5. *úttar-āt/úttara-smāt; úttar-e/úttara-smin.* 6. *ápar-āt/aśpara-smāt; ápar-e/ápara-smin.* 7. *ádhar-āt/ádhara-smāt; ádhar-e/ ádhara-smin.* 8. *sv-ā́t/svá-smāt; sv-é/svá-smin.* 9. *ántar-āt/ántara-smāt; ántar-e/ántara-smin.*

7.1.17 Jas-aḥ Śī

The substitute element Śī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Jas [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

sarvá+Jas = *sarvá+Śī* = *sárva+ī* = *sárv-e* (6.1.87).

7.1.18 auṄ-aḥ āP-aḥ

[The substitute element Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet] auṄ (nom. acc. dual) [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.172 the feminine-forming affix 3.1.1] āP.

[āP] is a cover term for the feminine forming affixes [CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP]. *a-já+ṬāP* (4.4.4) = *a-j∅-ā́* = *a-jā́+au* = *ajā́+Śī* = *aj-é* (6.1.87) 'two she-goats'; *kosala+ÑyaṄ* (4.4.171) = *kaúsal-ya+CāP* = *kausal-y∅-ā́+Śī* = *kausal-y-é* 'two female descendants of Kosala' (4.1.74). *sīmán+ḌāP+śī* (4.1.13) = *sīm-é* 'two borders'.

7.1.19 ná-puṁs-ak-āt=ca

[The substitute Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet auṄ 18 introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2] neuter [nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1].

vána+au = *vána+Śī* = *ván-e* 'two forests'; *áhan+au* = *áhan+Śī* = *áhan-ī/áh∅n-ī* (6.4.136) 'two days'; *dhánus+au* = *dhánus+Śī* = *dhánuṣ-ī* (8.3.59) 'two bows'.

7.1.20 [1]Jas=[2]Śas-oḥ Śi-ḥ

The substitute element Śi replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Jas and Śas [introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 19 áṅga 6.4.1 stem].

vána+Jas/Śas = *vána+Śi* = *vána+nu̱m+Śi* (72) = *vánā-n-i* (6.4.8). Similarly *vā́ri+Jas/Śas* = *vā́rī-n-i*; *mádhū-n-i*; *mánas+Jas* = *mánas+Śi* = *mánas+nu̱M+i* = *mánā-n-s+i* = *mánā-ṁ-s-i* (8.3.24).

7.1.21 aṣṭā-bhyáḥ=auŚ

The substitute element auŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets Jas and Śas 20 introduced after 3.1.2 the number word] aṣṭán- 'eight'.

By 7.2.84 the substitute phoneme /ā/ replaces the stem-final of [aṣṭán-] before vibhákti affixes: *aṣṭán+Jas/Śas* = *aṣṭá-ā+au* = *aṣṭā́* (the form quoted in the sūtra) *+au* = *aṣṭ-aú* (6.1.88).

7.1.22 ṣaḍ-bhyaḥ=luK

luK ($\emptyset^1$) replaces [the sUP triplets Jas and Śas 20 introduced after 3.1.2 number words] denoted by the technical term ṣaṭ (1.1.24).

This class consists of number words ending in /ṣ/ or /n/: 1. ṣáṣ- 'six', 2. páñcan- 'five', 3. saptán- 'seven', 4. aṣṭán 'eight', 5. návan- 'nine', dáśan- 'ten'.

ṣáṣ+Jas/Śas = *ṣáṣ*$+\emptyset^1$ = *ṣáṭ* (8.2.39); similarly, *páñca, saptá, náva, dáśa*. 21 has already provided for *aṣṭán+Jas/Śas* = *aṣṭ-aú*. In the case of numerals, 11-18 end in °-daśan: *ékā-daśan+Jas/Śas* = *ékā-daśan*$+\emptyset^1$ = *ékā-daśa*$\emptyset$ (8.2.7).

7.1.23 ¹sU=²am-or ná-puṁs-ak-āt

[luK ($\emptyset^1$) 22 replaces the sUP triplets] sU (nom. sing.) and am (acc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2] neuter (ná-puṁs-ak-āt) [áṅga stems 6.4.1].

dádhi+sU/am = *dádhi*$+\emptyset^1$ = *dádhi* 'curds'; similarly *mádhu* 'honey', *mánas*$+\emptyset^1$ = *mánas* = *mánaḥ* (8.3.15) 'mind'.

7.1.24 aT-aḥ=am

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 23 nominal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short vowel a(T).

vána+sU/am = *vána+am* = *ván-a-m* (6.1.107).

7.1.25 adḌ Ḍatara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyáḥ

The substitute element *adḌ replaces* [*the whole* 1.1.55 *of* the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2] five [of the neuter 23 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1] beginning with the pronominal stems Ḍátara-.

The five members are: Ḍátara, Ḍátama, ítara- 'other', anyá- 'another', anya-tará- 'either of two, any'. The first two are affixes associated with pronominal stems.

kim+Ḍátara = *k∅∅+atara-* (6.4.143)+*sU/am* = *k-átara+ad* = *k-átar∅-at* = *kátarat* 'which of two?'; similarly *kátam-at* 'which of many?'; *ítar-at* 'the other', *anya-á-t* 'the other', *anya-tar-á-t* 'any, either'.

7.1.26 ná=ítar-āt=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element adḌ 25] does not (ná) replace [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 the neuter 23 pronominal áṅga stem 6.4.1] ítara- 'the other'.

ítara+sU/am = *ítara+am* = *ítar-a-m*.

7.1.27 [1]yuṣmád=[2]asmád-bhyām Ṅas-aḥ=aŚ

The substitute element aŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Ṅas (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we'.

yuṣmád+Ṅas = *táva+a* (2.96) = *táv-a* (6.1.97) 'thine'; similarly *asmád+Ṅas* = *máma+aŚ* = *mám-a* (6.1.97) 'mine'.

7.1.28 [1]Ṅe-[2]prathamáy-or am

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Ṅe (dat. sing.) and those of the first and second (pathamáy-oḥ nominative and accusative cases) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád 'we' 27].

yuṣmád+Ṅe = *túbhya+am* (2.95) = *túbhy-a-m* (6.1.107); *yuṣmád+sU* = *tvá+am* (2.94) = *tv-á-m* ; *yuṣmád+au* = *yuvá+am* (2.92) = *yuvā́+am* (2.87-88); *yuṣmád+Jas* = *yūya+am* = *yūy-á-m*. *yuṣmád+am* = *tvá+am* = *tvā́+am* (2.87) = *tvā́m; yuṣmád+auṬ* = *yuv-ā́-m* (2.87).

The corresponding forms for *asmád-* are: *+Ṅe* = *mahy-á-m; +su* = *ah-ám; +au* = *āv-ā́-m; +Jas* = *vay-á-m; +am* = *mā́m; +auṬ/au* = *āvā́m*.

7.1.29 Śas-aḥ na

The substitute phoneme /n/ replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the sUP triplet] Śas (acc. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- and asmád- 27].

yuṣmád+Śas = *yuṣmáā+ns* = *yuṣmā́+ns* (2.87) = ***yuṣmā́-n*** (∅ 8.2.23) = ***yuṣmā́n*** and similarly *asmad+Śas* = ***asmā́n.***

7.1.30 bhyas-aḥ=bhyam

The substitute element bhyam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] bhyas (dat. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

yuṣmád+bhyas = *yuṣmá-a+bhyam* (2.102) = ***yuṣmá-bhyam*** (6.1.97); *asmád+bhyas* = *asmá-a+bhyam* = ***asmá-bhyam.***

7.1.31 pañcamy-ā́ḥ=at

The substitute element /at/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet of] the fifth (ablative plural: pañcamy-ā́ḥ) [bhyas 30 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

yuṣmád+bhyas = *yuṣmá-a+at* = *yuṣm-á+at* = ***yuṣm-á-t*** (6.1.97); *asmád+bhyas* = *asmá-a+at* (2.102) = ***asm-át.***

7.1.32 eka-vac-aná-sya ca

[The substitute element /at/ 31] also [ca] replaces [the whole of 1.1.72 the fifth 31] singular (eka-vac-aná-sya) sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

yuṣmád+ṄasI = *tvád+at* = *tvá-a+at* (2.102) = *tv-á-t; asmád+ṄasI* = *má-d+at* = *má-a+at* = *m-á-t.*

In the examples cited under 27ff. the replacement morphemes for *yuṣmád-, asmád-* in the singular, dual and plural numbers are only replacing the portion up to /m/ (2.91) so that the actual forms would be *yuvád/āvád* in the dual (2.92), and by 2.102 *yuvá-a/āvá-a* = *yuvá-/āvá* (6.1.97) respectively before sUP triplets.

7.1.33 sām-aḥ=ākam

The substitute element ākam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] s-ām (sixth or gen. plur. 52) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal áṅga-s yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 29].

yuṣmád+am = *yuṣmád+suṬ-ām* (52) = *yuṣmá-a+ākam* = *yuṣm-á+ākam* = *yuṣm-ā́kam; asmád+s-ām* = *asmá+ākam* = *asm-ā́-kam.*

7.1.34 āT-aḥ au ṆaL-aḥ

The substitute phoneme /au/ replaces [the l-substitute of lIṬ 3.4.82] ṆaL [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

pā+ṆaL = *pa-pā+au* (6.1.8; 7.4.59) = *pá-p-au* (6.1.88) 'has/have drunk'.

7.1.35 [1]tu-[2]hy-os tātaṄ āśíṣ-i=anya-tará-syām

The substitute element tātaṄ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the l-substitutes of lOṬ 3.4.86,87] -tu and -hí when implying a benediction (āśíṣ-i).

The marker Ṅ here of tātaṄ is for the purpose of 1.1.5 and not for 1.1.53 and so it replaces the whole of the substituenda by 1.1.55.

jī́v+lOṬ = *jī́v+ŚaP+tu/hi* = *jī́v-a-tāt* 'may he/mayest thou live long'. The accent will depend upon the original situation: *su+lOṬ* = *su+Snú+tu/hi* = *su-nó-tu/ su-nú/su-nú-tāt*. *krī+lOṬ* = *krī+Snā́+tu/hi* = *krī-ṇā́-tu/krī-ṇī-hí* = *krī-ṇī-tā́t.*

7.1.36 víde-ḥ Śatu-r vasU-ḥ

The substitute morpheme vásU (= KvásU 3.2.107) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] ŚátṚ (3.2.124) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] víd- 'know' (II 55).

víd+lAṬ = *víd+∅[1]+tiP* = *vét-ti* = *víd+ŚátṚ* (3.2.124) = *víd+KvásU* = *vid-vás-*. According to some grammarians, through the recurrence of [anya-tará-syām 35], an alternate form is provided by *víd+ŚátṚ* = *vid-át-*.

7.1.37 sam-ās-é á-naÑ-pūrv-e Ktv-áḥ=LyaP

The substitute morpheme LyaP replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́ [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1] co-occurring (as a final member) in composition (sam-ās-é), excluding náÑ (á-naÑ-pūrv-e) as first member.

prá+kr̥+Ktvā́ = *pra+kr̥+LyaP* = *pra+kr̥-tuK+Lyap* (6.1.71) = *pra-kŕ̥-t-ya* 'having started or begun'; similarly *pārśva-taḥ-kŕ̥-t-ya* 'having placed aside' but *náÑ+kr̥=Ktvā́* = *á-kr̥-tvā* (6.3.73) 'not having done'.

7.1.38 Ktvā́=ápi chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́ as well as [LyaP 37 replace the kŕ̥t affix 3.1.93 Ktvā́ 37 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 co-occurring as a final member in composition excluding náÑ 37 as first member].

kr̥ṣṇá-ṁ vā́so yája-m-āna-m pari-dhā-p-ay-i-tvā́ (KS 11.10) 'having caused the sacrificer to cover himself with a black cloth'; *praty-áñc-am arká-m praty-ar-p-ay-i-tvā́* (AV 2.12.55) 'having offered a water oblation to the setting sun'; also with Lyap: *ud-dhŕ̥-t-ya ju-hó-ti* 'having raised, offers a sacrificial oblation'.

7.1.39 sUP-āṁ [1]sU-[2]luK-[3]pūrva-savarṇá=[4]ā-[5]āt=[6]Śe-[7]yā-[8]Ḍā-[9]Ḍyā-[10]yāC=[11]āL-aḥ

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements sU, luK ($\emptyset^1$), a long vowel corresponding to the preceding one (pūrva-sa-varṇá-°), ā, āt, Śe, Ḍā, Ḍyā, yā́C and āL replace the sUP triplets [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal áṅga 6.4.1].

1. *an-r̥kṣarā́ r̥jáv-aḥ s-antu pánthā-ḥ* (= *páthin+sU* (RV 10.85.23) for *páthin+Jas* = *pánthān-aḥ*) 'may the paths be thornless and straight'.
2. *parma-é vyòman* (*vyòman+Ṅi* → $\emptyset^1$ for *vyòman-i*) 'in the highest heaven'.
3. *dhīt-ī́* for *dhī-tī+Ṭā* = *dhī-ty-ā́* (RV 5.25.3) 'through prayer'.
4. *ubhā́ devā́ divi-spŕ̥ś-ā aśvín-ā tā́ hav-ā-mahe* (RV 1.22.2) 'we offer oblations to both divine Aśvins who touch heaven' where the dual ending [au] is replaced by [ā].
5. *nátā́d brāhman-ā́t nínd-ā-mi (= ná tā́-n brāhmaṇā́-n nínd-ā-mi)* 'I will not curse those brahmins'.
6. *ná yuṣm-é vāja-bandhav-aḥ* (RV 8.68.19) = *yūy-á-m; asm-é indrā-br̥has-patī* (RV 4.49.4) = *vay-ám*.
7. *urú-yā* = *urú-ṇā*.

8. *nā́bh-á* = *nā́bhi+Ḍā* = *nā́bhi+Ṅi* = *nā́bh-au* : *nā́bh-ā pṛthivy-ā́ḥ* (RV 1.143.4).

9. *anuṣṭ-yā* = *anu-ṣṭu-bh+Ḍyā* = *anu-ṣṭ-∅∅-yā* = *anu-ṣṭú-bh-ā*.

10. *sādhu-yā́* = *sādhú+sU→yā́*.

11. *vas-ánt-ā yáj-e-ta* = *vas-ánt-e yáj-e-ta* 'one should offer sacrificial oblations in spring'.

7.1.40 am-aḥ maŚ

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element maŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] am (for miP 3.4.101).

vádh-ī-m vṛtrā-m = *han+lUṄ* = *vadhá+luṄ* (2.4.43) = *vadhá+miP* = *vadhá+Cli+miP* (3.1.43) = *vadhá+Cli+am* (3.4.101) = *vadhá+siC+am* (3.1.44) = *vadh∅+iṬ-siC+īṬ+maŚ* (6.4.48; 7.3.96) = *vádh-ī-m* for *ávadh-i-ṣ-am* (RV 1.165.8) 'I have killed (the demon) Vṛtra'; similarly *krám-ī-m vṛkṣá-sya śā́khā-m* 'I climbed on a branch of a tree' = *á-kram-i-ṣ-am*.

7.1.41 lópa-s t-aḥ ātmane-padé-ṣu

[In the Chándas 38] lópa (∅) replaces the phoneme /t/ [of an l-substitute] of Ātmane-padá (3.4.78: taṄ).

gandharv-ā-psarás-aḥ á-duh-ra (= á-duh-ata) : *áṬ+duh+lAṄ* = *á-duh+∅*[1]*+ruṬ+ata* (5.8) = *á-duh-r-a∅a* = *á-duh-ra* (6.1.97). *duh-ā́-m aśví-bhyām páyo aghnyeyá-m* (RV 1.164.27) = *dug-dh-ām* : *duh+lOṬ* = *duh+∅*[1]*+tā́m* (3.4.101) = *duh+∅ā́m* 'may the two draw cow's milk for the two Aśvins'. *dakṣiṇa-táḥ śay-e (= śe-te)*: *śī+lAṬ* = *śī́+ta* = *śī+te* (3.4.79) = *śe+∅e* = *śay-e* 'lies down on the right/south side'.

7.1.42 dhvam-aḥ dhvāt

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element dhvāt replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] dhvam [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1].

antár éva ūṣ-mā́ṇ-am vār-ay-a-dhvāt (= vār-ay-a-dhvam) (Ait.Br. 2.6.14) 'cover the heat from within itself'.

7.1.43 yáj-a-dhvainam iti ca

[In the Chándas 38] the expression yáj-a-dhv-ai-nam is also (ca) introduced [to denote the ∅ replacement of the final phoneme /m/ of affix

3.1.1 dhvam 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

yáj-a-dhvam ena-m = *yáj-a-dhaØ+ena-m* = *yáj-a-dhv-ai-na-m* (6.1.88) 'worship him' (RV 8.2.37).

7.1.44 tá-sya tā́t

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element tā́t replaces [the whole of 1.155 l-substitute of lOṬ Parasmaipadá 2nd person plural] tá (3.4.101) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1].

gā́tra-ṁ gā́tra-m a-syā́ nūná-ṁ kṛ-ṇu-tāt (Ait.Br. 2.6.15.16) = *kṛ+lOṬ* = *kṛ+Śnú+tá* = *kṛ-ṇu+tā́t*.

7.1.45 [1]taP-[2]tanaP-[3]tána-[4]thán-ā-s=ca

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements taP, tanaP, tána and thána (ca) [replace the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute of lOṬ Parasmaipadá 2nd person plural tá, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1].

1. taP: *śru+lOṬ* = *śṛ+Śnú+ta* (3.1.74) = *śṛ-ṇó-ta grāvāṇ-aḥ*.
2. *tanaP: dhā+lOṬ* = *dhā+Slu+tá* = *dá-dhā+tana*.
3. *tána: juṣ+lOT* = *juṣ+Śá+tá* = *juṣ+Ślu+tá* = *ju-juṣ+tána* (6.1.10) = *ju-juṣ-ṭána*.
4. *thana: iṣ+lOṬ* = *iṣ+Śá+tá* = *icch+luK+thána* (39) = *iṣ-ṭhána* (8.2.36; 4.41).

7.1.46 iT=anta-ḥ masi̱

[In the Chándas 38] the l-substitute mas (Parasmaipadá 1st per. plur.) ends in the phoneme short i(T).

dīp+ṆíC+ŚaP+mas = *dīp-é+a+mas* (7.3.84) = *dīp-áy+ā+mas* (6.1.78; 7.3.101) = *dīp-áy-ā-masi* 'we light up'.

7.1.47 Ktv-áḥ yaK

[In the Chándas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] yaK is introduced [after 1.1.67 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́ [when introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1].

dā+Ktvā́ = *dad+Ktvā́* (4.76) = *dat-tvā́-ya* 'having given'.

7.1.48 iṣ-ṭv-ī́nam iti ca

[In the Chándas 38] the expression iṣ-ṭv-ī́nam is also (ca) introduced [with the substitute element īnam replacing the final phoneme of Ktvā́ introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] yaj- 'sacrifice, worship' (I 1051).

yaj+Ktvā́ = *iaj+Ktvā́* (6.1.15) = *ij+Ktvā́* (6.1.108) = *iṣ+tvā́* (8.2.36) = *iṣ-ṭvā́* (8.4.41) = *iṣ-ṭv-ī́nam* 'having offered a sacrifice'.

7.1.49 snā-tvī́=āday-as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 38] the class of (gerundial) expressions beginning with snā-tvī́ 'having bathed' are introduced as fully derived forms.

snā+ktvā́ = *snā-tvī́*; *pī-tvī́ sóma-sya vā-vr̥dh-e* (RV 3.40.7) 'having drunk Soma has grown'.

7.1.50 āt=Jase-r asuK

[In the Chándas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] asuK is inserted [after 3.1.67 the sUP triplet] Jas (nom. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ (āt).

brā́hmaṇ-ā-sah pítar-aḥ sómy-ā-saḥ (RV 6.75.10); *yé pū́rv-a-so yá úpar-ā-saḥ* (RV 10.15.2).

7.1.51 [1]áśva-[2]kṣīrá-[3]vŕ̥ṣa-[4]lavaṇā́-n-ām ātma-prī-t-aú KyáC-i

[The final increment 1.1.46 asuK 50 is inserted after 1.1.67 the nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1] áśva- 'horse', kṣīrá- 'milk', vŕ̥ṣa- 'bull' and lavaṇa- 'salt' [before 1.1.57 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC (3.1.8) to express the delight of the agent in these (ātma-prī-t-aú).

ātmán-aḥ áśva-m icch-á-ti = *áśva+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *aśva-asuK+yá+a=ti* = *aśv-a-s-y-á-ti* (6.1.97) *váḍavā* 'the mare desires the stallion'; similarly *kṣīr-a-s-y-á-ti bālá-h* 'the child longs for milk'; *vr̥ṣ-a-s-y-a-ti gaú-ḥ* 'the cow longs for the bull'; *lavaṇ-as-y-á-ti úṣṭra-ḥ* 'the camel longs for salt'. But *aśvī-yáti* (4.33) = 'desires a horse for oneself'; *kṣīrī-yá-ti/vr̥ṣī-yá-ti/lavaṇī-yáti* 'desires milk/a bull/salt for oneself'.

7.1.52 ām-i sarva-nāmn-aḥ su̱Ṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] su̱Ṭ is inserted at the head of the sUP triplet ām (sixth or gen. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2] pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ).

sarvá+ām = *sarvá+su̱Ṭ-ām* = *sárvé+s-ām* (3.103) = *sárve-ṣām* (8.3.59). *tád+ām* = *táa+sām* (2.102) = *tá+sām* (6.1.97) = *té-ṣām*. *sarvā+ām* = *sárvā-s-ām; tā́-s-ām.*

7.1.53 tré-s tráya-ḥ

The substitute morpheme tráya- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal áṅga 6.4.1] trí- 'three' [before 1.1.67 the sixth sUP triplet ām 52].

trí+ām = *tráya+ām* = *tráya+n-ām* = *trayā-n-ām* (54; 3.102) = *trayā-ṇ-ā́m* (6.1.169 for accent, 8.4.2 for retroflexion).

7.1.54 [1]hrasvá-[2]nadī́=[3]āP-aḥ nu̱Ṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] nu̱Ṭ [is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short vowel (hrasvá-°) and those denoted by the t.t. nadī́ (1.4.3ff.) or those [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 4.1.3ff.] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP).

1. *devá-/hári-/sūnú/pi-tṛ́+ām* = *devā́-n-ām/hárī-ṇ-ām/sūnū́-n-ām/sūnū-n-ā́m/ pitṝ́-ṇ-ām* (3.102 for stem-final long vowel and 6.1.177 for alternate accent of *sūnū-n-ā́m*).
2. *nadī́/vadhū́+ām* = *nadī́-n-ām/vadhū́-n-ām.*
3. *śā́lā+ām* = *śā́lā-n-ām.*

7.1.55 [1]ṣáṭ-[2]catúr-bhyas=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 nu̱Ṭ 54] is also (ca) [inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 indicating numerals 1.1.23] comprised by the t.t. ṣáṣ (1.1.24) and catúr- 'four'.

1. The number words denoted by the t.t. ṣaṣ are: *páñcan-* '5', *ṣáṣ-* '6', *saptán-* '7', *aṣṭán-* '8', *návan-* '9', *dáśan-* '10'. *páñcan+ām* = *pañcan+n-ā́m* (6.1.179) = *pañcān+n-ā́m* (6.4.7) = *pañcā∅-nā́m* (8.2.7); similarly *ṣáṣ+am* = *ṣaṣ+n-ā́m* = *ṣaḍ+n-ā́m* (8.2.39) = *ṣaṇ-ṇ-ā́m, aṣṭā-n-ā́m, navā-n-ā́m, daśā-n-ā́m.*

2. *catur-ṇ-ā́m*.

7.1.56 [1]śrī́-[2]grāma-ṇy-ós=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46 nuṬ 54 is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1] śrī́ 'glory' and grāma-ṇī́- 'village head'.

śrī́+ām = *śrī+n-ā́m* (6.1.168) = *śrī-ṇ-ā́m* (8.4.2). By 1.4.5 nadī́-stems are optionally covered by that t.t. before affix ām but by this rule [śrī] is exempted from that option and, so far as Chándas is concerned, [nuṬ] increment is necessarily inserted. In non-Chandas: *śriy-ā́m/śrī-ṇ-ā́m*.

7.1.57 gó-ḥ pāda=ant-é

[In the Chándas 56 the initial increment 1.1.46 nuṬ is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal áṅga 6.4.1] gó- 'cow/bull', occurring at the end of a quarter verse of RV (pāda-ant-é).

vid-mā́ hí tvā gó-pati-ṁ śūra gó-n-ām 'we recognize you, O hero! as the protector of (all) cattle'. (RV 10.47.2). When not so occurring: *gáv-āṁ go-trá-m ud-á-sṛj-o yád aṅgiraḥ* (RV 2.23.18) 'O Aṅgiras! that you have released the cattle pen'. This form also occurs occasionally at the end of a pāda: *vi-rā́j-aṁ gó-pati-ṁ gáv-ām* (RV 10.166.1).

7.1.58 iT=IT-aḥ nuM dhā́to-ḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] nuM [is inserted after the last vowel of a verbal áṅga 6.4.1] with marker short phoneme i(T) as IT [when first introduced (in the Dhātupāṭha)].

ṬU-nád-Ī sám-ṛd-dh-au (I 67)+*lAṬ* = *ná-nuM-d+ŚaP+tiP* = *náand-a-ti* 'rejoices'; *kúḍ-I dāh-e* (I 289)+*lAṬ/tumuN* = *kúṇḍ-a-te* 'burns'/*kúṇḍ-iṬ-tum* = *kúṇḍ-i-tum* 'to burn' (2.35).

7.1.59 Ś-e muc-ādī-n-ām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after 1.1.67 the last vowel of the class of verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] beginning with muc- 'release' (VI 136) [before 1.1.66 the present system class marker] Śa [3.1.71].

The stems included in this class are listed in the Dhp. VI 136-43: 136 *mucḶ*

móks-aṇ-e; 137 *lupL̀ chéd-an-e*; 138 *vidL̀ lābh-é*; 139 *lipÀ upa-deh-é*; 140 *ṣicÀ kṣár-aṇ-e*; 241 *kṛt-Ī chéd-an-e*; 142 *khidÁ pari-ghāt-é*; 143 *píśÁ ava-yav-é*.

muc+Śa+tiP = *mu-nuM-c+á=ti* = *muñc-á-ti* 'releases'; similarly *lump-á-ti* 'cuts'; *vind-á-ti* 'gains'; *limp-á-ti* 'smears'; *siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles'; *kṛnt-á-ti* 'cuts'; *khind-á-ti* 'strikes'; *piṁś-á-ti* 'cuts, divides'. But *muc+tumuN* = *mók-tum* (3.84; 8.2.30).

7.1.60 [1]masji-[2]naś-or jhaL-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] masj- 'sink, plunge, immerse' (VI 122) and naś 'disappear' (IV 85) [before 1.1.67 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-i).

1. *masj+tumuN* = *má-nuM-sj+tum* = *má-n-∅j+tum* (8.2.29) = *má-n-k+tum* (8.2.30) = *má-ṁ-k-tum* (8.3.24) = *má-ṅ-k-tum* (8.4.58) 'to plunge, immerse'.
2. *naś+tumuN* = *ná-nuM-ś+tum* = *ná-ṁ-ṣ+tum* (8.2.36; 3.24) = *ná-ṁ-ṣ-ṭum* (8.4.41) 'to disappear'. But *masj+LyuT* = *májj-ana-* (8.4.53) 'immersion'.

7.1.61 [1]rádhi-[2]jábh-or aC-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] rádh- 'subdue' (IV 84) and jábh- 'gape, snap out' (I 451) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

1. *rádh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ra-n-dh-í-a-ti* = *randh-é-a-ti* (3.84) = *randh-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'cooks, delivers'; *radh+ṆvuL* = *rá-n-dh-aka-*; *radh+GHaÑ* = *rá-n-dh-a-* 'subjection'.
2. *jabh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ja-n-bh-áy-a-ti* = *ja-ṁ-bh-áy-a-ti* (8.3.24) = *ja-m-bh-áy-a-ti* (8.4.58) 'snaps at'; *jabh+GHaÑ* = *já-m-bha-* 'tooth'.

7.1.62 ná=iṬ-i=á-lIṬ-i rádhe-ḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] rádh- 'subdue' (IV 84) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ, excluding such l-substitutes of lIṬ.

rádh+tumuN = *rádh+iṬ-tum* (2.35) = *rádh-i-tum*; similarly *radh-i-távya-*, but *radh+lIṬ* = *ra-ra-n-dh-i-vá/°-i-má; radh+LyuṬ/ṆvuL* = *rá-n-dh-ana/°-aka-*.

7.1.63 rabhe̱-r á-¹ŚaP=²lIṬ-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nu̱M 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal aṅgá 6.4.1] rabh- 'grasp, clasp, seize' (I 1023) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61] excluding ŚaP and the l-substitutes of lIṬ (Perfect).

> *ā́-rabh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = ā́-ra-n-bh=ay-a-ti = ā́-rambh-ay-a-ti* 'causes to undertake'; *ā́-rabh+GHaÑ = ā-ra-m-bh-á-* 'beginning', but *ā́+rabh+ŚaP+te = ā́-rabh-a-te; ā-rabh+lIṬ ā́-rebh-e(Ś)* (6.4.120).

7.1.64 labhe̱-s=ca

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nu̱M 58 is] also (ca) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] labh- 'gain' (I 1024) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61, excluding ŚaP and such l-substitutes of lIṬ 63].

> *labh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = la-m-bh-áy-a-ti* 'causes to gain', but *labh+ŚaP+te = lábh-a-te; labh+lIṬ = labh+eŚ = lebh-é.*

7.1.65 ā́Ṅ-aḥ y-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nu̱M 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb ā́Ṅ [before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme /y-°/.

> *ā́+labh+ṆyàT = ā-la-m-bh-yà+ṬāP = ā-la-m-bh-y-ā̀ gaú-ḥ/váḍavā* 'a cow/mare to be sacrificed', but *labh+yàT = lábh-ya-* 'to be gained'.

7.1.66 úp-āt pra-śaṁsā́-y-ām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nu̱M 58 is introduced after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme y-° 65] to denote praise (pra-śaṁs-ā́-y-ām).

> *úpa+labh+ṆyàT+ṬāP* (3.1.124; 4.1.4) = *upa-la-m-bh-y-ā̀ vid-yā́* 'wisdom worthy of being acquired', but *upa+labh+yàT = upa-lábh-ya-* 'obtainable'.

7.1.67 upa-sarg-ā́t ¹KHaL-²GHaÑ-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with preverbs [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] KHaL and GhaÑ.

Īṣat+prá+labh+KHal (3.3.126) = *Īṣat-pra-lá-m-bh-a-* 'easily deceived'; *prá+labh+GHaÑ* = *pra-la-m-bh-á-* 'gaining, acquisition'. But *labh+GHaÑ* = *lā́bh-a-* 'gain, profit'; *Īṣát+labh+KHaL* = *Īṣal-lábh-a-* (8.4.60) 'to be obtained for a little'.

7.1.68 ná ¹sú-²dúr-bhyāṁ kévalā-bhyām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' 64 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 KHal and GHaÑ 67] when co-occurring singly with the preverbs sú-° and dúr-°.

su+labh+KHaL = *su-lábh-a-* 'easy to obtain'; similarly *dur-lábh-a-* 'difficult to obtain, rare'. *su+labh+GHaÑ* = *su-lābh-á-/dur-lābh-á-* 'easily obtainable/rare'. But *su+pra+labh+KHaL* = *su-pra-lá-m-bha-*.

7.1.69 vibhāṣā ¹CíṆ-²ṆamuL-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] CíṆ and ṆamuL.

1. *labh+CíṆ* = *áT+labh+CiṆ* (6.4.71) = *á-la-m-bh-i/á-lābh-i* : (*labh+lUṄ* = *á+labh+CiṆ+ta-∅*[1] 6.4.104) 'was gained'.
2. *labh+ṆamuL* = *lá-m-bh-am la-m-bh-am/lā́bh-am lābh-am* 'having gained'.

7.1.70 ¹úK=IT-²ac-āṁ sarva-nāma-sthān-é=á-dhāt-oḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of a nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] with IT marker denoted by the siglum uK (= U, R̥, L̥) or one [ending in 1.1.72 such affix] excluding verbal stems (a-dhāto-ḥ), and the verbal stem ac- (= anc- : a∅c-6.4.24) [before 1.1.66] strong sUP triplets (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

1. *bhávatU+sU* = *bháv-ā-n-t+sU* (6.4.14) = *bháv-ā-n-t+∅* (6.1.68) = *bhávā-n∅* (8.2.23); *°+au* = *bháva-n-t+au*: *°Jas/am* = *bháva-n-t-aḥ/bháva-n-t-am*.
2. *gam+ŚátR̥* = *gám+ŚaP+atR̥* (3.1.68) = *gácch-a+at+sU* = *gácch-a-t+sU* (6.1.97) = *gácch-a-n-t+∅* (6.1.68) = *gácch-a-n∅* (8.2.23); *gácch-a-nt-au, gácch-a-n-taḥ, gácch-a-n-t-am*.

3. *prá+añc-a-ti* = *prá+añc+KviN* (3.2.59) = *prā́ñc+Kvin* (6.1.101) = *prā́∅c+KviN* (6.4.24) = *prā́c+∅* (6.1.67)+*sU* = *prā́-ñ-c+∅* (6.1.68) = *prā́-ñ∅* (8.2.23) = *prā́ṅ* (8.2.30). *prā́ñc-au, prā́ñc-aḥ, prā́ñc-am; prā́c+Śas* = *prā́c-aḥ; prā́c+Śi* (1.1.42) *prā́ñ-c-i*.

4. *śra+īyasUN* = *śréyas+sU* (6.2.25) = *śréyā-n-s+sU* (6.4.14) = *śréyā-n-s+∅* (6.1.68) = *śréyā-n∅* (8.2.23); *śréyā-ṁ-s-au* (8.3.23); *śréyā-ṁ-s-aḥ, śréyā-ṁ-s-am; śréyas+Śi* = *śréyā-ṁ-s-i; śréyas+Śas* = *śréyas-aḥ*.

But *ukhā́-y-ām sráṁs-a-ti* = *ukhā́+∅¹+sraṁs+KviP* = *ukhā-srá∅s+KviP* = *ukhā-srás+sU* = *ukhāsrás+∅* (6.1.67) = *ukhā-srát* (8.2.72) 'falling in the cauldron' from the verbal stem *sráns-Ú ava-sráṁs-an-e* (I 790). The only exception to the constraint [á-dhāto-ḥ] of this rule is in respect of *áncÚ gáti-pū́j-anay-oḥ* I 203.

7.1.71 yuje-r á-sam-ās-e

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal áṅga 6.4.1] yuj- (VII 7) [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP affixes (sUṬ and Śi 1.1.42-3) 70].

yu-ná-k-ti = *yuj+KviN* (3.2.59) = *yúj+sU* = *yú-ñ-j+∅* (6.1.68) = *yuñ∅* (8.2.23) = *yúṅ, yú-ñ-j-au, yú-ñ-j-aḥ, yú-ñ-j-am* but *áśvam yu-ná-k-ti* = *aśva+∅¹+yuj+KviP* (3.2.61) = *aśva-yúj+sU* = *aśva-yúj+∅* (6.1.68) = *aśva-yúk* (8.2.30).

7.1.72 ná-puṁs-aka-sya ¹jhaL=²aC-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter (ná-puṁs-aka-sya) [nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-°) or a vowel (°-aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP 1.1.42-3 triplets 70].

In the case of neuter nominal stems the only strong sUP triplet is the substitute morpheme Śi replacing both Jas and Śas (7.1.20; 1.1.42).

1. *yáśas+Śi* = *yáśā-n-s-i* (6.4.10) = *yáśā-ṁ-s-i* (8.3.24) 'renowns'; *uda-śvít+Śi* = *uda-śví-n-t-i* 'mixtures of water and buttermilk'.

2. *vána+Śi* = *vánā-n-i* (6.4.8) 'forests'; *dádhi+Śi* = *dadh-ī-n-i* 'curds', *mádhūn-i* 'honeys'; *kartṝ́-ṇ-i* (8.4.1) 'agents'; but *bahu-púr+Śi* = *bahu-púr-i* 'possessing many fortified cities'; *vímala-div+Śi* = *vímala-div-i* 'possessing a clear sky'; *catúr+Śi* = *catu-ā́-r-i* (98) = *catv-ā́-r-i* '4'.

7.1.73 iK-aḥ=aC-i vi-bhák-t-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM is inserted after the last vowel of a neuter 72 nominal 6.4.1 áṅga ending in 1.1.72] one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [before 1.1.66] vibhákti (1.4.104) [affixes = sUP triplets here, beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

vā́ri+Ṭā/Ṅe/ṄasI/Ṅas/os/Ṅi = vā́ri-ṇ/ā/e/as/as/os/i; mádhun-ā/e/as/as/os/i; kartṛ́-ṇ-ā/e/as/as/os/i.

7.1.74 tṛ-tī́yā=ādi-ṣu bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁs-k-āt puṁ-vát= gālava-sya

[A neuter 72 nominal 4.1.1 áṅga ending in 1.1.72 one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u,ṛ,ḷ) 73] which has a masculine counterpart (bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁs-k-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát) [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with a vowel 73] starting with the third case (tṛ-tī́yā-ādi-ṣu) according to the grammarian Gālava.

grā́ma-m náy-a-ti = grā́ma+nī+KviP = grāma-ṇī́- m., *grāma-ṇí-* n. (1.2.47)+*Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/os/i = grāma-ṇi-n/ā/e/as/os/i : grāma-ny/ā́/ás/ós/ā́m* (3.116).

7.1.75 [1]ásthi-[2]dádhi-[3]sákthi=[4]ákṣ-ṇ-ām ánaṄ udā́tta-ḥ

The substitute element ánaṄ with a high pitch (udā́tta-ḥ) accent replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial vowels 73 beginning with the third case 74].

1. *ásthi+Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/os/Ṅi = asth-án+ā/e/as/os/i = asth∅n-ā́/* (6.4.134)/ *e/aḥ/oḥ/asthán-i/asth-n-í;* 2. *dadhán-i/dadhn-í;* 3. *sakthán-i/sakth-n-í;* 4. *asthán-i/asth-n-í* (6.4.136).

7.1.76 chándas-i=ápi dṛś-yá-te

In the Chándas [the substitute element ánaṄ with udā́tta accent 75] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) [to replace the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' 75].

[dṛś-yá-te 'is seen'] implies contexts other than those specified in 75 above: (a) before

affixes beginning with consonants: *ásthi+bhis* = *asth-án+bhis* = *asthá∅-bhiḥ* (8.2.7; 3.15); (b) before first and second sUP triplets: *ásthi+Śi* = *asth-ā́n-i* (6.4.8); (c) before non-vibhákti affixes: *ákṣi+matuP* = *akṣ-áṇ+matUP* (8.4.2) = *akṣ-á∅+nuṬ-matUP* (8.2.7,16) = *akṣ-a-n-vát-* (8.2.9; 6.1.176 for accent) = *akṣ-a-ṇ-vát* (8.4.2); *asth-a-n-vát-*.

7.1.77 ī́ ca dvi-vac-an-é

[In the Chándas 76] the substitute phoneme long /ī́/ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.552 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- 'bone'; dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' 75 before 1.1.66] dual sUP triplets (dvi-vac-an-é).

The expression [*udā́tta-ḥ*] recurs here from 75 above, so that the substitute has the high-pitched accent.

ákṣi+Śī (19) = *akṣi+ī́* = *akṣ-ī́ te indra piṅgal-é* 'your eyes, O Indra, are tawny-brown'; *akṣ-ī́-bhyām*.

7.1.78 ná=abhy-às-t-āt=Śatuḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1] ŚatR̥- [introduced after 3.1.2] reduplicated verbal [áṅga-s 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

dā+ŚátR̥ = *dā+Ślu+ŚátR̥* = *da-dā+átR̥* (6.1.10; 7.4.59) = *da-d∅-atR̥* (6.4.112) = *dád-at+su/au/Jas/am* = *dad-at+∅* (6.1.68), *dad-at=au/aḥ/am*. *jakṣ+ŚátR̥+sU/au/Jas/am* = *jákṣat+∅*, *jákṣ-at=au/aḥ/am*. Exception to 70 above.

7.1.79 vā ná-puṁs-aka-sya

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is optionally (vā) [inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter (ná-puṁs-aka-sya) [nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1 derived from a reduplicated verbal stem with affix 3.1.1 ŚàtR̥ 78 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

dhā+ŚátR̥ = *dhā+Ślu+átR̥* = *dá-dhā-at* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54)+*Śi* = *dá-dh∅-at+Śi* (6.4.112) = *dádh-a-n-t-i/dádh-at-i*.

7.1.80 ā-t [1]Śī-[2]nady-ór nuM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] nuM is [optionally 79 inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1 ŚátṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme /a/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes] Śī and those denoted by the t.t. nadī́ (3.4.3ff.).

tud+ŚátṚ = *tud+Śá+SátṚ* = *tud+á-at-* = *tud-á-t-* (6.1.97)+*Śī* = *tud-á-n-t-ī/tud-át-ī; tud-át+ṄīP* (4.1.6) = *tud-á-n-t-ī/tud-at-ī́; yā+ŚatṚ* = *yā+∅[1]+átṚ* = *yā+át+Śī* = *yā́-n-t-ī/yāt-ī́* (6.1.173 for accent when nuM is not inserted). Similarly *yā́t+ṄīP* = *yā́-n-t-ī/yāt-ī́*.

The reason for repeating [nuM] in this rule when it was already recurring from 58 onwards is to block out the recurrence of particles [ná 78] and [vā 79] simultaneously in this sūtra and avoid undesirable interpretations such as the increment may be optionally inserted before the affixes [Śī, nadī́] and not at all after áṅga-s ending in the phoneme-class /a/, leading to false forms like [*kurv-á-n-t-ī] as alternative to [kurv-at-ī́] but not to [kar-i-ṣy-á-n-tī].

7.1.81 [1]ŚaP-[2]ŚyaN-or nítya-m

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 80] is necessarily (nítya-m) [inserted after the last vowel of affix 3.1.1 ŚátṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the present class markers] ŚaP and ŚyaN [before 1.1.66 the affixes Śī and nadī́ (1.4.3ff.) 80].

1. *pac+ŚátṚ* = *pác+ŚaP+átṚ* = *pác-a+at+Śī/ṄīP* = *pác-a-n-t-ī* (6.1.97).
2. *div+ŚyaN+ŚátṚ* = *dī́v-ya-at+Śī/ṄīP* (8.2.76) = *dī́v-y-a-n-t-ī* (6.1.97).

7.1.82 s-AU anaḍuh-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] anaḍ-úḥ- 'ox' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU.

anaḍ-úh+sU = *anaḍ-ú-ā-h+sU* (98) = *anaḍ-vā́h+sU* (6.1.77) = *anaḍ-vā́-n-h+sU* = *anaḍ-vā́nh+∅* (6.1.68) = *anaḍ-vā́n∅* (8.2.23).

7.1.83 [1]dṛ́ś=[2]sv-ávas=[3]svá-tavas-āṁ chándas-i

In the Chándas [the infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-dṛ́ś- 'apppearing like', sv-ávas- 'affording good protection' and svá-tavas 'self-strong' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1. *ī-dṛ́ś+sU* = *īdṛ́-n-ś+sU* = *ī-dṛ́-ñ-ś+∅* (6.1.68) = *ī-dṛ́-ñ-∅* (8.2.23) = *ī-dṛ́-ṅ* (8.2.30).
2. *sv-avas+sU* = *sv-avā-n-s+sU* (6.4.14) = *sv-avāns/∅* (6.1.68) = *sv-avā-n∅* (8.2.23).
3. *svá-ta-vā-n*.

7.1.84 div-áḥ=auT

The substitute phoneme au(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'sky, heaven' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

dív+sU = *dí-au+sU* = *dyaú-s* = *dyaú-ḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15).

7.1.85 [1]pathí(n)[2]mathí(n)=[3]ṛbhukṣ-ā́m āT

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra or the first of the Ṛbhu-s' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1. *pathín+sU* = *pathí-ā+sU* = *pathá-ā+sU* (86) = *panthá-ā+sU* (87) = *pánth-ā-ḥ* (6.1.199 for accent; 6.1.97; 8.2.66; 3.15). Similarly 2. *mánth-ā-ḥ*; 3. *ṛbhukṣ-ā́-ḥ*.

7.1.86 iT-aḥ=aT sarva-nāma-sthān-é

The substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces the short phoneme i(T) [of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before 1.1.66] strong sUP (affixes 1.1.42-3).

Exx. before [sU] cited under 85 above. *pathín+au/Jas/am* = *páthan+au* (6.1.199) = *pánthan+au* (87) = *pánthān+au* (6.4.8)/*pánthān-aḥ/pánthān-am*. Similarly: *mánthān+au/aḥ/am; ṛbhukṣā́ṇ-au/aḥ/am*.

7.1.87 th-aḥ nth-aḥ

The substitute phoneme /nth/ replaces the phoneme /th/ [of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 pathín- 'path' and mathín- 'churning stick or rod' 85 before strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

Exx. cited under 86 above.

7.1.88 bha-sya ṬE-r lópa-ḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of BHA (1.4.18-9) stems [of the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel or y- ° 1.4.18].

pathín+Śas/Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/os/Ṅi = path-ā́/é/áḥ/óḥ/í; +ām = path-ā́m wherein ∅ replaces *°-ín. math-ā́/é/áḥ/óḥ/ā́m/í; ṛbhukṣ-ā́/é/áḥ/óḥ/ā́m/í.*

7.1.89 púṁs-aḥ=asUṄ

The substitute element asUṄ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púṁs- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

púṁs+sU/au/Jas/am = púm-as+sU/au/Jas/am = púma-n-s+sU/au/Jas/am (70) = *púmāns+sU/au/Jas/am = púmāns+∅* (6.1.68)/*au/as/am = púmān-* (8.2.23)/*pumāns-au/aḥ/am = púmāṁs-au/aḥ/am* (8.3.23).

7.1.90 gó-taḥ=Ṇ-IT

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] gó- 'cow/bull' are treated like those having marker Ṇ as IT.

gó+sU/au/Jas = gaú-sU/au/ah = gaú-ḥ, gā́v-au/aḥ (6.1.78). For *gó+am/Śas* cf. 6.1.93 *gā́m/gā́s (= gā́-ḥ).*

7.1.91 ṆaL uttama-ḥ vā

[The Parasmaipadá first person l-substitute of lIṬ 3.4.82] ṆaL is optionally (vā) [treated like those having Ṇ as IT marker 90].

pac+ṆaL = pa-pac+ṆaL = pa-pác-a/pa-pā́c-a (6.1.8; 7.4.60). But *pac+ṆaL* (3rd pers. sing.) = *pa-pā́-ca.*

7.1.92 sákhy-ur á-sam-bud-dh-au

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86] excluding the vocative sing. (á-sam-bud-dh-au) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] sákhi- 'friend, companion' [are treated like those with marker Ṇ as IT 90].

sákhi+sU/au/Jas/am = *sákh-ai+au/Jas/am* (7.2.115) = *sákhāy-au/as/am* (6.1.78). For *sákhi+sU* cf. 93 below.
sakhi+sU (sam-bud-dh-au) = *sákh-e* (3.108; 6.1.69).

7.1.93 an<u>a</u>Ṅ s-AU

The substitute element an<u>a</u>Ṅ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 2.2.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1 sákhi- 'companion' 92 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU [excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

sákhi+sU = *sákh-an+sU* = *sákhān+s* (6.4.8) = *sákhān+∅* (6.1.68) = *sákhā∅* (8.2.7); before voc. sing.: *sákh-e* (92 above).

7.1.94 [1]r̥T=[2]uśánas=[3]puru-dáṁś-as=[4]an-eh-ás-āṁ ca

[The substitute element an<u>a</u>Ṅ 93] also (ca) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short r̥(T) and uśánas- 'n.pr.', puru-dáṁś-as- 'abounding in marvelous deeds' and an-eh-ás- 'unrivaled' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 93 excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

1. °-r̥T: *kartŕ̥+sU* = *kart-án+sU* = *kart-ā́n+∅* (6.4.8; 6.1.68) = *kar-tā́∅* (8.2.7); *kar-tŕ̥+sU* (voc.) = *kar-tar+sU* (3.110) = *kár-tar+∅* (8.2.24) = *kar-táḥ* (8.3.15).
2. *uśánas+sU* = *uśána+an+sU* = *uśán-a-n+sU* (6.1.97) = *uśán-ān+∅* (6.1.68) = *uśánā∅* (8.2.7) = *uśánā; +sU* (vocative) = *úśanas+∅* = *úśanas* = *úśanaḥ*.

Similarly 3. *puru-dáṁśā, anehā*; voc.: *púru-daṁśaḥ, ánehaḥ*.

7.1.95 tr̥C=vát krós̩-t̩u-ḥ

[Before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86, excluding the vocative singular 92, the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] króṣ-ṭu 'jackal' is treated like one [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] tŕ̥C.

kruś+tuN (Uṇādi) = *króṣ-ṭu+sU/au/Jas/am* = *kruś+tŕ̥C+sU/au/Jas/am* = *kroṣ-ṭŕ̥+sU/au/as/am* = *kroṣ-ṭ-án+sU* (94) = *kroṣ-ṭ-ā́n+∅* = *kroṣ-ṭā́∅* (6.1.68; 4.8; 8.2.7); *kroṣ-ṭŕ̥+au/as/am* = *kroṣ-ṭā́r-au/as/am* (3.110; 6.4.11); *+sU* (voc.) = *króṣ-ṭo* (3.108; 6.1.69).

7.1.96 striy-ā́ṁ ca

[Before 1.1.66] a feminine [affix 4.1.3ff.] also (ca) [the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1 króṣ-ṭu- 'jackal' 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tr̥̄C 95].

krós-ṭu+ṄīṢ (4.1.63) = *kroṣ-tŕ̥+ṄīṢ* (4.1.41) = *kroṣ-ṭr-ī́*.

7.1.97 vibhāṣā tr̥-tī́yā-ādi-ṣu=aC-i

[The nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1 króṣ-ṭu- 'jackal' 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tr̥̄C 95] optionally (vibhāṣā) [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets with initial vowels (aC-i), beginning with the third (case: tr̥-tī́yā-ādi-ṣu).

króṣ-ṭu-/kroṣ-ṭŕ̥+Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/os/Ṅi = *króṣ-ṭu-nā* (3.120)/*kroṣ-ṭr-ā́; króṣ-ṭav-e* (3.111)/*kroṣ-ṭr-é; króṣ-ṭ-o-ḥ* (6.1.110)/*kroṣ-ṭ-ú-ḥ* (6.1.111); *króṣ-ṭ-au* (3.118-19)/ *kroṣ-ṭár-i* (3.110).

7.1.98 [1]catúr-[2]anaḍ-úh-or ā́M udā́tta-ḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] ā́M with high-pitched accent (ud-ā́tta-ḥ) [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1] catúr- 'four' and anaḍ-úh- 'beast of burden' [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

catúr+Jas/Śi = *catu-ā́-r-as/i* = *catvā́r-aḥ/catvā́r-i*.
anaḍ-úh+sU = *anaḍ-u-ā́-h+sU* = *anaḍ-vā́-n-h+sU* (82) = ***anaḍ-vā́-nØ*** (6.1.68) = *anaḍ-vānØ* (8.2.23); *anaḍ-vāh=au/as/am*.

7.1.99 aM sam-búd-dh-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] aM [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 catúr- 'four' and anaḍ-úh- 'beast of burden' 98 before 1.1.66] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

1. *priy-á-catur+sU* = *priy-á-catu-a-r+Ø* (6.1.68) = *priy-á-catv-a-r* = *príy-a-catv-a-ḥ* (8.3.15).
2. *anaḍ-úh+sU* = *ánaḍ-u-a-h+sU* = *ánaḍ-v-a-n-h+Ø* (82; 6.1.68) = *ánaḍ-vanØ* (8.2.23) = *ánaḍ-van*.

7.1.100 r̥̄T-aḥ iT=dhā́to-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] phoneme long r̥̄(T) of a verbal [áṅga 6.4.1] (dhā́to-ḥ).

> *kr̥̄+Śá+tiP* = *kir-á-ti* 'scatters'; *kr̥̄+Ktá-* = *kir+ná-* (8.2.42) = *kīr-ná-* (8.2.76) = *kīr-ṇá-* (8.4.1) 'scattered'. But *pitr̥̄-ṇ-ā́m*.

7.1.101 upa-dhā́-y-ās=ca

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 100] also replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) [phoneme long r̥̄(T) of a verbal stem 100].

> *kr̥̄t+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *kirt+í+a+ti* = *kīrt* (8.2.76)+*é+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *kīrt-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'extols, celebrates'.

7.1.102 uT óṣṭh-ya-pūrva-sya

The substitute phoneme short u(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel long r̥̄(T) of a verbal stem 100] preceded by a labial (consonant: óṣṭh-ya-purva-sya).

> *pr̥̄+Ktá-* = *pur+Ktá-* = *pūr-tá-* (8.2.57,76) 'filled up'; *pr̥̄+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *pú-pur-sa+a=ti* (6.1.9) = *pú-pūr-ṣa-ti* (8.2.76; 3.59) 'desires to fill'.

7.1.103 bahulá-ṁ chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute short vowel u(T) 102] variously replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel long r̥̄ of verbal stems 100].

> This is in contexts other than those specified above.
>
> 1. when r̥̄ is preceded by a consonant other than a labial: *tr̥̄+KiN* (3.2.171) = *tá-tr̥̄+i* (6.1.8; 7.4.66); = *tá-tur-i-; +Kí=ta-tur-í.*
> 2. Does not operate when r̥̄ is preceded by a labial: *pr̥̄+KiN+tamaP* = *pa-pr̥̄+iT-tama* = *pá-pr-i-tama-*; but *pá-pur-i/pa-pur-í* (3.2.171).

7.2.1 si̱C-i vŕ̥d-dhi-ḥ parasmai-padé-ṣu

Substitute vowels denoted by the t.t. vŕ̥d-dh-i (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replace [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥ 1.1.3) of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker] si̱C (3.1.44), co-occurring with Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

By metarule 1.1.3 Vŕ̥ddhi and Guṇá used by themselves imply the substituenda as vowels represented by the siglum iK. So the áṅga vowels involved are i, u, r̥ or l̥.

áṬ+ci+si̱C+tiP = *á-cai-ṣ-IṬ+t* (3.4.100; 7.3.96; 8.3.59) = *á-cai-ṣ-I-t* 'has heaped up'; similarly *pū+lUṄ* = *pū+si̱C+iṬ+s+IṬ+t* (35; 3.96) = *á-pāv-i-∅-I-t* (8.2.28) = *á-pāv-I-t; kr̥+si̱C* = *á-kr̥+si̱C+IṬ+t* = *á-kār-ṣ-I-t,* but before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes. *cyu+si̱C+ta* = *á-cyo-ṣ-ṭa* (3.84; 8.3.59; 4.41); *kr̥+si̱C+ta* = *á-kr̥-∅-ta* (1.2.12; 8.2.27) = *á-kr̥-ta*.

7.2.2 aT-aḥ r-lá̱=anta-sya

[Substitute vr̥ddhi 1 (ā 1.1.1) replaces] the short vowel a(T) [of a verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°ánta-sya) the phonemes /r/ or /l/ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker si̱C followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

kṣar+si̱C+t = *a-kṣār+iṬ-si̱C+IṬ-t* = *á-kṣār-i-∅+I-t* (8.2.28) = *á-kṣār-I-t* 'has trickled or oozed'; similarly *jval+si̱C+t* = *á-jvāl-I-t* 'has burnt'. Prior exception to 7 below.

7.2.3 [1]vádÁ-[2]vrájÁ-[3]há̱L-anta-sya aC-aḥ

[Substitute vŕ̥ddhi 1] replaces the vowel (aC) [of the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] vád- 'speak' (I 1058), vráj- 'wander; (I 272) and those ending in a consonant (há̱L-anta-sya) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker si̱C co-occurring with Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

The expression [aC] here, like [aT in the preceding rule] is to remove the constraint of metarule 1.1.3 which stipulates that the substituenda are the vowels comprised by the siglum iK. [vád-, vráj-] though ending in a consonant, are included to block out the option introduced under 7.

1. *vad+si̱C+t* = *á-vād+iṬ-si̱c+IṬ=t* (35; 3.96) = *á-vād-i-∅-I-t* (8.2.28) = *á-vād-I-t*.
2. *á-vrāj=I-t*. *pac+si̱C* = *á-pāk-ṣ-I-t* (3.96; 8.2.30) 'has cooked'; *bhid+si̱C* = *á=bhait-s-I-t* (8.4.55) 'has broken'; *rudh+si̱C* = *á-raut-s-I-t* 'has blocked'.

7.2.4 ná=iṬ-i

[Vṛ̥ddhi (1.1.1) 1] does not (ná) replace [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel 3 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 3 before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker si̱C 1] co-occurring with [initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ [followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

> *div+si̱C* = *á-div+iṬ-si̱C+īṬ-t* (35.3.96) = *á-dev-i-∅-ī-t* (3.86; 8.2.28) = *á-dev-ī-t* 'has sported or gambled'; similarly: *muṣ+si̱C* = *á-moṣ-ī-t* 'has stolen', but from stems ending in vowels, cf. 1 above.

7.2.5 [1]h-[2]m-[3]y=anta=[4]kṣaṇa̱-[5]śvásÁ-[6]jā́gṛ̥-[7]Ṇí-[8]śvi=[9]éT=IT-ām

[Vṛ̥ddhi (1.1.1) 1 does not 4 replace the vowel 3 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes /h, m, y/ as also of kṣaṇ- 'injure' (VIII 3), śvás- 'breathe' (II 60), jā́gṛ̥- 'wake up' (II 63) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ṆíC, as also śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker E(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dhp.] [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker si̱C 1 co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 4 followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

> 1. -h: *grah+si̱C+t* = *á-grah+i-s+ī-t* (35, 3.96) = *á-grah-i-∅-ī-t* (8.2.28) = *á-grah-ī-t* (6.1.101) 'has grasped or seized'; similarly: 2. *syam+si̱C+t* = *ásyam-ī-t* 'has made a sound'. 3. *á-vyay-ī-t* 'has spent money'. 4. *á-kṣaṇ-ī-t* 'has injured'. 5. *á-śvas-ī-t* 'has breathed'. 6. *jā́gṛ̥+si̱C* = *á-jāgar-ī-t* (3.84) 'woke up'. 7. *á+ūn+ṆíC+si̱C+t* (6.4.72) = *ā́Ṭ+ūn-e+i-s-ī-t* = *aún-ay-i-∅-ī-t* (6.1.90, 78; 8.2.28) = *aún-ay-ī-t* (3.1.41 blocking 3.1.48) 'caused to ebb'. This is restricted to the three other verbal stems *dhvan-*, *il-*, *ard-* in the domain of Chándas only; elsewhere affix [CaṄ] replaces [si̱C]. 8. *śvi+si̱C+t* = *á-śvay-ī-t* (3.84) 'has swollen'. 9. *rag-É+i-s-ī-t* = *á-rag-ī-t* 'has doubled'. Examples 1, 5 and 9 are exceptions to 7 below.

7.2.6 ūrṇ-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[Vṛ̥ddhi 1 does not 4] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replace the vowel 3 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ūrṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker si̱C 1 co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 4 followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

> *prá+ūrṇu+iṬ-si̱C+īṬ-t* = *pra+ā́Ṭ-ūrṇu+i-∅-ī-t* = *praúrṇav-ī-t* (3.84)/*praúrṇāv-ī-t*/ *praúrṇuv-ī-t* (1.2.3; 6.4.77).

7.2.7 aT-aḥ háL-āde-r laghó-ḥ

[Vṛ̥ddhi (1.1.1) 1 does not 4 optionally 6 replace] the light vowel (laghó-ḥ) a(T) [of an áṅga 6.4.1] beginning with a consonant (háL-āde-ḥ) [before Aorist marker siC 1, co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 4 followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

raṇ+iṬ-siC+īṬ-t = *á-raṇ-ī-t/á-rāṇ-ī-t* 'has sounded', but by 3 above: *á-vād-ī-t, á-vrāj-ī-t;* by 2 above *á-jvāl-ī-t;* but in the case of a heavy syllable: *á-takṣ-ī-t* 'has fashioned'.

7.2.8 ná=iṬ vaŚ-i kṛ̥t-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is not (ná) [inserted at the head of] a kṛ̥t [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) [beginning with semivowels] and voiced stops (vaŚ) excluding /y/.

Exception to 35 below.

1. *īś+varáC* (3.2.175) = *īś-vará-* 'ruler, lord, god'. 2. *dīp+rá* (3.2.167) = *dīp-rá-* 'shining'. 3. *bhas+maniṇ* = *bhás-man-* (3.2.75) 'ashes'. 4. *yāc+ná+ṬāP* (3.3.90, 4.1.4) = *yāc-ñ-ā́* 'begging'.

Before other kṛ̥t affixes: *ī́ś-i-tum, dī́p-i-tum, bhás-i-tum, yā́c-i-tum.* Before non-kṛ̥t affixes, however, 35 below operates: *rud+lIṬ+vá/má* = *ru-rud-i-vá/má* (6.1.8; 7.4.60).

7.2.9 [1]ti-[2]tu-[3]tra-[4]ta-[5]tha-[6]sí-[7]sú-[8]sára-[9]ka-[10]sé-ṣu ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8] also (ca) [at the head of kṛ̥t 8 affixes 3.1.1] °-ti-, °-tu, °-tra-, °-ta-, °-tha-, °-sí-, °-sú-, °-sára-, °-ka- and °-sá-.

Except for the first and third, all the remaining affixes are Uṇādi.

1. °-ti- = KtiN/KtíC: *tan+KtíC* = *tan-tí-* 'cord, line, string', but *tán-i-tum; dīp+KtiN* = *dī́p-ti-* 'lustre', but *dī́p-i-tum.*
2. °-tu(N uṆ 1.69): *sac+tu(N)* = *sák-tu-* 'barley meal', but *sác-i-tum* 'to associate with'.
3. °-tra (ṢtraN uṆ 4.158): *tan+ṢtraN* = *tán-tra-* (f. *tan-tr-ī́*): *tán-i-tum* 'loom/to extend'; *pat+ṢtraN* (3.2.182) *-pát-tra-* 'vehicle, cart', but *pát-i-tum.*
4. °-ta(N uṆ): *has+taN* (*uṆ* 3.86) = *hás-ta-* 'hand', but *hás-i-tum.*
5. °-tha (KthaN uṆ 2.2): *kuṣ+KthaN-* = *kú-ṣṭha-* 'n. of a plant', but *kóṣ-i-tum.*
6. °sí (Ksí uṆ 3.155): *kuṣ+Ksí* = *kuṣ+sí* (8.2.36) = *kuk-ṣí-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'stomach'.
7. °sú (súK uṆ 3.157): *iṣ+súK* = *ik-ṣú-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'sugar-cane', but *éṣ-i-tum.*
8. °-sára (uṆ 3.70): *aś+sára-* = *aṣ-sára-* (8.2.36) = *ak-ṣára-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'syllable' but *áś-i-tum.*
9. °-ka (kaN uṆ 3.43): *śal+kaN* = *śál-ka-* 'chip', but *śál-i-tum.*

10. °-sá- (uṆ 3.62): *vad+sá-* = *vat-sá-* 'calf', but *vád-i-tum; han+sá-* = *haṁ-sá-* (8.3.24) 'swan'.

Exceptions to this rule (by vārttika): °-KtiN: *ni-gṛ́h-ī-ti-* (37) 'restraint'; *upa-sníh-i-ti-* 'becoming wet, moistening'; *ni-kúc-i-ti-* 'contraction'; *ni-páṭh-i-ti-* 'study, recitation'.

7.2.10 eká=aC-aḥ upa-deś-é=án-udātt-āt

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] a monosyllabic (ekā́C-aḥ) verbal stem bearing a low-pitched (ánudātta) accent when first introduced (in the Dhp. upa-deś-é).

By 35 below this initial increment is generally inserted at the head of an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with all consonants excluding the semivowel y-°. The present rule is a prior exception to that and blocks this insertion. Such verbal stems are I 906-9,912; 946-1014; II 1-7; 31-57,59; III 1-13; IV 26-40,57-91; V 1-17; VI 1-6; 109-42; VII 1-7,12-17; VIII 10; IX 1-9,29-36. There are, however, some exceptions which are dealt with in separate rules. Kāśikā and Siddhanta-Kaumudī provide special kārikā-s to enumerate these for ease of reference. A few general rules may be specified here. Verbal stems end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of those ending in vowels, all except those ending in short °a- are án-udātta and so on.

pū́Ñ pav-an-e IX 12 has the udātta accent and so we have *á-pāv-i-ṣ-am* in the Aorist (lUṄ) and *páv-i-tum*, but from *ḌU-kṛ-Ñ kár-aṇ-e* (VIII 10) which is ánudātta the corresponding forms are *á-kār-ṣ-am/kár-tum*.

7.2.11 [1]śrí=[2]uK-aḥ K-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] śrí- 'lean or depend upon' (I 945) and those [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u,ṛ,ḷ).

1. *śrí-Ñ sevā́-y-ām* bears the udātta accent but the initial increment is blocked only for K-IT affixes after this stem: *śrí+Ktá* = *śri-tá-;* °*+Ktvā́* = *śri-tvā́,* but *śri+tṛ́C* = *sri+iṬ-tṛ́-* = *śre-i-tṛ́* (3.84) = *śray-i-tṛ́-; śray-i-tum.*
2. °*uK: yú míśr-aṇ-e* (II 23)*+Ktá* = *yu-tá; +Ktvā́* = *yu-tvā́; +tumuN* = *yáv-i-tum; lū́Ñ chéd-an-e+Ktá/Ktvā́* = *lū-ná* (8.2.44)*/lū-tvā́; vṛ́Ñ var-aṇe+Ktá/Ktvā́* = *vṛ-tá-/vṛ-tvā́; +tumuN* = *vár-i-tum/vár-ī-tum* (38).

7.2.12 saN-i [1]gráhÁ-[2]gúh-os=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of the desiderative affix 3.1.1] saN also (ca) [when introduced after 3.1.1 the verbal aṅgá 6.4.1] gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61) or gúh- 'hide' (I 944) as well as (ca) [after those ending in 1.1.72 vowels denoted by the siglum uK 11].

1. *gráh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jí-grah-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60,62,79) = *jígr̥h-sa-ti* (6.1.16,97) = *jí-gr̥dh-sa-ti* (8.2.31) = *jíghr̥-k-ṣa-ti* (8.2.37,41; 3.59).
2. Similarly: *guh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jú-ghuk-ṣa-ti*.
3. *°uK: rú+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rú-rū-ṣa-ti* (6.4.16; 8.3.59).

śrí- (11) is not included in this rule because of the option in 49 below.

7.2.13 [1]kr̥-[2]sr̥-[3]bhr̥-[4]vr̥̄-[5]stu-[6]dru-[7]sru-[8]śruv-aḥ lIṬ-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of l-substitutes of] lIṬ (Perfect) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] kr̥- 'make' (VIII 10), sr̥- 'move, flow' (I 982, III 17), bhr̥- 'bear' (III 5), vr̥̄-Ñ 'cover' (V 8), vr̥̄-Ṅ 'choose, share' (IX 38), stu- 'praise' (II 34), dru- 'run' (I 992), sru- 'run, ooze' (I 987) and śru- 'hear' (I 989).

The verbal stems listed above, except for the cover term [vr̥] are all ánudātta while [vr̥̄-Ñ, vr̥̄-Ṅ] are both udātta. In the former case the constraint is with reference to the nature of the stem (10) and with the latter to the affix (11). 1. *kr̥+lIṬ+vá/má* = *ca-kr̥-vá/má*; 2. *sa-sr̥-vá/má*; 3. *ba-bhr̥-vá/má*; 4. *va-vr̥-vá-má; va-vr̥-váhe/máhe*; 5. *tu-ṣṭu-vá/má* (4.61, 8.3.59); 6. *du-dru-vá/má*; 7. *su-sru-vá/má*; 8. *śu-śru-vá/má*.

The constraint here is limited only to K-IT l-substitutes with reference to the general rule 11 above. For the stems [stu-, dru-, sru-, śru-] the option provided by 63 below is also blocked by this prior exception.

7.2.14 [1]śví=[2]Ī́T=IT-aḥ niṣṭhā́-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of] niṣṭhā́ (Ktá-, KtávatU 1.1.26) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] śví- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker long Ī(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dhp. 10].

1. *ṬU-O-śví+Ktá-* = *śui+tá* (6.1.15) = *śu-ná-* (8.2.45) = *śū-ná-* (6.4.2) 'swollen'.
2. *O-laj-Ī vrīḍā́-y-ām* (VI 10)+*Ktá* = *lag+ná* (8.2.30,45).

The word [niṣṭhā́-y-ām] recurs in the following rules up to 35 below.

7.2.15 ya-sya vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 after which 1.1.67 insertion of the initial increment] has been made optional (yá-sya vibhāṣā).

Rule 45 below prescribes this option for the verbal stem [dhū-Ñ] 'shake, agitate' and for those with marker long Ū(T) as IT: 1. *ví+dhū+Ktá-* = *ví-dhū-ta-* 'shaken or tossed about' (6.2.49 for accent). 2. *gúh-Ū saṁ-vár-aṇ-e* (I 944)+*Ktá* = *guḍh+Ktá-* (8.2.31) =*guḍh-dhá* (8.2.40) = *guḍh+ḍhá-* (8.4.41) = *gu∅=ḍhá* (8.3.13) = *gū-ḍhá-* (6.3.111) 'hidden, secreted'.

7.2.16 āT=IT=as=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] with marker Ā(T) as IT also [when first introduced in the Dhp. 10].

ÑI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e (I 779)+*Ktá* = *mid+tá* = *min-ná* (8.2.42).

7.2.17 vibhāṣā [1]bhāvá=[2]ādi-kar-máṇ-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1] optionally (vibhāṣā) when [introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 with marker Ā as IT 15 when first introduced in the Dhp. 10] to denote an impersonal (bhāvá-°) or inceptive meaning (°-ādi-kar-máṇ-i).

The present rule blocks the operation of 15 above in the impersonal and inceptive meanings and permits the optional insertion of the initial increment. *ÑI-mid-Ā+Ktá* = *min-ná-m/med-i-tá-m* (1.2.19, 7.3.86) *an-éna; pra-min-ná-/pra-med-i-tá-* (3.4.71).

7.2.18 [1]kṣub-dhá-[2]svān-tá-[3]dhvān-tá-[4]lag-ná-[5]mliṣ-ṭá-[6]ví-rib-dha-[7]phāṇ-ṭá-[8]bā-ḍhá-n-i [1]manthá-[2]mánas=[3]támas=[4]saktá=[5]á-vi-spaṣ-ṭa-[6]svará=[7]án-ā-yās-a-[8]bhṛśé-ṣu

The expressions 1. kṣub-dhá-, 2. svān-tá-, 3. dhvān-tá-, 4. lag-ná-, 5. mliṣ-ṭá-, 6. ví-rib-dhá-, 7. phāṇ-ṭá- and 8. bā-ḍhá- are introduced [with affix Ktá 14, not co-occurring with initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 8] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 1. a mixed beverage or churning rod, 2. mind, 3. darkness, 4. attached, 5. indistinct, 6. tone, 7. made without effort and 8. strong, vehement.

In other senses the expressions are: *kṣubh-i-tá-* 'stirred'; *svan-i-tá-* 'sounded', *dhvan-i-tá-* 'indicated, suggested', *lag-i-tá-* 'adhered', *mlecch-i-tá-* 'spoken wrongly or indistinctly', *ví-rebh-i-ta-* 'chattered', *phāṇ-i-tá-* 'inspissated or condensed juice of sugar-cane' and *bāh-i-tá-* 'exerted'.

The irregularly derived forms either constrain the meaning or undergo special modifications not regulated by rules framed: In the case of verbal stems *mlech-*, *rebh-* the stem vowels are shortened (by 1.1.48); in the case of *lag-*, *Ktá→Kná*.

7.2.19 [1]dhṛ́ṣi̱-[2]śás-ī̱ vaíyāt-y-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] dhṛ́ṣ- 'dare' (V 22) and śás- 'hurt, injure' (I 763) to denote insolence (vaí-yāt-y-e).

1. *ÑI-dhṛ́ṣ-À prá-galbh-y-e+Ktá-* = *dhṛṣ-ṭá-* (8.4.41) 'impudent, audacious', but *dharṣ-i-tá-* (1.2.29) 'over-powered, ill-treated'. The operation of 16 above is restricted by this rule in the specific sense of 'insolence' only.
2. *vi-śas+Ktá-* = *vi-śas-tá-* 'rude, ill-mannered' but *ví-śas-i-ta-* 'cut up, dissected'. This stem is also introduced with marker U as IT: *śás-U hiṁsā́-y-ām* and by 56 below and 15 above both forms are realized, but the present rule delimits their use in specific senses.

7.2.20 dṛ-ḍhá-ḥ [1]sthū-lá-[2]bál-ay-oḥ

The expression dṛ-ḍhá- is introduced [without initial increment iṬ 8 inserted at the head of affix 3.1.1 Ktá 14, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 dṛ́ṁh- 'grow' (I 770)] to denote 'stout' (sthū-lá-°) and 'strong' (°-bálay-oḥ).

dṛ́ṁh+Ktá- = *dṛ∅h+Ktá-* = *dṛḍh+dhá-* = *dṛḍha+ḍhdá* = *dṛ∅-ḍhá-*. In other senses: *dṛṁh-i-tá/dṛh-i-tá-* from the twin verbal stems *dṛnh-/dṛh-* (I 770/769). The irregular derivative cited in this rule presupposes a ∅ replacement of phonemes /nh/ in the first stem and of /h/ in the second and substitute [ḍh] replacing [t] of the affix. The derivation shown above becomes defective in deriving further derivatives of [dṛ-ḍhá-] on account of the governing rule 8.2.1 in *dṛ-ḍhá+imániC* (5.1.123) = *dra-ḍh-imán-* by 6.4.161 which stipulates the restriction that /ra/ replaces /ṛ/ preceded by a consonant only when it is a light syllable, but by metarule 8.2.1 *dṛḍh+ḍhá* = *dr∅-ḍhá-* by 8.3.13 does not fulfil the conditions laid down by 6.4.61, and /ra/ replacement of [ṛ] is blocked. Hence the need for special introduction of the finished form without subjecting it to normal derivation.

7.2.21 pra-bh-aú pari-vr̥-ḍhá-ḥ

The expression pari-vr̥-ḍhá- is introduced as a fully formed one to denote 'a sovereign, king' (pra-bh-aú) [derived with affix Ktá introduced after the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 vŕ̥ṁh-/vŕ̥h- (I 772, 221) without the initial increment iṬ 8].

Its derivation is similar to that of [dr̥-ḍhá-] above. In other senses: *pári-vr̥ṁh-i-ta/vr̥h-i-ta-* 'increased, augmented'. Cf. *pari-vraḍh-imán-* (6.4.61) 'capability'.

7.2.22 [1]kr̥cch-rá=[2]gáh-anay-oḥ káṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] káṣ- 'rub' (I 716) to denote 'difficult' (kr̥cch-rá-°) or 'impenetrable, impervious' (°-gáh-anay-oh).

káṣ+Ktá- = kaṣ-ṭá- (8.4.41): *kaṣ-ṭá-ḥ agní-ḥ* 'fire is troublesome' or *kaṣ-ṭá-m vana-m* 'the forest is impenetrable'. But *kaṣ-i-tá-m su-várṇa-m* 'gold has been tested on the touchstone'.

7.2.23 ghúṣÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ghúṣ-ÍR (I 683) when the sense is 'not to proclaim' (á-vi-śabd-an-e).

ghuṣ+Ktá+ṬāP = ghuṣ-ṭ-ā́ (8.4.41) *rájju-ḥ* 'the rope has been rubbed'; similarly *ghuṣ-ṭ-aú pā́d-au* 'the two feet have been massaged'; but from the verbal stem *ghuṣIR vi-śábd-an-e* (X 187)+*Ktá- = ghuṣ-i-tá-* 'proclaimed, declared, sounded'.

7.2.24 árd-e-ḥ [1]sám=[2]ní-[3]ví-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] árd- 'go, beg' (I 56), co-occurring with the preverbs sám-°, ní-° and ví-°.

sám+ard+Ktá = sám-arṇ-ṇa (8.2.42; 4.2) = *sám-arṇa-* (8.4.64) 'wounded, injured'; similarly *ny-àrṇa-* 'dissolved'; *vỳ-arṇa-* 'oppressed, harassed', but *ard-i-tá-* 'asked, requested'.

7.2.25 abhé-s=ca ā́-vi-dūr-y-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 árd- 'beg, request, ask' (I 56) 24] co-occurring with the preverb abhí-° to denote 'proximity' (ā́-vi-dūr-y-e).

abhí+árd+Ktá+ṬāP = *abhy-arṇ-ā́ senā* 'the army is in the vicinity'; *abhy-arṇ-ā́ śarát* 'autumn is approaching', but *abhy-àrd-i-ta-* 'afflicted, distressed'.

7.2.26 Ṇé-r adhy-áy-an-e vr̥t-tá-m

The expression vr̥t-tá- is introduced [without initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ being inserted at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] the causative (Ṇé-ḥ) [áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem 3.1.1 vŕ̥t- 'turn' (I 795)] to indicate 'completed a course of study' (adhy-áy-an-e).

vŕ̥t+Ṇí(C)+Ktá = *vr̥t+∅+tá-* in this particular sense, but in other senses: *vr̥t+ṆíC+iṬ+Ktá* = *vart-i-tá-* (= *vart-∅-i-tá-* 6.4.52) 'turned'.

7.2.27 vā [1]dān-tá-[2]śān-tá-[3]pūr-ṇá-[4]das-tá-[5]spaṣ-ṭá-[6]chan-ná-[7]jña-p-tā́-ḥ

The expressions dān-tá- 'subdued', śān-tá- 'calm', pūr-ṇá- 'full, filled up', das-tá- 'exhausted', spaṣ-ṭá- 'manifested', chan-ná- 'covered' and jña-p-tá- 'informed' are introduced optionally (vā) [without initial increment 1.46 iṬ being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affix Ktá- introduced after 3.1.2 the causative stems 26 of the corresponding verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 dám- 'tame, subdue' (IV 94), śam- 'be quiet' (IV 92, X 156), pr̥̄- 'fill' (III 4, X 15), das- 'waste' (IV 104), spaś- 'perceive, observe' (I 936, X 141), chád- 'cover' (I 851, X 290) and jña-p- 'inform' (X 81)].

dam+ṆíC+Ktá = *dān-tá-* (6.4.15)/*dam-i-tá-*; similarly *śān-tá-/śam-i-tá-; pūr-ṇá-/pūr-i-tá-; das-tá-/dās-i-tá-; spaṣ-ṭá-/spāś-i-tá-; cha-ná-/chād-i-tá-; jñap-tá-/jñap-i-tá* (6.4.92).

7.2.28 [1]rúṣi̲=[2]ámÁ-[3]tvára̲-[4]sáṁ-ghuṣa=[5]ā́-svan-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] rúṣ- 'be angry' (IV 120), ám- 'be ill, ail' (I 493), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812), sám+ghuṣ- 'proclaim' (I 683) and ā́+svan- 'resound, echo' (I 879) [optionally 17].

ruṣ+Ktá-/ruṣ+iṬ+Ktá- = ruṣ-ṭá-/ruṣ-i-tá-; abhy-ān-tá- (6.4.15; 8.4.58)/ *abhy-am-i-tá-; tvár+Ktá/tvar+iṬ+Ktá = tūr-ṇá-* (6.4.20; 8.2.42)/*tvar-i-tá-; sáṁ-ghuṣ-ṭa-/sáṁ=ghuṣ-i-tá-; ā-svān-tá-/ā-svan-i-ta-(kartár-i), ā́-svān-ta-/ ā́-svan-i-ta-(kárman-i).* The present rule becomes necessary for the optional insertion of iṬ in order to block the operation of 15 above, since option for [rúṣ-] is prescribed by 48; similarly for [tvár-] this blocks out the constraint of 16 above; for [sáṁ-ghuṣ-] 23 becomes inoperative, while for [svan-] co-occurring with [ā́Ṅ] the restriction of 18 becomes inoperative.

7.2.29 hṛ̥́ṣe-r loma-su

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] hṛ̥́ṣ- 'rejoice' (I 741) with reference to hair (lóma-su).

hṛ̥́ṣ-Ktá+Śi = hṛ̥ṣ-ṭá-n-i lómān-i (6.4.8) 'hair standing on end, horripulated'. There are two verbal stems involved here: *hṛ̥́ṣ-Ú álīk-e* I 741 *hṛ̥́ṣÁ túṣ-ṭ-au* IV 119; the first one with marker [U] is necessarily an-iṬ before Ktá by 11 above while the other is not. The present option applies to both. When the reference is not to hair, the seṬ is associated with IV 119 and the an-iṬ form with I 741: *hṛ̥ṣ-i-tá-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ* 'D. is pleased' but *hṛ̥ṣ-ṭá-ḥ* 'D. has lied'.

7.2.30 ápa-ci-ta-s=ca

The expression ápa-ci-ta- 'honored, respected' is introduced [optionally 27, without initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 cā́y- (I 929) co-occurring with preverb ápa-° 'to honor, respect'].

ápa-cāy+Kta- = ápa-ci-ta- (with irregular allomorph *ci-* for *cāy-*)/*ápa-cāy-i-ta-*.

7.2.31 hru hvare-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas the substitute element hru- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 verbal áṅga 6.4.1] hvṛ̥- (I 978) [be crooked' before 1.1.67 niṣṭhā́ 14 affixes 3.1.1].

hvṛ̥+Ktá (10) = *hru-tá-* 'crooked'; in non-Chándas: *hvṛ̥-tá-*.

7.2.32 á-pari-hvṛ-ta-s ca

[In the domain of Chándas 31] the expression á-pari-hvṛ-ta- 'not endangered' is introduced.

Exception to 31 above.

7.2.33 sóm-e hva-r-itá-ḥ

[In the Chándas 31] the expression hvar-i-tá- is introduced with reference to Sóma.

Guṇá and initial increment iṬ are associated with the affix Ktá: *hvṛ+iṬ+ktá-* = *hvar-i-tá-: mā́ naḥ sómo hvar-i-tá-ḥ* 'let not Soma mislead us'.

7.2.34 [1]gras-i-tá-[2]skabh-i-tá-[3]stabh-i-tá=[4]út-tabh-i-ta=[5]cat-tá-[6]ví-kas-ta-[7]vi-śas-tṛ́-[8]śaṁs-tṛ́-[9]śās-tṛ́-[10]taru-tṛ́-[11]tarū-tṛ́-[12]várutṛ-[13]varū-tṛ́-[14]váru-trī-r=[15]új-jval-i-ti-[16]kṣár-i-ti-[17]kṣám-i-ti-[18]vám-i-ti=[19]ám-i-ti=itica

[In the Chándas 31] the expressions beginning with gras-i-tá- 'devoured' and ending with 18 am-i-ti 'goes, ails, etc.' are introduced as fully derived forms.

1. Initial increment iṬ is inserted at the head of [Ktá] introduced after the verbal stems *grás+U* (I 661), *skánbh-Ù* (IX 8), *stánbh-Ù* (IX 7), whereas it is blocked by 56 and 15: *gras-i-tá-* 'devoured'; *ska-bh-i-tá-* (6.4.24) 'arrested'; *staØbh-i-tá-* 'fixed, supported'. In non-Chándas *gras-tá-, skab-dhá-* (8.2.40; 4.53), *stab-dhá-*.
2. Initial increment iṬ is blocked after verbal stems *cát-È* (I 918), *káś-Á* (I 913, II 14): *cat+Ktá+ṬāP = cat-t-ā́ varṣ-éṇa vi-dyút* 'the lightning is hidden by the rain'; in non-Chándas *cat-i-tá-*. *uttānā́y-ā hṛ́d-aya-ṁ yád ví-kas-ta-m* (MS 2.7.4) 'the heart of one lying on the back is rent asunder': non-Chándas *ví-kas-i-ta-* 'blown'.
3. The initial increment iṬ is blocked in the case of affix [tṛ́C] introduced after the verbal stems *śáns-Ú* (I 764), *śás-Ú* (I 763), *śā́s-Ú* (II 66): *vi+śas+tṛ́C- = vi-śas-tṛ́-* 'dissector'; *śaṁs+tṛ́C = śaṁs-tṛ́-* 'a reciter'; *śās-tṛ́-* 'instructor'; in non-Chándas *vi-sas-i-tṛ́-, śaṁs-i-tṛ́-, śās-i-tṛ́-*.
4. Initial increment uṬ/ūṬ are inserted at the head of affix [°-tṛ́C] introduced after the verbal áṅga-s *tṝ-* (I 1018), *vṛ-Ñ* (V 8), *vṛ-Ṅ* (IX 38) instead of iṬ/īṬ: *tar-u-tṛ́-/tar-ū-tṛ́-* 'who crosses', *vár-u-tṛ-/var-ū-tṛ́-* 'chooser/protector'; in non-Chándas: *tar-i-tṛ́-/tar-ī-tṛ́-; var-i-tṛ́-/var-ī-tṛ́-*. *vár-u-tṛ+ṄīP* (4.1.5) = *vár-u-tṛN=ī = vár-u-tr-ī* 'female protector, guardian goddess'. The long increment is by 38 below. It may be noted by the accentuation of this last form that the affix is [tṛN] instead of [tṛ́C] in the masculine form.
5. In the remaining five forms substitute phoneme /i/ replaces áṅga- final /a/ before

[tiP] or substitute ∅ for class-marker [ŚaP] and initial increment iṬ inserted at the head of [tiP]: *úd+jval+ŚaP+tiP = új-jval-i-ti* (8.4.40) 'flares'; similarly *kṣár-i-ti/kṣám-i-ti/ám-i-ti*; alternatively *kṣár+∅+iṬ+ti; új-jval-a-ti/kṣár-a-ti/kṣám-a-ti/vám-a-ti/ám-a-ti* in non-Chándas.

7.2.35 ā́rdha-dhātuka-sya iṬ=va̱L-āde-ḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted at the head of an ā́rdha-dhātuka (3.4.114) affix beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° (va̱L=āde-ḥ).

This is a governing rule. The expression [ā́rdha-dhātuka-] recurs in the following sū́tra-s up to 76 below, while [va̱l-ādi-] recurs up to 79. The repetition of the word [iṬ] here while it was recurring from 8 above is to block out the privative particle [ná] from that sū́tra.

lū+tṛ́/tumu̱N/távya = lū+iṬ+tṛ́/tum/távya = lav-i-tṛ́/láv-i-tum/lav-i-távya- (3.84; 6.1.78). But *ā́s+∅[1]+te = ā́s-te* 'sits' since the affix is sā́rvadhātuka.

7.2.36 [1]snú-[2]krámo-r an-ātmane-pada-ni-mit-t-é

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] śnú- 'ooze' (II 28) and krám- 'tread' (I 502) when they do not cause the introduction of Ātmanepadá (middle) l-substitutes.

Ātmanepadá l-substitutes are occasioned where the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kárman̩-i) constructions, or in the active construction when reflexive (karma-kartár-i 3.1.62) or reciprocal (karma-vy-ati-hār-é 1.3.13-4) usage are involved.

1. *pra+snu+tṛ́C = pra-snu+iṬ+tṛ́ = pra-snav-i-tṛ́-/°-távya-/pra-snáv-i-tum* 'to pour out', but from *snu-té: pra-sno-tṛ́-/°távya-/pra-sno-tum.*
2. kram-: *krā́m-a-ti pra-kram-i-tṛ́-/távya-/pra-krám-i-tum; krám-a-te: pra-kran-tṛ́-/°-távya-/pra-krán-tum* (8.3.23; 4.58).

7.2.37 gráh-aḥ=á-lIṬ-i dīrghá-ḥ

A substitute long (dīrgha-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of ā́rdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels except y-°, and consonants (va̱L-ādi) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), excluding l-substitutes of lIṬ.

gráh+tṛ́C/távya/tumu̱N = grah+iṬ+tṛ́C/távya/tumu̱N = grah-ī-tṛ́-/grah-ī-távya-,

grah-I-tum. But *grah+lIṬ* = *gṛh+lIṬ+vá/má* (6.1.16) = *ja-gṛh-i-vá/má* (6.1.8; 7.4.60,62)

7.2.38 ¹vṛ=²ṝT-aḥ vā

[A substitute long vowel 37] optionally (vā) [replaces the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 626.4.1] vṛ-Ñ 'cover' (V 8) vṛ-Ṅ 'choose' (IX 38) and those [ending in 1.1.72] long ṝ(T) [excluding those of lIṬ 37].

1. *vṛ-Ṅ+tṛ́C/tádvya/tumuN* = *vṛ+iṬ+trC/tavaya/tumuN* = *var-i-tṛ́-/°távya-/vár-i-tum; var-I+tṛ́-/°távya-/vár-I-tum*. But *vṛ-Ñ+lIṬ+vá/má* = *va-var-i-vá/má; prā-vṛ+tṛ́C/távya/tumuN* = *prā-var-i/I+tṛ́/°távya-/prā-vár-i/I+tum* 'to cover'.
2. *tṝ+tumuN* = *tár-i-tum/tar-I-tum*, but *hṛ+tumuN* = *hár-tum*.

7.2.39 ná lIṄ-i

[A substitute long vowel 37] does not (ná) [replace the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 vṛÑ (V 8) 'cover' and vṛṄ 'choose, share' (IX 38) and those ending in long ṝ(T)38] when they are l-substitutes of lIṄ (3.4.116: Precative or Benedictive Mood).

prā́/ví+vṛ+lIṄ = *prā́/ví+vṛ+iṬ+sIyuṬ+suṬ+ta* (102, 107) = *prā́/ví-var-i-sIy+s+ta* (6.1.66) = *prā́/ví+var-i-ṣI-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.58; 4.41). *ā́/ví+stṝ+lIṄ* = *ā́/ví+star-i-ṣI-ṣ-dṭa*. Initial increment is provided by 42 below.

7.2.40 siC-i ca parasmai-padé-ṣu

[A substitute long vowel 37 does not 39 replace the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of the ā́rdhadhātuka 31 Aorist marker 3.1.44] siC co-occurring [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadá l-substitutes introduced [after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 vṛÑ (V 8) 'cover' and vṛṄ (X 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long ṝ(T) 38].

prā+vṛÑ (V 8)+*lUṄ* = *prā+áṬ* (6.4.71)+*vṛ+iṬ+siC+tām* (3.4.101) = *prā́-vāri-ṣ-ṭām* (8.3.59, 4.41); *ā+áṬ+stṝ+iṬ+siC+tām* = *ā́=stār-i-ṣ-ṭām*. Before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *prā́-vari-ṣ-ṭa/prā-var-I-ṣ-ṭa* (38, 42).

7.2.41 iṬ saN-i vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s vr̥̄Ñ (V 8) 'cover' and vr̥̄Ṅ (IX 38) and those ending in 1.1.72 long r̥̄(T) 38].

vr̥̄+saN+ŚaP+tiP/vr̥̄+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = vú-vūr-ṣa-a-ti (1.2.9; 7.1.102; 6.4.16) = *vú-vūr-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97)/*ví-var-i-ṣa-te/ví-var-ī-ṣa-te* (38); *tr̥̄+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *tí-tīr-ṣa-ti* (1.2.9; 7.1.100)/*tí-tar-i-ṣa-ti/tí-tar-ī-ṣa-ti* (38).

7.2.42 ¹lIṄ-²si̱C-or ātmane-padé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdha-dhātuka 35 l-substitutes of] lIṄ (3.4.116) and[the Aorist marker 3.1.44] si̱C [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 vr̥̄Ñ- (V 8) 'cover' and vr̥̄Ṅ (IX 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long r̥̄(T) 38 co-occurring before 1.1.66] Ātmanepadá l-substitutes.

1. *vr̥̄+lIṄ+ta = vr̥̄+sīyu̱Ṭ+su̱Ṭ+tá* (3.4.102, 107) = *vr̥̄-sīy-s-ta = vr̥̄-sī∅-s-ta* (6.1.66; 1.2.11) = *vr̥̄-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá* (8.3.59; 4.41)/*var-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá* (3.84).
2. *vr̥̄+lUṄ+ta = áṬ+vr̥̄+si̱C+ta = á+vr̥̄+∅ ta* (8.2.27; 1.2.11)/*á-var-i-ṣ-ṭa/ á-var-ī-ṣ-ṭa* (38).
3. Similarly: *á-stīr-ṣ-ṭa/á-star-i-ṣ-ṭa/á-star-ī-ṣ-ṭa.*

7.2.43 r̥T-as=ca saṁ-yog-á=āde-ḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of lIṄ and the Aorist marker 3.1.44 si̱C co-occurring before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Ātmanepadá 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short r̥(T) with initial conjunct consonants (saṁ-yog-á=āde-ḥ).

dhvr̥+sīyu̱Ṭ+su̱Ṭ+tá = dhvr̥-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá/dhvar-i-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá, but *kr̥-ṣī-ṣ-ṭá; dhvr̥+si̱C+ādtām = á=dhvr̥-ṣ-ātām/á-dhvar-i-ṣ-ātām* but *á-kr̥-ta.*

7.2.44 ¹svár-a-ti-²sū́-ti-³sū́-ya-ti-⁴dhūÑ=⁵ūT=IT-aḥ vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a semivowel or a consonant excluding y-° 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] svr̥- 'resound' (I 979), sū́- 'give birth to' (II 21, IV 24), dhū- 'shake' (V 9) and those with marker U as IT (when first introduced in the Dhp.: upadeśé).

The repetition of the expression [vā] in this rule, when it was already recurring from 41 above is to block out the recurrence of the expressions of 42 above, thus reverting to the general governing rule 35.

1. *svṛ+tumuN = svár-tum/svár-i-tum; svar-tṛ́-/svar-i-tṛ́; svar-távya-/svar-i-távya-.* 2. *sū: pra-sū+tṛ́C = pra-so-tṛ́-/pra-sav-i-tṛ́-.* 3. *dho-tṛ́-/dhav-i-tṛ́-.* 4. *gup-Ū: gop-tṛ́-/gop-i-tṛ́-* etc.

In the case of [svṛ-] 70 below blocks out this option and yields the correct form *svar-i-ṣyá-ti.* Similarly in the case of affixes with marker K as IT, 11 above blocks out this option by a special device which commentators call pūrva-vipratiṣedha (contra 1.4.2). Patañjali, however, interprets [pára- 1.4.2] as equivalent to [iṣṭá-] 'what is appropriate in the context of actual speech'; this yields the correct forms such as *svṛ+Ktvā́ = svṛ-tvā́, sū-tvā́, dhū-tvā́.*

7.2.45 radhÁ=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] beginning with radh- 'submit, surrender' (IV 84).

This class consists of: 84. *radhÁ hiṁsā́-saṁ-rā́d-dhy-oḥ*; 85. *ṇaśÁ á-darś-an-e* 'disappear'; 86. *tṛpÁ prī́-ṇ-an-e* 'be pleased'; 87. *dṛpÁ harṣa-móhanay-oḥ* 'be mad'; 88. *druhÁ jí-ghā́ṁ-sā́-y-ām* 'be hosstile'; 89. *muhÁ vaí-cit-ty-e* 'be perplexed'; 90. *ṣnuhÁ ud-gír-aṇe* 'throw up, vomit'; 91. *ṣnihÁ prī́-t-au* 'be affectionate, stick, adhere'.

1. *radh+tumuN = rádh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *rád-dhum* (8.4.53)/*rádh-i-tum*; 2. *naś+tumuN = náṁṣ-ṭum* (1.60; 8.2.38, 4.41)/*náś-i-tum*; 3. *tṛ́p-tum/ tṛ+aM-p-tum = tráp-tum* (6.1.59)/*tárp-i-tum*; 4. *dṛ́p-tum/dárp-tum/dárp-i-tum* (3.86); 5. *druh+tumuN = drogh+dhum* (8.2.32,40) = *dróg-dhum* (8.4.53)/ *dróh-i-tum/droḍh+ḍhum* (8.2.33,38; 4.41) = *dró∅-ḍhum* (8.3.13); 6. *móg-dhum/ mó-ḍhum/móh-i-tum*; 7. *snóg-dhum/snó-ḍhum/snóh-i-tum*; 8. *snég-dhum/ sné-ḍhum/snéh-i-tum.*

7.2.46 nír-aḥ kúṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] kúṣ- 'hurt, injure' (IX 46), co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb nír-°.

nír+kuṣ+tumuN = niḥ-kóṣ-tum (8.3.15) = *nis-kóṣ-tum* (8.3.34) *niṣ-koṣ-ṭum* (8.3.59; 4.41)/*niṣ-kóṣ-i-tum* 'to extract, pull out'.

7.2.47 iṬ niṣṭhā́-y-ām

The initial increment (1.1.46) iṬ is inserted at the head of niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26: Ktá, KtavatU) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1 kúṣ- 'hurt, injure' (X 46), co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb nír- ° 46].

Exception to 15 above. The repetition of iṬ here is for the purpose of indicating that this is a necessary insertion in this context and the option-indicating [vā] will still continue in the following rules.

nir+kuṣ+Ktá = níṣ-kuṣ-i-ta- 'extracted, pulled out'.

7.2.48 ti=^{1}íṣÁ-^{2}sáhA-^{3}lúbhÁ-^{4}rúṣA-^{5}ríṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of an ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme t- ° (t-i) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] íṣ- 'desire' (VI 59), sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905), lúbh- 'covet' (IV 238), rúṣ- 'be angry' and ríṣ- 'hurt, injure' (I 725).

1. *íṣ+tumuN = éṣ-ṭum/éṣ-i-tum*; 2. *sáh+tumuN = sóḍh-tum* (6.3.112; 8.2.31) = *sóḍh-dhum* (8.2.40) = *sóḍh+ḍhum* (8.4.41) = *sóØ-ḍhum* (8.3.13) = *só-ḍhum/sáh-i-tum*; 3. *lúbh+tum = lóbh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *lób-dhum* (8.4.53)/*lóbh-i-tum*; 4. *róṣ-ṭum/róṣ-i-tum*; 5. *réṣ-ṭum/réṣ-i-tum*.

7.2.49 saN-i ^{1}ív=anta=^{2}ŕ̥dha-^{3}bhrasjA-^{4}dánbhU-^{5}śri-^{6}svr̥-^{7}yú= ^{8}ūrṇú-^{9}bhara-^{10}jñapi-^{11}sán-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-iv-, and ŕ̥dh- 'increase' (IV 135), bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), dánbhU 'deceive' (V 23), śrí- 'lean or depend on' (I 945), svr̥- 'sound' (I 979), yú- 'mix' (II 23), bhr̥- 'bear' (III 5), jñap- 'inform' (X 81) and sán- 'gain' (VIII 2).

1. *div+saN = dí-div+sa+ŚaP+tiP = dí-div-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.9,97; 8.3.59)/ *diūṬH+saN-a-ti* (1.2.10; 6.4.19) = *dyū+saN-a-ti = dú-dyū-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 6.4.59-60; 8.3.59).
2. *r̥dh+saN+ŚaP+tiP = ŕ̥d-irdh-sa-ti* (6.1.2; 7.4.55; 1.1.51) = *Ø-írdh+sa+ti* (7.4.58) = *írt-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*árd-i-dhiṣa-ti* (3.86).
3. *bhrasj+saN+ŚaP+tiP = bhraØj-sa-a-ti* (8.2.29) = *bhraṣ+saN+a+ti* (8.2.36) = *bí-bhr̥k-ṣa-ti* (8.2.41; 3.59; 6.1.97)/*bí-bhrajj-i-ṣa-ti* (8.4.40,53).
4. *danbh+saN+ŚaP+tiP = dí-dambh+sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 8.3.24; 4.58) = *Ø=díØbh+sa=ti* (7.4.56,58; 1.2.10; 6.4.24) = *dhíbh+sa-ti* (8.2.37) = *dhíp-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*dhīp-sa-ti* (7.4.56)/*dí-dambh-i-ṣa-ti*.

5. *śrí+saN+ŚaP+tiP = śí-śri-sa-a-ti = śí-śrī-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16)/*śí-śray-i-ṣa-ti* (3.84; 6.1.78).
6. *svr̥+saN+ŚaP+tiP = sú-svūr-ṣa-ti* (1.102; 9.2.77; 3.59; 6.1.97)/*sí-svar-i-ṣa-ti* (7.4.79).
7. *yú-yū-ṣa-ti* (6.4.16)/*yí-yav-i-ṣa-ti*.
8. *ūrṇu+saN+ŚaP+tiP = ū́rṇu-nu+sa-a-ti* (6.1.2) = *ū́rṇu-nū-ṣa-ti* (6.1.2; 4.16)/*ū́rṇu-nuv-i-ṣdsa-ti* (1.2.3; 6.4.77)/*ū́rṇu-nav-i-ṣa-ti* (3.84; 6.1.78).
9. *bhr̥+saN+ŚaP+tiP = bú-bhur-sa-a-ti* (8.2.77) = *bú-bhūr-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 7.2.77)/*bí-bhar-i-ṣa-ti* (8.3.59).
10. *jñap-í+saN+ŚaP+riP = jñī́p-sa-ti* (4.55,58)/*jí-jñap-i-ṣa-ti*.
11. *san+saN+ŚaP+tiP = si-sā-ṣa-ti* (6.4.42)/*si-ṣan-i-ṣa-ti*.

7.2.50 kliś-aḥ [1]Ktvā́-[2]niṣṭháy-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with vaL 35] Ktvā́ and those denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā́ (1.1.26 Ktá, KtávatU) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] kliś- 'torment' (IV 52a).

1. *kliś+Ktvā/Ktá = kliṣ-ṭvā́* (8.2.36; 4.41)/*kliś-i-tvā́*; 2. *kliṣ-ṭá-/kliś-i-ta-*.

7.2.51 pū́Ṅ-as=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with vaL 35: Ktvā and niṣṭhā́ (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] pūṄ- 'purify' (I 1015) also (ca).

pū+Ktvā́ = pū-tvā́/pav-i-tvā́ (1.2.18); *pū+Ktá = pū-tá-/pav-i-tá-* (1.2.22).

7.2.52 [1]vás-a-ti=[2]kṣudh-or iṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted at the head of [ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with val 35: Ktvā́ and niṣṭhā́ (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] vás- 'reside' (I 1054), and kṣudh- 'be hungry' (IV 81).

1. *vás+Ktvā́=vás+iṬ-Ktvā́ = uas+i-tvā* (6.1.15) = *us-i-tvā* (6.1.108) *uṣ-i-tvā́; vas+iṬ+Ktá = uṣ-i-tá-* (8.3.60).
2. *kṣudh+iṬ+Ktvā́/Ktá = kṣudh-i-tvā́/kṣudh-i-tá-*.

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of the option introduced from 41 onwards.

7.2.53 ánce-ḥ pūjā́-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL: Ktvā́ and niṣṭhā́ (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ánc- when denoting 'honor, worship' (pūjā́-y-ām) (I 203).

The verbal stem *áncÚ gati-pū́janay-oḥ* has two main meanings and the present rule restricts the operation to only one.

anc+iṬ+Ktvā́/Ktá = *añc-i-tvā́/añc-i-tá-* 'honored, worshiped'. By having marker [U] as IT the initial increment is inserted optionally after it before niṣṭhā affixes (56 below) which would have blocked that insertion by 15 above, but by this rule the operation of 15 is also blocked.

In other senses: *úd+anc+Kta* = *úda∅k-ta-m* (6.4.24; 8.2.30) *udaká-ṁ kū́p-āt* 'water has been lifted up from the well'.

7.2.54 lúbh-aḥ vi-móc-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ is inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL 35: Ktvā́ and niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] lúbh- (VI 22) when denoting 'perplexity' (vi-móh-an-e).

lubh+iṬ+Ktvā́/Ktá = *lubh-i-tvā́* (1.2.26)/*lubh-i-tá*.

48 above, read with 15 would normally block out this initial increment after [lúbh-], but in this particular meaning the present rule supervenes. In other senses 15 prevails: *lubh+Ktá* = *lub-dhá-ḥ vr̥ṣalá-ḥ=śī́t-éna pī́ḍ-i-tá-ḥ* 'afflicted by cold'.

7.2.55 [1]jr̥̄́-[2]vráścy-oḥ Ktv-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of ā́rdhadhātuka affix beginning with vaL 35]: Ktvā́ [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] 'grow old' (I 863, IX 24) and vraśc- 'tear, cut' (VI 11).

1. *jr̥̄+iṬ-Ktvā́* = *jar-i-tvā́/jar-ī-tvā́* (38). Since this verbal stem is here introduced without an IT marker, this rule does not apply to *jr̥̄Ṣ* (IV 22): *jr̥̄+Ktvā́* = *jīr-tvā́* (1.100, 8.2.77). Exception to 11 above.
2. *vrasc+Ktvā́* = *vrasc+iṬ+Ktvā́* = *vrasc-i-tvā́*. Since the verbal stem is *vrasc-U chéd-an-e*, this is an exception to 44 above. Also, as seṬ (Ktvā́) is not deemed a K-IT by 1.2.18, vocalization by 6.1.16 is effectively blocked.

7.2.56 uT=IT-aḥ vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35] is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a semivowel or a consonant other than y-° 35: Ktvā́ 55 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1] whose stem is marked with U as IT [when first introduced in the Dhp.: upa-deś-é].

śámU úpa-śam-é (IV 92)+*Ktvā́* = *śam-i-tvā́/śā̃n-tvā́* (6.4.15) and *śam+Ktá* = *śān-tá-* (15; 6.4.15); *bhrámU cál-an-e* (I 903) *bhram-i-tvā́/bhrān-tvā́*.

7.2.57 se=a-siC-i [1]kṝta-[2]cṝta-[3]chṝda-[4]tṝda-[5]nṝt-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 56 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] s-° excluding the Aorist marker siC (3.1.44) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] kṝt- 'cut' (VII 10), cṝt- 'attach' (VI 35), chṝd- 'vomit' (VII 8), tṝd- 'pierce' (VII 9) and nṝt- 'dance' (IV 9).

1. *kṛt+lṚṬ* = *kṛt+syá+tiP* = *kart-syá-ti/kart-i-ṣya-ti* (3.86; 8.3.59); *+lṚṄ* = *áṬ+kṛt+sya+t* = *á-kart-sya-t/á-kart-i-ṣya-t; +saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cí-kṛt-sa-ti* (1.2.10)/*cí-kart-i-ṣa-ti*. But *áṬ+kṛt+iṬ+siC+īṬ+t* = *á-kart-i-∅-ī-t* = *á-kart-ī-t*.
2. *cṛt+syá+ti* = *cart-syá-ti/cart-i-ṣyá-ti; á-cart-syá-t/á-cart-i-ṣya-t, cí-cṛt-sa-ti/cí-cart-i-ṣa-ti; á-cart-ī-t*.
3. *chart-syá-ti* (8.4.55)/*chard-i-ṣyá-ti* (8.3.59); *á-chart-sya-t/á-chard-i-ṣya-t; cí-cchṛt-sa-ti/cí-cchard-i-ṣa-ti; á-chard-ī-t*.
4. *tart-syá-ti/tard-i-ṣyá-ti; á-tart-sya-t/á-tard-i-ṣya-t; tí-tṛt-sa-ti/tí-tard-i-ṣa-ti; á-tard-ī-t*.
5. *nart-syá-ti/nart-i-ṣyá-ti; á-nart-sya-t/á-nart-i-ṣya-t; ní-nṛt-sa-ti/ní-narti-i-ṣa-ti; á-nart-ī-t*.

7.2.58 game-r iṬ parasmaipadé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ [is inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] gám- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

gam+iṬ+syá-ti = *gam-i-ṣyá-ti, á-gam-i-ṣya-t; +saN: jí-gam-i-ṣa-ti*. But before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *sáṁ=gaṁ-sya-te* (1.3.29)/*saṁ-gaṁ-sī-ṣ-ṭa* (Precative).

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out [vā] of 56 above.

7.2.59 ná vṛ́t=bhyaś catúr-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35] is not inserted [at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s- ° 57, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] of four verbal stems beginning with vṛ́t- 'turn, occur' (I 795) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 58].

The four verbal stems are: 795. *vṛ́tU várt-an-e*; 796. *vṛ́dhU vṛ́d-dh-au*; 797. *śṛ́dhU śabda-kutsā́-y-ām*; 798. *syánd-Ū pra-sráv-aṇ-e*. 1-2. *vṛt/vṛdh+syá+tiP* (1.3.92) = *vart-syá-ti/vart-syá-ti* (8.4.55); *á-vart-sya-t/ví-vṛt-sa-ti* (1.2.10). 3. *śṛdh+syá+tiP = śart-syá-ti/á-śart-syá-t/śí-śṛt-sa-ti* (1.2.10); 4. *syand+syá+tiP = syant-syá-ti/á-syant-sya-t/sí-syant-sa-ti*. But before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *vart-i-ṣyá-te/vardhi-ṣyá-té śardh-i-ṣyá-te/syand-i-ṣyá-te* etc. In the case of the fourth stem, this rule blocks the operation of the option in 44 above.

7.2.60 tā́s-i ca kḷ́p-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s- ° 57] as well as (ca) tā́s (the marker of lUṬ 3.1.33) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] kḷp- 'be able, accomplish' (I 799) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 58].

kḷ́p+tā́s+miP = kalp-tā́s-mi; kalp-syá-ti/á-kalp-sya-t/cí-kḷp-sa-ti (1.2.10). Before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *kalp-i-ṣyá-te/á-kalp-i-ṣya-ta/cí-kalp-i-ṣa-te*.

7.2.61 aC-as tás-vát thaL-i=án-iṬ-aḥ=nítya-m

[After 1.1.67 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) which do not operate the initial increment necessarily [at the head of the affix 3.1.1 tā́s 60, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of an ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of lIṬ 3.4.82] thaL, as in the case of tā́s.

yā+tā́s+mi: ya-yā́-tha; ce-tā́s-mi: ci-cé-tha; ne-tā́s-mi: ni-né-tha; ho-tā́s-mi: ju-ho-tha; but *ya-y-i-vá/má*.

7.2.62 upa-deś-é áT=vat-aḥ

[As in the case before 1.1.66 tā́s 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of lIṬ 3.4.82 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1] of a stem which contains a short a(T) when first introduced (in the Dhp.: upa-deś-é) [and which does not necessarily introduce it before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 tā́s 60].

This rule is in respect of verbal stems which do not end in a vowel (61). *pac+tā́s+miP* = *pak-tā́s-mi* (8.2.30): *pa-pák-tha* from the verbal stem *ḌU-pac-À-Ṣ pāk-é* (I 1045); but from *kṛ́ṣ-Á vi-lékh-an-e* (I 1039): *karṣ-tā́s-mi: ca-kárṣ-i-tha* since it does not contain the short vowel [a(T)] when first introduced in the Dhp.

7.2.63 ṛT-aḥ bhā́radvāja-sya

[As in the case before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 tā́s 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 l-substitute of lIṬ 3.4.81 thaL 61, introduced after 3.1.2 à verbal áṅga 6.4.1 of a stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] short ṛ [which does not necessarily operate it before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 tā́s 60] according to the grammarian Bhā́radvāja.

smṛ+tā́s+miP = *smar-tā́s-mi: sa-smár-tha*. According to this grammarian, then, 61 is applicable only to verbal stems ending in the short phoneme /ṛT/ and not to any others: thus *ya-y-í-tha/ya-y-i-vá/má* (61), *pec-í-tha* (62), thus making these rules optional.

7.2.64 [1]ba-bhū́-tha=[2]ā-ta-tán-tha-[3]ja-gṛbh-má-[4]va-vár-tha= iti ni-gam-é

The expressions ba-bhū́-tha 'thou has become', ā-ta-tán-tha 'thou hast spread', ja-gṛbh-má 'we have seized', and va-vár-tha 'thou hast covered' are introduced in the Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é).

1. *tvám hí hótā prathamó ba-bhū́-tha* 'thou hast become the first officiating priest' (TS 3.1.4.4), (for *ba-bhū́v-i-tha*).
2. *y-éna=antárikṣa-m urv-ā-ta-tán-tha* 'by which (power) thou hast spread out' (RV 3.11.1) (for *á-tén-i-tha* 6.4.121).
3. *ja-gṛbh-mā́ te dákṣiṇa-m indra hásta-m* 'we have grasped your right hand, O Indra!' (RV 10.47.1), (for *ja-gṛh-i-má*).
4. *va-vár-tha tváṁ hí jyótiṣ-ā* 'thou hast covered thyself with light' (for *va-vár-i-tha*).

7.2.65 vibhāṣā [1]sṛji-[2]dṛ́ṣ-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 25 is not 59 inserted] optionally (vibhāṣā) [at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] sṛj- 'project' (VI 121) and dṛ́ś- 'perceive' (I 1037).

1. *s̥rj+lIṬ = sa-s̥rj-(+iṬ)+thaL = sa-sr-aM-j+tha:* (6.1.58)/*sa-s̥rj+iṬ-thaL = sa-sráṣ-ṭha* (8.2.36; 4.41)/*sa-sárj-i-tha.*
2. *dr̥ś+thaL = da-dráṣ-ṭha/da-dárś-i-tha.*

7.2.66 iṬ ¹át-ti=²ar-ti=³vyáy-a-ti-n-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted [at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] ad- 'eat' (II 1), r̥- 'go' (III 16) vye- 'cover, clothe' (I 1056).

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from the preceding rule.

1. *ad+thaL = ā-ád-iṬ-thaL = ā́d-i-tha* (4.70).
2. *r̥+iṬ-thaL = ā-ár-i-tha = ā́r-i-tha.*
3. *vyé+thaL = vye+iṬ+thaL = vi-vyé+i-tha = vi-vyáy-i-tha* (3.84; 6.1.78).

7.2.67 vásU ¹éka=aC=²āT=³ghas-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1] (K)vásU (3.2.107) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] of a (reduplicated) monosyllabic stem (ek=aC-°) and stems [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel ā(T) as well as ghas- 'eat' (I 747).

The qualified "reduplicated" for monosyllabic stems arises from the fact that there is no polysyllabic stem without reduplication to block which the word monosyllabic is necessary here [with the exception of *ūrṇu-* and *jāgr̥-* (for which special vārttikas have been provided)].

1. *ad+KvásU* (3.2.107) = *ā-ad+iṬ+vas = ād-i-vás-* 'who has eaten' where, after euphonic combination the theme before [vás] is monosyllabic; similarly *aś+KvásU = ā-aś+vás = āś-i-vás-*. *pac+KvásU = pa-pac+KvásU = ∅-pec+iṬ=vás = pec-i-vás-* 'has cooked' where *pec-* before *KvásU* is monosyllabic by virtue of ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable by 4.58.
2. *yā+KvásU = ya-yā+iṬ-KvásU = ya-y∅-i-vás* (6.4.64) = *ya-y-i-vás-* 'who has gone'.
3. *ghas+KvásU = ja-ghas+KvásU = ja-gh∅s+i-vás* (6.4.98) = *jakṣ-i-vás-* (8.3.60; 4.55).

7.2.68 vibhāṣā ¹gáma-²hanÁ-³vídÁ-⁴viś-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 vásU 67 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] gám- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), víd- 'know' (II 55) and viś- 'enter' (VI 130).

1. *gám+KvásU/gám+iṬ+KvásU = ja-gam+vás/ja-gam+i-vás = ja-gan-vás* (8.2.64)/*ja-g∅m-i-vás* (6.4.98) = *ja-gmi-vás-.*

2. *han+KvásU = ja-han+vás/ja-han-i-vás = ja-ghan+vás/ja-ghan-i-vas-* (3.55) = *ja-ghan-vás-* (8.2.64)/*ja-gh∅n-i-vás-* (6.4.98) = *ja-ghn-i-vás-*.
3. *vid+KvásU = vi-vid+vás-/vi-vid+i-vás- = vi-vid-vás-/vi-vid-i-vás-*.
4. *viś+KvásU = vi-viś-vás-/vi-viś-i-vás-*.

7.2.69 saniṁ-sa-san-i-vā́ṁs-am

The expression saniṁ-sa-san-i-vā́ṁs-am is introduced [as a derivative in KvásU from the verbal stem san- 'gain' (VIII 2) co-occurring after sanim-° with initial increment iṬ inserted at the head of vásU 67].

This non-classical form corresponds to classical Sk. *san+KvásU = sa-san+vás- = ∅-sen-i-vás-* (67).

7.2.70 [1]r̥T=[2]han-oḥ sy-é

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 25 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 tense-marker 3.1.33] syá [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short phoneme r̥(T) as well as han- 'kill, strike' (II 2).

1. *kr̥+lR̥T/lR̥Ṅ = kar-i-ṣyá-ti/á-kar-i-ṣya-t* (3.84; 8.3.59).
2. Similarly: *han-i-ṣyá-ti/á-han-i-ṣya-t*.

7.2.71 anje-ḥ si̱C-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iṬ* 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44] si̱C [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] anj- 'anoint' (VII 21).

anj+lUṄ = āṬ+anj+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t (6.4.72; 7.3.96) = *ā́ñj-i-∅-ī-t* (8.2.28) = *ā́ñj-ī-t/; °+tām/°us = ā́ñj-i-ṣ-tam/ā́ñj-i-ṣ-uḥ. anjU+tumu̱N = áṅk-tum/áñj-i-tum* (44).

7.2.72 [1]stu-[2]su-[3]dhūÑ-bhyaḥ parasmai-padé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 34 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 si̱C71 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] stu- 'praise, extol' (II 34), su- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) and dhūÑ 'shake' (V 9, IX 17) [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

1. *stu+si̱C = āṬ+stu+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t = á-stau-i+∅-ī-t* (1; 3.93; 8.2.28) = *á-stāv-ī-t* (6.1.78) but *á-sto-ṣ-ṭa* (8.3.59, 4.41).

2. *su+si̱C = ásau+i-∅-ī-t = á-sāv-ī-t.*
3. *dhu+si̱C = á-dhau+i-∅-ī-t = á-dhāv-ī-t.*

The corresponding Ātmanepadá forms for 2-3 are: *á-so-ṣ-ṭa. á-dho-ṣ-ṭa/á-dhav-i-ṣ-ṭa* (44).

7.2.73 ¹yámÁ-²ramA-³námÁ=⁴āT-ām sa̱K ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 si̱C 71 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] yam- 'restrain, control' (I 1033), ram- 'sport' (I 906), nám- 'bend down, bow' (I 867) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T), and [the final increment 1.1.46] sa̱K is inserted after the verbal [áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 72].

1. *yam+siC = áṬ+yam+sa̱K+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t* (3.96) = *á-yam-s-i-∅-ī-t* (8.2.28) = *á-yaṁs-ī-t* (8.3.23). On the same lines: 2. *á-raṁs-ī-t*; 3. *á-naṁs-ī-t*; 4. *á-yā-s=ī-t.*

But before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *á-yaṁ-s-ta/á-raṁ-s-ta/á-naṁ-s-ta.* This type of Aorist is known as the s-i-ṣ-Aorist.

7.2.74 ¹smi-²pū́Ṅ=³r̥̄=⁴ánjŪ=⁵aś-ām saN-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] smi- 'smile' (I 996), pū́Ṅ- 'purify' (I 1015), r̥- 'go' (I 983, III 16), anj- 'anoint' (VII 21) and aś- 'reach, attain' (V 18).

1. *smiṄ+saN+ŚaP+te = sí-smi+iṬ-sa+a=te* (6.1.9) = *sí-sme-i-ṣa-a-te* (3.84; 8.3.59) = *sí-smay-i-ṣsa-te* (6.1.78, 97). Similarly 2. *pūṄ+saN = pí-pav-i-ṣa-te* (4.80); 3. *r̥+saN = r̥+iṬ+sa(N)+ŚaP+tiP = ári-ri-sa-a-ti* (6.1.2) = *ári-ri-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59). 4. *anj+saN = áñji-ji-ṣa-ti.* 5. *aś+saN = áśi-śi-ṣa-te.* But *pūÑ* (IX 12) *+saN = pú-pū-ṣa-ti* (6.4.16).

7.2.75 kir-as=ca pañcá-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7 saN 74 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] consisting of five stems beginning with kr̥̄- 'scatter' (VI 116).

These five stems are: 116. *kr̥̄́ vi-kṣep-é*; 117. *gr̥̄́ ni-gár-aṇ-e* 'swallow'; 118. *dr̥-Ṅ ā-dar-é* 'respect, honor'; 119. *dhr̥-Ṅ ava-sth-ā́-n-e* 'live, remain, continue; and 120. *prach-Á jñīp-sā́-y-ām* 'ask, request, interrogate'.

1. *kṝ+saN = kṝ+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = cí-kar-i-ṣa-a-ti* (4.62,66,79; 3.84; 8.4.59) = *cí-kar-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97). 2. *gṝ+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = jí-gar-i-ṣa-ti.* 3. *dṛN:+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+te = dí-dar-i-ṣa-te.* 4. *dhṛṄ+iṬ+saN=ŚaP+te = dí-dhar-i-ṣa-te.* 5. *prach+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+ti = pí=pracch-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.73).

7.2.76 rud-ādi-bhyaḥ sā́rvadhatuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of] sā́rvadhatuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL (semivowels and consonants excluding y- °) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 consisting of five verbal stems 75] beginning with rud- 'cry, weep' (II 58).

These five are: 58. *rudÍR aśru-vi-moc-an-é,* 59. *ÑI-ṣvap-Á śay-é* 'lie down, sleep', 60. *śvás-Á pr-ā́-ṇ-an-e* 'breathe', 61. *án-Á ca (pr-ā́-ṇ-an-e)* 'breathe', and 62. *jákṣ-Á bhakṣá-hás-anay-oḥ* 'eat, laugh'.

1. *rud+∅¹+mi/vas/mas = ród-i-mi/rud-i-vás/más* etc. Similarly: 2. *svápi-i-mi, svap-i-vás/más.* 3. *śvás-i-mi, śvas-i-vaś/más.* 4. *án-i-mi/an-i-vás/más.* 5. *jákṣ-i-mi, jakṣ-i-vás/más* etc.

7.2.77 ī́ś-aḥ sé

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the sā́rvadhātuka 76 l-substitute] sé [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ī́ś- 'rule, govern' (II 10).

ī́s+∅¹+thās = ī́s+iṬ+se (3.4.80) = *ī́ś-i-ṣe* (8.3.59). (6.1.186 for accent.)

7.2.78 ¹ī́ḍA=²ján-or dhvé ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the sā́rvadhatuka 76 l-substitute 34.78] dhvé (3.4.79) as well as [sé 77, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] ī́ḍ- 'praise, laud' (II 9) and jan- 'be born' (IV 34).

1. *ī́ḍ+∅¹+dhve = ī́ḍ-i-dhve; ī́ḍ-i-ṣe* (8.3.59).
2. *ján-i-dhve/ján-i-ṣe.*

The expressions [sé] and [dhvé] stand for the second person singular and plural l-substitutes of Ātmanepadá, including their allomorphs: *ī́ḍ-i-dhvam, ī́ḍ-i-ṣva; ján-i-dhvam, ján-i-ṣva* where the class marker [ŚyaN] is zeroed in the domain of Chándas. (Accent by 6.1.186).

7.2.79 lIṄ-aḥ sa-lopá-ḥ=án-ant-ya-sya

Lopa (∅) replaces the non-final (án-ant-ya-sya) phoneme /s/ [of the sā́rvadhatuka 76] lIṄ (Optative Mood) markers (yā́suṬ 3.4.103 and sīyuṬ 3.4.102 and suṬ 1.4.107).

bhū́+lIṄ = bhū́+ŚaP+yā́suṬ+suṬ+tiP = bhū́+a+yā∅-∅-t (3.4.102) = *bhó-a-yāt* (3.84) = *bháv-a+yā-t* (6.1.78) = *bháv-a+iy+t* (80) = *bháv-ey+t* (6.1.87) = *bháv-e∅-t* (6.1.66) = *bháv-e-t*. *édh+ŚaP+sīyuṬ+suṬ+ta = édh-a+∅iy-∅+ta = édh-e∅-ta = édh-e-ta*. *kr̥Ñ+lIṄ = kr̥+u+yā́s+s+t/°-sīy+s+tá = kur-u+yā́∅+∅-t* (6.4.110)/*kur-u-∅īy+∅+tá = kur-u-yā́-t/kur-v-ī∅-tá* (6.1.66) = *kur-∅-yā́-t* (6.4.109)/*kur-v-ī-tá = kur-yā́-t/kur-v-ī-tá*.

In the Precative or Benedictive Mood (āśīr-lIṄ or lIṄ āśíṣ-i) which is ā́rdhadhātuka by definition (3.4.116), the corresponding forms derived from the verbal stem [kr̥Ñ] are:

1. *kr̥+yā́s+s+tām/us = kri-yā́s-s-tam/us* (7.4.28) = *kri-yā́∅-s-tām/us* (8.2.29) = *kri-yā́-s+tām/uḥ*.
2. *kr̥+sīy+s+tá/ā́tām = kr̥-ṣī∅-ṣ-ṭá/kr̥-ṣīy-ā́stam*.

7.2.80 aT-aḥ yā́=iya-ḥ

The substitute element iy replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sā́rvadhātuka 76 augment 3.4.103] yā́ [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short phoneme a(T).

pác+ŚaP+yā́s+s+t (3.1.103,107) = *pác-a+yā∅+∅+t* (79) = *pác-a+iy+t = pác-e-y+t* (6.1.87) = *pác-e-∅-t* (6.1.66) = *pác-e-t/pác-e-tām/pác-e-y-uḥ*. Accent by 6.1.186.

7.2.81 āT-aḥ Ṅ-IT-aḥ

[The substitute element iy 80] replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [of sā́rvadhātuka 76 l-substitutes of l-members] with marker Ṅ as IT (Ṅ-IT-aḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in the phoneme short a(T) 80].

By 1.3.12 the marker Ṅ with reference to l-substitutes denotes a member of the Ātmanepadá or middle voice (taṄ) and so the l-substitutes involved are [ātām, āthām 3.4.78] and their allomorphs.

yáj+ŚaP+āte/āthe = yáj+a+iyte/iythe = yáj-eyte/eythe = yáj-e∅+te/the (6.1.66) = *yáj-e-te/the; yáj-e-tām/thām* (= *yáj+ŚaP+ātām/āthām = yáj-a+iy-tām/iythām* 3.4.90).

7.2.82 ān-é muK

[The final increment 1.1.46] muK is inserted [after 1.1.67 a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme short a(T) 80 before 1.1.66 the sā́rvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1] °-ānā- (= ŚānáC 3.2.127).

pac+ŚānáC = *pác+ŚaP+ānā-* = *pác-a+muK+āna-* = *pác-a-m-āna-* 'who is cooking'. Accent by 6.1.186.

7.2.83 īT ā́s-aḥ

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the sā́rvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1 ānā- 82 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ā́s- 'sit' (II 11).

ā́s+∅[1]*+ānā-* = *ā́s-īna-* 'who is sitting'.

7.2.84 aṣṭán-aḥ ā vi-bhák-t-au

The substitute phoneme long ā replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṣṭán- 'eight' [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (1.4.103-4).

aṣṭán+bhis/bhyas/su = *aṣṭá-ā+bhis/bhyas/su* = *aṣṭā-bhíḥ/bhyáḥ/sú* (6.1.172 for accent). For the form *aṣṭā-n-ā́m* cf. 7.1.55 and 6.4.7, though Kāśikā records this form under the present rule. Before non-vibhákti affixes: *aṣṭán+tva/taL* = *aṣṭa∅-tvá-/aṣṭá∅-tā* = *aṣṭa∅-tvá* (8.2.7)/*aṣṭá-tā*. In the rules of accentuation 6.1.172 stipulates that when *aṣṭán-* ends in a long vowel the accent falls on the sUP triplets, implying that when it does not end in a long vowel it retains its original accent: *aṣṭá-bhiḥ/bhyaḥ/su* as alternate forms.

7.2.85 rāy-áḥ=haL-i

[The substitute long vowel ā 84 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] raí- 'wealth, riches' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti 84 affixes (= sUP triplets) beginning with] a consonant (haL-i).

raí+bhis/bhyām/bhyas/su = *rā-bhíḥ/bhyā́m/bhyáḥ/sú* (6.1.168 for accent).

7.2.86 [1]yuṣmád=[2]asmád-or án-ā-deś-e

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti 84 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 95]

and are not subject themselves to replacement (án-ā-deś-e according to 1.27ff.).

yuṣmád/asmád+bhis = *yuṣmá-ā/asmá-ā+bhis* = *yuṣmā́-bhiḥ/asmā́-bhiḥ*. Similarly *yuṣmā́-su/asmā́-su*; but *yuṣmád/asmád+bhyas* = *yusmá-a/asmá-a+bhyam* (102; 1.30) = *yuṣmá/asmá+bhyam* (6.1.97).

7.2.87 dvi-tī́yā-y-āṁ ca

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 86] also (ca) [before 1.1.66] the second (dvi-tī́yā-y-ām) [vibhákti 81 sUP triplets 1.4.103-4].

yusmád+am = *tva-ád+am* (97) = *tva-áā+am* = *tvá-ā+m* (6.1.97) = *tv-ā́-m*; (6.1.107); similarly *asmád+am* = *ma-áā+am* = *m-ā́-m*.

yuṣmád/asmád+au = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+au* (92) = *yuva-áā/āva-áā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā́-m/āv-ā́-m*; *yuṣmád/asmád+Śas* = *yusmá-ā/asmá-ā+ns* (1.19) = *yuṣmā́-n∅/asmā́-n-* (8.2.23) = *yuṣmā́-n/asmā́-n*.

7.2.88 prathamā́-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é bhāṣā́-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84] also (ca) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 86 before 1.1.66] the first dual (prathamā́-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é) [vibhákti 84 sUP triplet] in the domain of the spoken language (bhāṣā́-y-āṁ).

yuṣmád/asmád+au = *yuvá-ad/āvá-ad+au* (92) = *yuvá-aā/āvá-aā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā́-m/āv-ā́-m* (6.1.107), but in Chándas *yuv-á-m/āv-á-m* also.

7.2.89 ya̱-ḥ=aC-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 86 before 1.1.66 vibhákti 84 (sUP triplets) beginning with] vowels (aC-i) [which are not subject to replacement themselves 86].

yuṣmád/asmád+Ṭā/Ṅi/os = *tva-ád/ma-ád+ā/i* (97) = *tva-áy/ma-áy+ā/i* = *tváy-ā/i*; *máy-ā/i*. *yuva-ád/ava-ád+os* = *yuváy/āváy* (6.1.97)+*os* = *yuváy-oḥ*, *āváy-oḥ*.

7.2.90 śéṣ-e lópa-ḥ

Lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 86 before 1.1.66] the remaining (śéṣ-e) [vibhákti 84 sUP triplets (which do not condition replacement by ā 86-88 or y 89)].

yuṣmád/asmád+sU = *tva-ád/aha-ád+am* (94, 1.28) = *tva-á∅/aha-á∅+am* = *tv-á-m/ah-á-m* (6.1.107); *+Jas* = *yūya-ád/vaya-ád+am* (93; 1.28) = *yūya-á∅/vaya-á∅+am* = *yūy-á-m/vay-á-m* (6.1.107); *+ṄasI* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+at* (97; 1.32) = *tv-á-t/m-á-t* (6.1.97). *+Ṅe* = *tubhya-ád/mahya-ád+am* (95; 1.28) = *tubhya-á∅/mahya-á∅+am* = *tubhy-á-m/mahy-á-m* (6.1.107); *+bhyas* (5) = *yuṣmád/asmád+at* (1.31) = *yuṣmá∅/asmá-∅+at* = *yuṣm-á-t/asm-á-t*. *+Ṅas* = *tava-ád/mama-ád+aŚ* (1.27) = *tava-á∅/mama-á∅+a* = *táv-a/mám-a* (6.1.211 for accent). *+ām* (6 pl.) = *yuṣmád/asmád+s-ām* (1.52) = *yuṣmá∅/asmá∅+ākam* (1.33) = *yuṣm-ā́kam/asm-ā́kam*.

7.2.91 má̱-pary-anta-sya

[The replacements introduced in the following rules up to 98 below are of that part of the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 86] which ends with the phoneme /m/ [má̱-pary-anta-sya].

This is a governing rule and recurs through 98 below.

7.2.92 [1]yuva=[2]āv-au dvi-vac-an-é

The substitute morphemes yuva- and āva [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] when denoting the dual (dvi-vacane').

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+au/auṬ = *yuva-ád/āva+ád+am* (1.28) = *yuva-áā/āva-á-ā+am* (87, 88) = *yuvā́m/āvā́m;* *+bhyām* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+bhyām* = *yuva-áā/āva-áā+bhyām* = *yuvā́-bhyām/āvā́-bhyām;* *+os* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+os* = *yuva-áy/ava-áy+os* (89) = *+yuváy-oḥ/āváy-oḥ* (6.1.97).

7.2.93 [1]yūva-[2]vay-au Jas-i

The substitute morphemes yūya- and vaya- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] Jas.

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+Jas = *yūya-ád/vaya-ád+am* (1.28) = *yūya-á∅/vaya-á∅+am* (90) = *yūyám/vayám* (6.1.107).

7.2.94 ¹tva=²ah-au s-AU

The substitute morphemes tva- and aha- [respectively replace the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga-s of the pronominal stems yuṣm-ád 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+sU = *tva-ád/aha-ád+am* = *tva-á∅/aha-á∅+am* = *tvám/ahám* (6.1.107).

7.2.95 ¹tubhya-²mahy-au Ṅay-i

The substitute morphemes tubhya- and mahya- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] Ṅe.

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+Ṅe = *tubhya-ád/mahya-ád+am* (1.28) = *tubhya-á∅/tubhya-á∅+am* (90) = *túbhyam/máhyam* (6.1.107). Accent by 6.1.212.

7.2.96 ¹tava-²mam-au Ṅas-i

The substitute morphemes tava and mama [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1.áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] Ṅas.

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+Ṅas = *tava-ád/mama-ád+aŚ* (1.27) = *tava-á∅/mama-á∅+aŚ* = *táva/máma* (6.1.211 for accent).

7.2.97 ¹tva-²m-au eka-vac-an-é

The substitute morphemes tva- and ma- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] when denoting the singular (eka-vac-an-é).

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+am (2nd sg.) = *tva-ád/ma-ád+am* = *tva-áā/ma-áā+am* = *tvā́m/mā́m* (87). *+Ṭā* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+ā* = *tva-áy/ma-áy+ā* (89) =

tváy-ā/máyā (6.1.97). *+ṄasI = tva-ád/ma-ád+at* (1.32) = *tva-áØ/ma-áØ+at* (90) = *tvát/mát* (6.1.97). *+Ṅi = tva-ád/ma-ád+i = tva-áy/ma-áy+i* = *tváy-i/máy-i* (*89).

7.2.98 [1]prat-ay-á=[2]uttara-padáy-os=ca

[The substitute morphemes tva- and ma- 97 respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- 'you' and asm-ád- 'we' 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 (a taddhitá 4.1.76)] affix (praty-ay-á-°) or a final member (°-ut-tara-padáy-oḥ: in composition) [when denoting the singular 97].

yuṣm-ád/asm-ád+cha (4.2.114) = *tva-ád/ma-ád+cha =d tvad-ī́ya-/mad-ī́ya* (6.1.97; 7.1.2). *táva putrá-ḥ = tvad+putrá-ḥ = tvat-putrá-ḥ; mat-putrá-ḥ* 'your son/my son'.

7.2.99 [1]trí-[2]catúr-oḥ striy-ā́m [1]tisṛ̥́-[2]cátsṛ̥

[The substitute morphemes] tisṛ̥́- and cátasṛ̥- replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga-s of nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the number words trí- 'three' and catúr- 'four' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] when denoting the feminine (gender striy-ā́m).

tri+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su = tisṛ̥́+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su tisr-áḥ, tisṛ̥́-bhiḥ/bhyaḥ/ṣu/tisṛ̥-ṇ-ā́m (6.1.166, 180).
cátasr-aḥ, catasṛ̥́-bhiḥ/bhyaḥ/ṣu, catasṛ̥-ṇ-ā́m (6.1.167, 180 for accent).

7.2.100 aC-i ra ṛ̥T-aḥ

The substitute phoneme r replaces [the áṅgá 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short ṛ̥(T) [of the feminine nominal stems tisṛ̥́- 'three' and cátasṛ̥- 'four' 99 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

tisṛ̥́+Jas/Śas = tisr-áḥ (6.1.166); *cátasṛ̥+Jas/Śsas = cátasr-aḥ*

7.2.101 jarā́-y-āḥ jarás anya-tará-syām

The substitute allomorph jarás- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] jarā́ 'old age' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84 beginning with a vowel 100] variously (anya-tará-syām).

jarā́/Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas (I)/*Ṅi/os = jarás+Ṭā/Ṅe/Ṅas* (I)/*Ṅi/os = jaráy-ā/jarás-ā;*

jarā+yā+e (3.113) = *jarā́-y-ai/jarás-e; jarā-y-āḥ/jarás-aḥ; jarā́-y-ām/jarás-i; jaráy-oḥ* (3.105)/*jarás-oḥ; jarā́-ṇ-ām/jarás-ām.*

7.2.102 tyád-ādī-n-ām a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme /a/ (short) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the class of pronominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with tyád- 'that' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

This group is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with sarvá- 1.1.27 and consists of: *tyád-, tád-* 'that', *yád-* 'which, what, who (relative)', *etád-* 'this', *adás-* 'that', *idám-* 'this', *éka-* 'one' and *dví-* 'two'.

tyád+sU = *tyáa+sU* = *syáa+sU* (106) = *syá-ḥ* (6.1.97); *etád+sU* = *eṣá-ḥ* (8.3.58). *tyád+au* = *tyáa+au* = *tyaú; +Jas* = *+ŚI* (1.17) = *tyáa+I* = *tyé* etc. *dví+bhyām/os* = *dvá+bhyām/os* = *dvā-bhyām* (3.102)/*dvay-oḥ* (3.104; 6.1.78) etc.

7.2.103 kím-aḥ ká-ḥ

The substitute allomorph ká replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] kím- 'who, what, which' (interrogative) [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

kím+sU = *ká+sU* = *ká-ḥ* (8.3.15); *+au* = *k-aú; +ŚI* = *k-é* etc.

7.2.104 kú [1]ti-[2]h-oḥ

The substitute allomorph kú replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 kím- 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 vibhákti triplets 84 beginning with] phonemes t-° or h-°.

1. *kím+tasiL* (5.3.7) = *kú-taḥ* (8.3.15) 'whence?' *kím+traL* (5.3.10) = *kú-tra* 'where?'.
2. *kím+há* = *ku-há* (5.3.13) 'where?'.

7.2.105 kva àT-i

The substitute allomorph kva replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 kím- 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti 84 affix 3.1.1] àT (5.3.12).

Here the marker T of [àT] is not connected with 1.1.70 but with 6.1.185 by which the affix [àT] bears the svaritá accent.

kim+àT = *kva+àT* = *kvà* (6.1.97) 'where?'.

7.2.106 ¹ta̱-²d-oḥ sa̱-ḥ s-AU án-antyay-oḥ

The substitute phoneme s replaces non-final (án-ant-yay-oḥ) phonemes t or d [of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem-class 4.1.1 beginning with tyád- 'that' 102 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

tyád+sU = *tyáa+sU* (102) = *syáa+s* = *syá-ḥ* (6.1.97; 8.3.15). *adás+sU* = *asás+sU* = *asáa+au* (107) = *asaú*.

7.2.107 adás-aḥ au sU-lopá-s=ca

The substitute phoneme au replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] adás- 'that' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti triplet 84 sU 106] and (ca) lópa (∅) replaces the sUP triplet sU.

adás+sU = *asá+au∅* = *asaú* 'that one'.

7.2.108 idám-aḥ ma̱-ḥ

The substitute phoneme m replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84 sU 106].

idám+sU = *ida-m+∅*¹ = *idá-m* (1.23). By 1.1.63 ∅¹ blocks the operation of 108-9. *idám+sU* = *idá-m+∅* (6.1.68) = *iyá-m* f. (110), *ayá-m* m. (111). Exception to 102 above.

7.2.109 d-as=ca

[The substitute phoneme m 108] also replaces the phoneme d [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

idám+au/Jas/am/Śas = *imáa* (102, 108)+*au/Jas/am/Śas* = *im-aú* (6.1.97), *im-é/im-á-m, im-ā́n*.

7.2.110 y-a̱ḥ s-AU

The substitute phoneme y replaces [the phoneme d 109 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

Since in the following rule the constraint [puṁs-í] is introduced, here the form generated is restricted to the feminine gender only: *idá-m+sU* = *iyá-m+∅* (6.1.68) = *iyá-m* f.

7.2.111 id-áḥ=ay puṁs-í

The substitute element ay replaces the element id [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84 sU 110] when denoting the masculine (puṁs-í).

idá-m+sU = *ay-á-m+∅* (6.1.68) = *ayám* m.

7.2.112 ana=āP-i á-k-aḥ

The substitute element /ana/ replaces [the element /id/ 111 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] denoted by the siglum āP (from the third singular to the locative plural), provided the stem is not co-occurring with [the infixed increment] k (= áka̲C 5.3.71).

The siglum āP starts with [ā: Ṭā] and ends with marker P of [suP]. *idám+Ṭā* = *ana-áa+Ṭā* = *aná+Ṭā* (6.1.97) = *aná+ina* (1.12) = *an-éna* (6.1.87). *aná+os* = *ane+os* (3.104) = *anáy-oḥ* (6.1.78), but *imák-ena/imákay-oḥ*.

7.2.113 ha̲L-i lópa-ḥ

Substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the element id- 111 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a consonant (ha̲L-i).

idám+bhyām = *∅-á-a+bhyām* = *á+bhyām* = *ā-bhyā́m* (6.1.97; 7.3.102); *á+bhis* (6.1.97) = *e-bhíḥ* (8.3.15); *á-Ṅe* = *a+smaí* (1.14); *+ṄasI* = *a-smā́t* (1.15); *+Ṅas* = *a-syá* (1.12); *+Ṅi* = *a-smín* (1.15). *+ām* = *e-ṣā́m* (1.52; 3.103); *+su* = *e-ṣú* (3.103).

Similarly in the feminine gender the pre-affixal stem will be *∅-á-a+ṬāP* before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel and *ana-á+ṬāP* before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel starting with the instrumental singular: (a) *anáy-ā* (3.105); *+os* = *anáy-oḥ* (3.105) (b) *ā-bhyā́m, ā-bhíḥ; a-syaí* (3.114); *+Ṅas(I)* = *a-syā́ḥ* (3.114); *+Ṅi* = *a-syā́m* (3.114, 116); *ā-sā́m* (1.52); *ā-sú*.

7.2.114 mr̥je-r vŕ̥d-dhi-ḥ

The substitute phoneme denoted by the t.t. vŕ̥d-dhi (1.1.1 ā, ai, au) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel denoted by the siglum iK 1.1.3 of the verbal stem] mr̥j- 'wash, cleanse, purify' (II 57) [before 1.1.66 vibhákti 84 (l-substitutes of l-members)].

Since the verbal stem *mr̥j-Ū̀ śúd-dh-au* is the substituendum, [vibhákti] here

represents l-substitutes tiṄ (1.4.104). *mrj+∅¹+tiP* (2.4.72) = *mā́rj+ti* (1.1.51) = *mā́rṣ-ṭi* (8.2.36; 4.41); °*tumuN* = *mā́rṣ-ṭum; +távya* = *mārṣ-ṭávya-*. Vibhákti sUP triplets and taddhitá affixes are not involved in this replacement.

7.2.115 aC-aḥ=Ñ-Ṇ-IT-i

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi 114 vowel replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT.

The expression [aC-aḥ] is for the purpose of blocking the restriction of the metarule 1.1.3 to [iK]. *níś-ci+GHaÑ* = *niś-cai+GHaÑ* = *niś-cāy-á-* (6.1.78; 2.144); *níṣ-pū+GHaÑ* = *niṣ-pāv-á-; kṛ+GHaÑ* = *kār-á-* (6.1.159). *nī/śru/kṛ+ṆaL* = *ni-nā́y-a* (7.4.59; 6.1.78)/*śu-śrā́v-a* (7.4.60)/*ca-kā́r-a* (7.4.62, 66).

7.2.116 aT-aḥ upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[The substitute vṛ́d-dhi 114 vowel (ā) replaces the áṅga 6.4.1] penultimate vowel short a(T) (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) [before affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or Ṇ as IT 115].

pac+GHaÑ = *pāc-á-* = *pāk-á-* (3.53) 'cooking'. *pac+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *pāc-é-a-ti* (3.84) = *pāc-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'makes (someone) to cook'.

7.2.117 taddhité-ṣu aC-ām āde-ḥ

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 6.4.1] first (āde-ḥ) [vowel 115 before 1.1.66] taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or Ṇ as IT 115].

gargá-sya gotrāpatyá-m = *gargá+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *gā́rg∅-ya-* (6.4.148). *dákṣa+iÑ* = *dā́kṣ-i* (4.1.95). *upagu+áṆ* (4.1.92) = *aupago+á* (6.4.146) = *aupa-gav-á* (6.1.78).

7.2.118 K-IT-i ca

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au)] also (ca) [replaces the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga 4.1.2 first vowel 117 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 117 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT 115] as well as (ca) marker K.

naḍá+phaK = *nāḍa+āyaná* (1.2) = *nāḍ∅-āyaná-* (6.4.148).

7.3.1 [1]dévikā-[2]śiṁśápā-[3]ditya-vā́h-[4]dīrgha-sattrá-[5]śréyas-ām āT

The substitute long vowel ā(T) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] dév-ik-ā 'n. of a river', śiṁśáp-ā 'n. of a tree', ditya-vā́h- 'an animal aged two years', dīrgha-sattrá- 'a long-lasting sacrificial session' and śr-é-yas- 'the better' [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 1.227 with marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118 as IT 2.115].

1. *dévikā-y-ām bháv-am udaká-m* = *devikā+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dāvikā+á* = *dāvikØ-á-m* (6.4.148) 'water from the river D.'
2. *śiṁśápā-y-āḥ vikārá-ḥ* = *śiṁśapā+aÑ/áṆ* (4.3.141) = *śā́ṁśapa-ḥ/śāṁśapá-ḥ* 'made from the Ś. tree'.
3. *ditya-vāh+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dātya-ūṬH-h+á-* (6.4.132) = *dāty-au-h-á-* (6.1.89) 'pertaining to D.'
4. *dīrgha-sattrá+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dārgha-sattrØ-á* (6.4.148) 'occurring in a long-lasting sacrificial session'.
5. *śréyas-i bháv-a-* = *śréyas+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *śrāyas-á-* 'patronymic of Kaṇvá.

7.3.2 [1]kekaya-[2]mitray-ú-[3]pra-layá̄-n-āṁ yá̱=āde-r iy-aḥ

The substitute element /iy/ replaces the syllable beginning with the phoneme /y-°/ [of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kekaya- 'n.pr., mitray-ú- 'friendly-minded' and pra-lay-á- 'final dissolution' [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kekaya-sya ápatya-m* = *kekaya+aÑ* (4.1.168) *kaíka-iy+a* (2.117) = *kaíkey-a-* (6.1.87).
2. *mitray-u-bhāv-éna ślā́gh-a-te* = *mitray-u+vuÑ* (5.1.134) = *maítra-iy+aka* (1.1) = *maítrey-aka-* 'applauds in a friendly way'.
3. *pra-lay-ā́t ā-ga-ta-* = *pra-lay-á+áṆ* (4.3.74) = *prāla-iy+á* = *prāley-á-* (2.117; 6.1.87) 'resulting from final dissolution of the universe'.

7.3.3 ná [1]y-[2]vā-bhyām pada=antá̄-bhyām pū́rv-au tu tá̄-bhyām aiC

[The substitute vṛ̥d-dhi vowel 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1)] does not (ná) replace [the first vowel 2.117 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of (the posterior member of a compound) preceded by] a padá-final (pad-ā-ntá̄-bhyām) phoneme y or v, but before them (tá̄-bhyām pū́rv-au) the augment denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au, respectively 1.3.10) are inserted [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

vi-śeṣ-éṇa á-kriy-a-nte śábd-ā-ḥ an-éna = *vi+ā+kṛ+LyuṬ* (3.3.117) = *vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m* (8.4.2), *tá-m adh-í-te* = *vy-ā-kár-aṇa+áṆ* (4.2.59) = *vaiy-ā-kar-anØ-á* (6.4.148) = *vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-á-ḥ* 'grammarian, linguist'.

śóbh-ana-ḥ áśvaḥ = *sv-aśva-ḥ, tá-sya ápatya-m* = *sv-asva+áṆ* = *sauv-aśvá-ḥ* 'offspring of a good horse.

7.3.4 dvā́ra=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[The substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with dvā́ra- 'door' also (ca) [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

This is with reference to a situation where the phonemes y and v are not occurring at the end of the first padá.

dvā́r-e ní-yuk-ta-ḥ = *dvā́ra+ṭhaK* (4.4.69) = *dauvārØ-iká-* (6.4.148; 7.3.50) 'door-keeper'. *sphya-kṛ́t-aḥ ápatya-m* = *sphya-kṛ́t+áṆ* = *sphaiya-kṛt-á-* 'son or descendant of S.' (4.1.92).

7.3.5 ny-ag-ródha-sya ca kévala-sya

[The substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nyag-ródha- 'bunyan tree, Ficus Indica' [preceded by phoneme y, and before it the increment ai (of aiC) is inserted before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] when occurring by itself (kévala-sya).

By using the expression (kévala-sya) here it is implied that in the case of 3 and 4 the operation indicated takes place even when the nominal stems indicated therein occur as prior members in composition: *dvāra-pālá-sya idám dvāra-pāl-á+áṆ* (4.3.120) =*dauvāra-palØ-á-* etc.

nyag-ródha-sya vikārá-ḥ = *nyag-ródh-a+áṆ* (4.3.134) = *nai-ya-g-rodhØ-á* (6.4.148) 'made from the banyan tree', but *ndyag-rodh-a-mūl-é bháv-ā-ḥ śālay-aḥ* = *nyag-rodh-a-mūlá+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *nyāg-rodh-a-mūl-ā́-ḥ* 'rice growing at the roots of Ficus Indica'.

7.3.6 ná karma-vy-ati-hār-é

[The operations introduced by 3 above] do not take place (ná) when [the nominal stem 4.1.1] expresses a reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é).

vy-áva-kruś-ya-te a-syā́m = *vy-ava-kruś+ṆáC* (3.3.43)+*aÑ* (5.4.14)+*ṄīP* (4.1.15) = *vy-ā́va-krośī* 'mutual abuse'.

7.3.7 su=ā-ga-ta=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[The operations introduced by 3 above do not take place 6] also (ca) when it concerns [the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with svāgata- 'welcome'.

sv-ā-ga-tá-m ity áha = *sv-ā-ga-tá+ṭháK* (4.4.1 vārtt. 2) = *svāgat∅-iká-ḥ* 'one who welcomes'. *vyaḍa-sya apatya-m* = *vyaḍa+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *vyāḍ∅-i-ḥ*.

7.3.8 śvá(n)=āde-r iÑ-i

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] when it concerns [an áṅga 6.4.1 with nominal stem 4.1.1] śvan- 'dog' as a prior member (ādé-ḥ in composition) [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1] iÑ.

The nominal stem [śván-] is included in the class of stems beginning with [dvā́ra-] (4 above); this rule is a further indication of the fact that the operations in 4 are applicable also to expressions which contain these words as first members in compounds, and the present constraint is only with respect to the item [śvan-] only. *śvá-bhastra-sya ápatya-m* = *śvá-bhastra+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *śvā́-bhastr-i*.

The word [ādí-] in this sūtra is not indicative of a class as in the case of 4 above. By a vārttika this rule is extended to include the affix beginning with ik-: *śva-gaṇ-éna car-a-ti* = *śva-gaṇá+ṭhaÑ/ṢṭhaN* (4.4.11) = *śvā́-gaṇ-ika-ḥ/* [*śvā́-gaṇ-ika-ḥ/°-i-kī́* (4.1.41)] 'one who moves with a pack of hounds'.

7.3.9 padá=anta-sya anya-tará-syām

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] variously (anya-tará-syām) [when it concerns the áṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 śván- 'dog' 9, co-occurring with] the final member padá- (°-anta-sya in composition).

śún-aḥ padá-m iva pad-á-m ya-sya = *śván+pada-* = *śvā́∅-pada-m* (6.3.137; 8.2.7), *tá-sya śvā́-pada-sya idám* = *śvā́-pada+áṆ* = *śvā-pad∅-á-m/śauvā-pad-á-m* 'pertaining to a wild beast'.

7.3.10 uttara-padá-sya

(In the section beginning here and ending with 31 inclusive below) [the substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior member (ut-tara-padá-sya: in composition).

This is a governing rule and the expression [ut-tara-padá-sya] will recur in each of the following rules up to 31 inclusive below.

7.3.11 ava-yav-ā́t r̥tó-ḥ

[A vŕ̥d-dhi substitute phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member of a compound 10] indicating the name of a season (r̥tó-ḥ), co-occurring with a first member marking an integral part (ava-yav-ā́t) [before 1.1.66 taddhitá 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

> *pū́rva-ṁ varṣā́-ṇ-ām = pūrva-varṣā́ḥ, tá-tra bhāv-aḥ* (4.3.53) = *pūrva-varṣā́+ṭháK = pūrvá-vārṣik∅-a-* (6.4.148) 'occurring in the early half of the rainy season'.
>
> When the prior member does not denote an integral part or limb of the season, as in *pū́rvā-su varṣā́-su jā-tá-ḥ pūrva-varṣā́+ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11) = *paúrva-varṣ∅-ika-ḥ*.

7.3.12 [1]sú-[2]sarvá=[3]ardh-ā́t jana-padá-sya

[A substitute vŕ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] denoting an inhabited region (jana-padá-sya), co-occurring with the prior members sú-, sarvá-° 'all' and ardhá-° 'half' [before 1.1.66 taddhitá 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT markers Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

> *śóbhane-ṣu pañcāle-ṣu jā-tá-ḥ = su-pancāla+vuÑ* (4.2.125) = *sú-pāncāl∅-aka-ḥ*; similarly: *sarvá-pāñcal-aka-* (6.2.105), *ardhá-pāncāl-aká-*.

7.3.13 díś-aḥ=á-madrā-ṇ-ām

[A substitute vŕ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 denoting an inhabited region 12] excluding madrá-, co-occurring with direction words (díś-aḥ) as prior members [before 1.1.66 taddhitá 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

> *pūrva-pañcāla+vuÑ* (4.2.124-5) = *pūrvá-pāñcāl∅-aka-* (6.2.105; 4.148) 'belonging to eastern P.'; but *paúrva-madr-aka-*.

7.3.14 prā́c-āṁ [1]grā́ma-[2]nágarā-ṇ-ām

[A substitute vŕ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 denoting] names of villages (grā́ma-°) and townships in the eastern region (°-nagarā-ṇ-ām) [co-occurring with direction words as prior members 13, before 1.1.66 taddhitá 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *gráma-: pūrv-e-ṣu-kāma-śamy-ā́m bháv-a-ḥ* = *pūrv-e-ṣu-kāma-śamī́+Ña* (4.2.107) = *pūrvaíṣu-kāma-śam∅-a-ḥ* (6.2.105) 'born in or occurring in the eastern half of the village P'.
2. *nágara-: pū́rva-smin pāṭaliputre bháv-a-ḥ* = *pu̯ū́rvá-pāṭali-putr∅-aka-* (*vuÑ* 4.2.123). 'born in the eastern half of the P. township'.

7.3.15 saṁ-khyā́-y-āḥ [1]saṁ-vatsará-[2]saṁkhyá-sya ca

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 consisting of the word] saṁ-vatsará- 'year' or a number word (°-saṁ-khyá-sya) co-occurring with a number word (saṁ-khyā́-y-āḥ) as a first member [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *dv-aú saṁ-vatsar-aú adh-ī-ṣ-ṭá-ḥ/bhṛ̥-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ/bhā́v-í* = *dvi-saṁvatsará+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.80) = *dví-sāṁvatsar∅-ika-* 'of two years' duration'.
2. *dv-é ṣaṣṭ-í adh-ī-ṣ-ṭá-ḥ dvi-ṣaṣṭí+ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11) = *dví-ṣāṣṭ∅-ika-* 'lasting for 62 days', but *dvi-māsá+ṭhaÑ* = *dvaí-mās∅-ika* 'of two months' duration'.

7.3.16 varṣá-sya=á-bhav-i-ṣy-at-i

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] varṣá- 'year' [co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] except when denoting the future (á-bhav-i-sy-a-t-i).

dvé varṣ-é adh-ī-ṣ-ṭá-ḥ/bhṛ̥-tá-ḥ/bhū-tá-ḥ = *dvi-varṣá+ṭhaÑ* = *dví-vārṣ∅-ika-ḥ* 'of two years' duration', but *trī́-ṇ-i varṣā́-ṇ-i bhāv-í* = *tri-varṣá+ṭhaÑ* = *traí-varṣ∅-ika-ḥ* 'happening after three years (from now)'.

7.3.17 pari-mā́ṇa=anta-sya á-[1]saṁjñā-[2]śāṇay-oḥ

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°-anta-sya) [a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a measure (pari-mā́-ṇa-°) [and co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] except when deriving a name (saṁjñā) or the word śāṇa- 'whetstone' occurs [as a posterior member 10].

dvā́-bhyām niṣkā́-bhyām krī-tá-m = dvi-niṣka+ṭháK (5.1.18,20,37) = *dvi-naiṣk∅-iká-m* (6.4.148) 'bought for 2 niṣka-s'. *dvā́-bhyām su-várṇā-bhyām krī-tá-m = dvi-suvarṇa+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.19,29) = *dví-sauvarṇ-ika-m/ adhy-ardha-su-varṇá-m* (5.1.29, vart.) 'purchased for 2 gold pieces'; but *páñca kalāpā́-n-i pari-mā́-ṇa-m a-syá = pañca-kalāpa+ṭhaK = pāñca-kalāp∅-iká-m* (5.1.19,57) 'n.pr.' *dvā́-bhyām śā́ṇā-bhyām krī-tá-m = dvi-śā́ṇa+áṆ* (5.1.36) = *dvai-śāṇ∅-ám/dvi-śāṇ-yà-m/dvi-śāṇá-m.*

7.3.18 j-e proṣṭha-padā́-n-ām

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final 10 member of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] pr-o-ṣṭha-padā́- 'n.pr. of a lunar mansion or asterism' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] to denote 'born under' (j-e = jā-t-é).

pr-o-ṣṭha-padā́-bhir yuk-tá-ḥ kālá-ḥ = proṣṭha-padā́+áṆ (4.3.16) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā́+á-Ṇ→luP* (4.2.4) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā́-su jā-tá-ḥ = proṣṭha-padā́+áṆ* (4.3.16) = *proṣṭha-pād∅-á-* 'born at the time when the moon is in conjunction with the asterism P.'

7.3.19 [1]hṛ́d-[2]bhága-[3]síndhu=ante pūrva-padá-sya ca

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member] and also (ca) of the prior member [of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-hṛ́d- 'heart', °-bhága- 'good fortune' and °-síndhu- 'river' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *su-hṛdayá-sya idám = su-hṛ́d* (6.3.50)+*áṆ* (4.3.120) = *sau-hārd-á-m* 'belonging to a good person'; *su-hṛdayá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ = su-hṛ́d+ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124) = *saú-hārd-ya-m/saú-hṛday-yam* (6.3.51; 4.148) 'friendship, amity'.
2. *su-bhagá-sya bhāv-á-ḥ = su-bhagá+ṢyaÑ = saú-bhāg∅-ya-m* (6.4.148) 'good fortune'; 3. *saktu-pradhānāḥ síndhav-aḥ = saktu-sindhú+áṆ = sāktu-saindhav-á* (6.4.146; 1.78) 'barley meal or groats produced on river banks'.

7.3.20 ánu-śat-ika=ādī-nām ca

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.177 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a com-

pound áṅga 6.4.1 consisting of a member of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ánu-śat-ika- 'accompanied by a hundred' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

śat-éna krī-tá-ḥ = *śatá+ṭhaN* (5.1.21) = *śát∅-ika-ḥ* (6.4.148); *ánu-ga-tá-ḥ śát-ik-ena* = *ánu-śat-ika-ḥ* (2.2.18), *tá-sya idám* = *ánu-śat-ika+áṆ* (4.3.120) = *ānu-śāt-ik∅-á-m* 'belonging to one accompanied by a hundred'; *dev-éṣu* = *adhi-devá-m* (2.1.6), *tá-tra bháv-a-ḥ* (4.3.53, 60 vārtt.) *adhi-devá+ṭhaÑ* = *ấdhi-daiv∅-ika-m* 'relating to or proceeding from gods'; similarly *adhi-bhū-tá+ṭhaÑ* = *ấdhi-bhaut∅-ika-m* 'belonging or relating to created beings'; *ánu-hoḍ-ena cár-a-ti* = *ánu-hoḍa+ṭháK* = *ānu-hauḍ∅-iká-ḥ* 'moves or sails in a boat'.

7.3.21 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior 19 members of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 consisting of] Dváṁdva compounds comprising names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

agní-ś ca marút=ca = *agní-marú-au devá-t-e a-syá* = *agní-marút+áṆ* (4.2.24) = *āgni-mārut-á-*. By interpretation this usage is restricted to items denoting a Vedic hymn or an oblation offered in sacrifice to the divinities.

7.3.22 ná índra-sya párasya

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) [replace the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior (pára-sya) member índra- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

sóma-ś ca índra-ś ca = *sóm-éndr-au devá-t-e āsyá* = *som-e-ndra+áṆ* (4.2.24) = *saum-endr∅-á-* 'dedicated to Soma and Indra'.

7.3.23 dīrgh-ā́t=ca váruṇa-sya

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) does not 22 replace the final vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10] váruṇa- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 co-occurring with a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a long (dīrgh-ā́t vowel 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

índra-ś ca váruṇa-ś ca = índrā-váruṇ-au (6.3.26) *devá-t-e a-syá = índrā-váruṇa+áṆ* (4.2.24) = *aindrā-varuṇØ-á-* 'consecrated to Índra and Váruṇá, but *agní-váruṇa* (6.3.27)+*áṆ* (4.2.24) = **agni-varuṇa+áṆ* (6.3.28) = *āgni-vāruṇØ-á-* 'dedicated to Agní and Váruṇa'.

7.3.24 prā́c-ām̐ nágara=ant-e

[A substitute vr̥̄d-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°ant-e) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] nágara- 'township, city' in the eastern region (prā́c-ām) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

suhma-nagar-é bháv-a-ḥ = suhma-nagará+áṆ (4.3.53) = *sauhma-nāg-arØ-á-ḥ* 'belonging to Suhma-nagara' but *madra-nagar-e bháv-a-ḥ = mādra-nagar-á-ḥ*.

7.3.25 ¹jaṅgala-²dhenú-³vala-já=anta-sya víbhāṣitam úttaram

[A substitute vr̥̄d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°anta) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] jaṅgala- 'jungle, desert, arid land', dhenú- 'cow' and valajá- 'field', but optionally (ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-m) in the case of the posterior member (út-tara-m) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kuru-jaṅgalé bháv-am = kuru-jaṅgalá+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *kauru-jāṅgalØ-á-m* (6.4.148)/ *°-jaṅgal-á-m* 'arising in the Kuru-jaṅgala country'; similarly 2. *viśv-dhenu+áṆ = vaiśva-dhainav-á-* (6.4.146; 1.78)/ *°-dhenav-á-*; 3. *su-varṇa-valajá+áṆ = sau-varṇa=vālaj-á-/ °-valaj-á-*.

7.3.26 ardh-ā́t pari-mā́-ṇa-sya pū́rva-sya tu vā

[A substitute vr̥̄d-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] denoting a measure (pari-mā́-ṇa-sya), co-occurring with [the nominal stem 4.1.1] ardhá-° 'half' as a first member, optionally (vā) [replacing its first vowel before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

ardha-droṇ-éna krī-tá-m = ardha-droṇá+ṭhaÑ (5.1.37) = *ā́rdha-drauṇØ-ika-/ ā́rdha-drauṇ-ika-* 'bought with half a droṇa'.

7.3.27 ná=aT-aḥ pára-sya

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace the short vowel a(T) [of the first syllable 2.117 of the final member 10 denoting a measure, co-occurring with the nominal stem 4.1.1 ardhá-° 'half' as a first member and optionally replacing its first vowel 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

> *ardha-prasth-éna krī-tá-ḥ = ardha-prasthá+ṭhaÑ* (5.1.37) = *ā́rdha-prasthØ-ika-/árdha-prasth-ika-* 'bought with half a prastha' but *ardha-kuḍava+ṭhaÑ = ā́rdha-kauḍavØ-ika-.*

7.3.28 pra-vā́haṇa-sya ḍh-é

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 and optionally 26 of the first member 19 of the compound áṅga 6.4.1] pra-vā́h-aṇa-° [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1] ḍhá (K 4.1.123).

> *pra-vā́h-aṇa-sya ápatya-m = pra-vā́h-aṇa+ḍháK = prā-vāhaṇØ-eyá-/ pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá-* 'descendant of P.'

7.3.29 tát-praty-ay-a-sya ca

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 pra-vā́h-aṇa- 28 ending in 1.1.72] that affix [= ḍháK 28] also (ca) [and optionally of the prior member 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

> *pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá-sya ápa-tya-m = pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *prā́-vāh-aṇ-ey-Ø-i-/ prá-vāh-aṇ-ey-i-; pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá+vuÑ* (4.3.126) = *prā́-vāh-aṇ-eyØ-aka-/ prá-vāh-aṇ-ey-aka-.*

7.3.30 náÑ-aḥ [1]śúc-i=[2]īś-vará-[3]kṣe-tra-jñá-[4]kúśa-la-[5]nipuṇá-n-ām

[A substitute vṛ́d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final members 10] °-śúc-i- 'pure', °-īś-vará- 'lord, ruler', °kṣetra-jñá- 'the Self', °-kúśa-la- 'competent, able' and °-ni-puṇ-á- 'clever, adroit' [and optionally of the first member 26] náÑ-° 'privative or negative particle' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *á-śuce-r ā-ga-tá-m* = *á-śuc-i+áṆ* (4.3.74) = *ā-śaucØ-á-m/a-śauc-a-m* 'impurity'. 2. *án-īś-vara-sya bhāv-á-ḥ* = *án-īś-vara+ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124) = *ā́n-aiś-varØ-ya-m/án-aiś-var-ya-m* 'absence of rulership'; similarly 3. *á-kṣe-tra-jña+ṢyaÑ* = *ā́-kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m/á-kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m* 'self-ignorance'; 4. *á-kuśa-l-āt ā-ga-tá-m* = *á-kuśa-la+áṆ* (4.3.74) = *ā-kau-śalØ-á-m/a-kau-śal-á-m* 'incompetence'. Similarly 5. *ā-nai-puṇ-á-m/a-nai-puṇ-á-m* 'dullness'.

7.3.31 [1]yathā-tathá-[2]yathā-puráy-oḥ pary-āy-é

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā 1.1.1)] alternately (pary-āy-é) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 or the first member náÑ 30 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-yathā-tathá-m 'true, precise' and °-yathā-purá-m 'as before or formerly' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *á-yathā-tatha+ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124) = *ā́-yathā-tathØ-ya-m/á-yāthā-tath-ya-m* 'truth, precision'; similarly: 2. *ā́-yathā-pur-yam/á-yāthā-pur-ya-m* 'the state or condition of not being so formerly'.

7.3.32 han-as ta-ḥ á-[1]CíṆ-[2]ṆaL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with Ñ or Ṇ as IT marker 2.115] excluding CíṆ and ṆaL.

From here on both the recurring items [taddhitá 2.117, K-IT 2.118] are no longer valid; only [Ñ, Ṇ] recur as IT markers.

han+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = *ghāt-í-a-ti* (54; 2.116) = *ghāt-é-a-ti* (84) = *ghāt-áy-a-ti* 'causes to kill'; *han+ṆvuL* = *ghā́t-aka-* 'killer'; *han+GHaÑ* = *ghāt-á-* 'killing, murder'; but *han+CíṆ* = *áT-ghān-i* (55; 6.4.71); *han+ṆaL* = *ja-ghā́n-a* (55).

7.3.33 āT-aḥ yuK [1]CíṆ-[2]kṛ̥t-oḥ

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] CíṆ and those denoted by the t.t. kṛ̥t (3.1.93ff.) [with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT 2.115].

1. *dā+CiṆ* = *á-dā-yuK+i* = *á-dā-y-i*.
2. *dā+ṆvuL* = *dā́-y-aka-* 'donor'; *dā+GHaÑ* = *dā-y-á-* 'donation, gift'.

7.3.34 ná=udātta=upa-deś-á-sya má=anta-sya án-ā-came-ḥ

[The substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace [the penultimate phoneme short a(T) 2.116 of a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-m and is udā́tta 'high pitched' when first introduced (upa-deś-é in the Dhp.) excluding ā́+cám- 'sip' (I 497, V 28) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. kṛ̥́t 33 with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT 2.115].

śám+CiṆ = á-śam-i 'has calmed down'; similarly *tám+CiṆ = á-tam-i* 'has wearied'; *śám+ṆvuL = śám-aka-* 'pacifier'; *śám+GHaÑ = śám-a-* 'peace', but *yam+ṆvuL/GHaÑ = yā́m-aka-/yām-á-* 'restrainer, controller/restraint, control'; and similarly *ā-cā́m-aka-/ā-cām-á-* 'who sips/sipping'.

7.3.35 [1]jáni-[2]vadhyo-s=ca

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not replace 34 the short penultimate phoneme a[T] 2.116 of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ján- 'be born' and vadh- 'kill' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. kṛ̥́t 33 with Ñ or Ṇ as IT marker 2.115].

1. *jan+CiṆ = á-jan-i; jan+ṆvuL = ján-aka-* 'progenitor'; *pra-jan+GHaÑ = pra-jan-á-*.
2. *vadh+CiṆ = á-vadh-i; vadh+ṆvuL = vádh-aka-* 'murderer'; *vadh+GHaÑ = vádh-a-* 'murder, death'. This stem is distinct from the replacement stem [vadhá-] of [han- 2.4.42] which, however, would normally yield the same results without this special rule.

7.3.36 [1]ár-ti-[2]hrī-[3]vlī-[4]rī-[5]knū́yī-[6]ksmā́yī=[7]āT-ām puK=Ṇ-aú

[The final increment 1.1.46] puK is inserted at the end of [the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] ṛ̥- (I 983, III 16) 'go', hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3), vlī- 'crush, press', rī- 'flow, dry' (IX 30), knūy- 'be wet, make a creaky noise' (I 514), kṣmā́y- 'tremble, shake' (I 515) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the long phoneme ā(T) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ṆíC.

1. *ṛ̥+ṆíC = ṛ̥-puK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = ar-p-é-a-ti* (84) = *ar-p-áy-a-ti* (86, 6.1.78); 2. *hrī-p+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP =hre-p-áy-a-ti*; 3. *vle-p-áy-a-ti.*; 4. *re-p-áy-a-ti*; 5. *kno∅-p-áy-a-ti*; 6. *kṣmāy-p+áy-a-ti = kṣmā∅-p-áy-a-ti* (6.1.66); 7. *dā-p-áy-a-ti, sthā-p-áy-a-ti, dhā-p-áy-a-ti.*

7.3.37 [1]śā-[2]chā-[3]sā-[4]hvā-[5]vyā-[6]ve-[7]p-āṁ yuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 of] śā- (= śo- IV 37) 'whet, sharpen', chā- (= cho IV 38) 'cut', sā- (= so- IV 39) 'end', hvā (= hve- I 1057) 'challenge', vyā (= vye- I 1056) 'wrap', ve- 'weave' (I 1055) and pā- 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36].

1. *śā+yuK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = śā-y-áy-a-ti*; 2. *chā-y-áy-a-ti*; 3. *sā-y-áy-a-ti*; 4. *hvā-y-áy-a-ti*; 5. *vyāy-áy-a-ti*; 6. *vā-y-áy-a-ti* (6.1.45); 7. *pā-y-áy-a-ti*. All these are causative forms of the simplicia.

7.3.38 v-aḥ vi-dhū́-n-ane juK

[The final increment 1.1.46] juK is inserted at the end of [verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] vā (= vai I 969) 'dry' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] when signifying agitation, shaking (vi-dhū́-n-an-e).

vā+juK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = vā-j-áy-a-ti 'fans', but *ā-vā-p-áy-a-ti* (36) 'combs the hair'.

7.3.39 [1]lī-[2]l-or [1]nuK=[2]luK-au=anya-tará-syām sneha-vipā́tane

[The final increments 1.1.46] nuK and luK (-l) are [respectively 1.3.10] inserted at the end [of the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the stems] lī- 'cling, stick, adhere' (IV 31, IX 31) and lā- 'receive, get, obtain' (II 49) (and also lā-replacement of lī: 6.1.52) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] when denoting melting of a fatty substance (sneha-vi-pā́t-an-e).

1. *vi-lī+nuK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = vi-lī-n-áy-a-ti/vi-lai-áy-a-ti* (2.115) = *vi-lāy-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) *ghr̥-tá-m* 'causes the butter to melt'.
2. *vi-lā+luK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = vi-lā-l-áy-a-ti/vi-lā-p-áy-a-ti* (36).

7.3.40 bhiy-aḥ hetu-bhay-é ṣuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] ṣuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] bhī- 'fear' (III 3) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhay-é).

bhī+ṆíC+ŚaP+te = bhī-ṣuK+é-a-ti = bhī-ṣ-ay-a-te (1.3.68) 'causes fear' but *kúñcikay-ā bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'causes fear (= threatens) with a bamboo shoot'. By

6.1.56 the substitute phoneme long [ā(T)] optionally replaces the stem-final vowel when fear arises from the causative agent, yielding the alternative form *bhā-p-á-a-te*.

7.3.41 sphā́y-aḥ va-ḥ

The substitute phoneme v replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] sphāy- 'swell' (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36].

sphāy+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = sphāv-áy-a-ti.

7.3.42 śade-r a-ga-t-au ta-ḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śad- 'fall, fall out' (I 908) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] when not denoting the sense of driving (á-ga-t-au).

śad+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = śāt-áy-a-ti phálā-n-i 'causes the fruit to fall down', but *g-ā́-ḥ śād-áy-a-ti go-pā́l-aka=ḥ* 'the cowherd drives the cattle'.

7.3.43 ruh-aḥ pa-ḥ anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme p replaces optionally (anya-tará-syām) [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] ruh- 'ascend, mount, grow, cultivate' (I 912) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36].

ruh+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = roh-áy-a-ti/rop-áy-a-ti vrīh-ī́-n 'cultivates rice'.

7.3.44 praty-ay-a-sth-ā́t k-āt pū́rva-sya=aT-aḥ iT āP-i á-sUP-aḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the short phoneme a(T) preceding the phoneme k of an affix (praty-ay-a-sth-ā́t) [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP), provided it does not occur after a sUP triplet (á-sUP-aḥ).

kr̥+ṆvuL = kā́r-aka- (1.1; 2.115)+*ṬāP = kā́r-ikØ-ā* (6.4.148) 'agent, performer, doer', but *suṣṭhú śak-nó-ti = su-śak+KviP+ṬāP = su-śák-ā* 'practicable, easily done'; so also in: *bahav-áḥ pari-vrā́j-ak-ā-ḥ a-syā́m nágary-ām = bahu-pari-vrāj-aká+ṬāP = bahu-pari-vrāj-akØ-ā́ nagarī* since the affix [āP] occurs after a Ø[1] (2.4.71) of a sUP triplet (1.1.62).

7.3.45 na ¹yā-²say-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44] does not (ná) replace [the short phoneme a(T), preceded by the phoneme k of an affix 44 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yā 'which, who, what' and sā 'that' [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

yad+ákaC (5.3.71)+*ṬāP* = *y-ák-ā; tad+ákaC+ṬāP* = *s-ák-ā* (2.106).

7.3.46 udīc-ā́m āT-aḥ sthā́n-e ¹ya-²ká-pūrvā-y-āḥ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of] the phoneme long ā(T) preceded by y or k [before phoneme k of an affix 3.1.1 co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44] according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ā́m).

The reference to Northern Grammarians is for the purpose of indicating that this rule is optional.

1. *ibhyā+ká+ṬāP* = *ibhya+ká+ā* (4.13) = *ibhya-k-ā́/ibhy-i-k-ā́* 'a rich woman; a female elephant'.
2. *caṭakā+ká+ṬāP* = *caṭaka-ká+ā* = *caṭaka-k-ā́/caṭak-i-k-ā́* 'female sparrow'; similarly *mūṣaka-k-ā́/mūṣaki-k-ā́* 'female mouse', but *áśva+ká+ṬāP* = *aśvi-k-ā́* 'mare'.

7.3.47 ¹bhástrā=²eṣā́=³ajā́-⁴jñā́-⁵dvā́-⁶svā́ náÑ-pūrvā-ṇ-ām ápi

[According to the Northern Grammarians 46 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of the phoneme long ā(T) 46 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhástrā 'leather bag', eṣā́ 'she', a-jā́ 'goat', jñā́ 'knower', dvā́ 'two' (2.102) and svā́ 'one's self', even (ápi) when preceded by the negative or privative particle náÑ [followed by the phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

By the same device as in 46 above, the reference to Northern Grammarians indicates the optionality of this rule also.

1. *bhastrā+ká+ṬaP* = *bhastra-ká+ā* (4.13) = *bhastra-k-ā́/bhastri-k-ā́* 'a small leather bag'; similarly: 2. *eṣa-k-ā́/eṣi-k-ā́*; 3. *aja-k-ā́/aji-k-ā́*; 4. *jña-k-ā́/jñi-k-ā́*; 5. *dva-k-ā́/dvi-k-ā́*; 6. *sva-k-ā́/svi-k-ā́*.

Also when preceded by [náÑ]: *a-bhastra-k-ā/a-bhastri-k-ā́* etc. but *áśv-ā/aśvi-k-ā́*. If the affix were [kaP] in the place of [ká] the expected form is *bhástrā-k-ā* etc. The affix [ká] is either diminutive or pleonastic in meaning.

7.3.48 á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁs-k-āt=ca

[According to Northern Grammarians 46 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not replace 45 the phoneme short a(T) replacement of phoneme long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] which has no masculine counterpart (á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁ-s-k-āt) [preceding the phoneme k of an affix co-occurring with a feminine affix denoted by the cover term āP 44 even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

> *khaṭvā+ká+ṬāP* = *khaṭva-ká+ā* (4.13) = *khaṭva-k∅-ā́* (6.4.148)/*khaṭvi-k-ā́* 'a small cot'; similarly *a-khaṭva-k-ā́/a-khaṭvi-k-ā́*.

7.3.49 āT=ācāryà-ṇ-ām

According to (other) Grammarians (ā-cār-yà-ṇ-ām) the substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 which has no masculine counterpart 48, preceding phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44, even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

> *khaṭvā-k-ā́/a-khaṭvā-k-ā́*.

7.3.50 ṭha-sya ika-ḥ

The substitute element ik replaces the phoneme ṭh [of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an áṅga 6.4.1].

> The following affixes contain [ṭh]: *Ñiṭha* (4.2.116), *ṭháK* (4.4.1), *ṭháC* (4.2.80), *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18), *ṭhaN* (4.7.13), *ṭhaP* (4.3.26), *ṢṭháC* (4.4.31), *ṢṭhaN* (4.3.70), *ṢṭhaL* (4.4.9).
>
> *akṣ-aír dī́v-ya-ti* = *akṣá+ṭháK* = *ākṣ∅-iká-* (6.4.148; 2.118) 'gambler with dice'.
>
> Though by 1.3.7 palatal and retroflex stops occurring in affixes are defined as IT markers when they occur as affix initials and disappear in actual grammatical surface forms, the aspirate stops [ch, jh] and [ṭh, ḍh] are not replaced by ∅ (1.3.9), but by special rules provided by 7.1.2 for [ch, ḍh], 7.2.3 for [jh] and by the present rule for [ṭh]. Hence they have not been indicated by capital letters as required.

7.3.51 ¹is=²us=³uK-⁴ta=ant-āt ka-ḥ

The substitute phoneme k replaces [the initial phoneme ṭh 50 of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-is-, °-us-, or a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u, r̥, l̥) or °-t-.

1. °-is-: *sarpíḥ páṇ-ya-m a-syá = sarpís+ṭháK* (4.4.51) = *sārpiṣ-ká-ḥ* 'dealer in clarified butter'.
2. °-us-: *dhánuḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá = dhánus+ṭháK* (4.4.57) = *dhānuṣ-ká-ḥ* 'archer'.
3. °-uK-: *niṣāda-karṣv-ā́ṁ jā-tá-ḥ = niṣāda-karṣū́+ṭhaÑ* (4.2.119) = *niṣāda-karṣú+kaÑ* (4.13) = *naíṣāda-karṣu-ka-ḥ* 'born in N.' *mātúr ā-ga-tá-m = mātŕ̥+ṭhaÑ* (4.3.78) = *mā́tr̥-ka-m* 'maternal, coming from the mother'.
4. °t-: *uda-śvít-ā sáṁs-kr̥-ta-m bhákṣ-ya-m = uda-śvít+ṭháK* (4.2.19) = *auda-śvit-ká-m* 'mixed with buttermilk'.

7.3.52 ¹ca-²j-oḥ kU ¹GHIT=²ṆyàT-oḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces phoneme c or j [of an áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker GH and ṆyàT.

Affixes with GH as IT are: *GHaÑ, GHinuṆ, GHuráC*. It should be noted that only kr̥t affixes operate this rule, with the exception of GHa (3.3.18ff., 125).

1. GHIT: *pac+GHaÑ = pāk-á-* (2.115; 6.1.159) 'cooking'; *tyaj+GHaÑ = tyā-gá-* 'renunciation'.
2. ṆyaT: *pac+ṆyaT = pāk-yà-* 'to be cooked'; *mr̥j+ṆyaT = mārg-yà-* 'to be cleansed'.

7.3.53 ny-aṅkú=ādī-n-āṁ ca

[A substitute velar phoneme stop (kU) replaces phonemes c or j of an áṅga 6.4.1 in the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ny-aṅk-ú- 'antelope, deer'.

ni+anc+ú (*uṆ.* 1.17) = *ny-aṅk-ú-; masj+ú = masg-ú = madg-ú-* (8.4.53) 'a kind of aquatic bird'.

7.3.54 h-aḥ han-te-r ¹Ñ-²Ṇ-IT-³ne-ṣu

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces] the phoneme h [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with Ñ or Ṇ as IT marker or the phoneme n (of han- when the penultimate vowel is replaced by Ø 6.4.98).

1. Ñ: *han+GHaÑ = ghāt-á-* (32) 'killing, murder'; 2. Ṇ: *han+ṆvuL = ghā́t-aka-*

(32) 'murderer, killer'; 3. n: *han* (+*ŚaP-∅*[1] 2.4.72)+*jhi* = *h∅n=ánti* (6.4.98) = *gh-n-ánti*.

7.3.55 abhy-ās-ā́t=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] also replaces [the phoneme h 54 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem han- 'kill' (II 2) after 1.1.67] the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-ā́-t).

han+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *jí-han-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79) = *jí-ghāṁ-s-a-ti* (6.1.16,97; 8.3.24) 'desires to kill'. *han+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *jan-han-yá-te* (4.85) = *jaṅ-ghan-yá-te* 'repeatedly kills'. *han+lIṬ* = *han+ṆaL* = *ja-han+ṆaL* = *ja-ghā́n-a* 'slayed, killed'.

7.3.56 he-r a-CaṄ-i

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the phoneme h 54 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] hi- 'incite' (V 11) [after 1.1.67 its reduplicated syllable 55] except [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] CáṄ.

hi+ṆaL = *ji-ghi+ṆaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.62) = *ji-ghaí+a* (2.115) = *ji-ghā́y-a* (6.1.78). *hi+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jí-ghī-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16). *pra+ji+yaṄ+ŚaP+te* = *pra-je-ghī-ya-te* (4.25,82); but *pra+ji+ṆíC+CáṄ+t* = *pra+áṬ+ji+∅+aṄ+t* = *prá-jī-hiy-a-t* (6.4.77; 7.4.94).

7.3.57 [1]saN-[2]lIṬ-or je-ḥ

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 56 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ji- 'win, conquer' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and l-substitutes of lIṬ.

ji+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *ji-gī-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *ji+lIṬ* = *ji+ṆaL* = *ji-gaí-a* (2.115) = *ji-gā́y-a*.

7.3.58 vibhāṣā ce-ḥ

[The substitute velar phoneme (kU) 52] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 55 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ci- 'pile up, collect, gather, heap' (V 5) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 saN and l-substitutes of lIṬ 57].

ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP = *cí-cī-ṣa-ti/cí-kī-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *ci+lIṬ* = *ci+ṆaL* = *ci-cā́y-a/ci-kā́y-a*.

7.3.59 na kU=āde-ḥ

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] does not (ná) replace [the palatal stops c or j 52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] beginning with a velar stop (kU-āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or ṆyàT 52].

kūj+GHaÑ = *kū́j-a-* 'cry'; *kūj+ṆyàT* = *kūj-yà-* 'to be warbled'.

7.3.60 [1]aji̲-[2]vr̥jy̲-os=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c or j 52 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] aj- 'wander' (I 248) and vr̥j- 'march' (I 272) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or ṆyàT 52].

aj+GHaÑ/ṆyaT = *(sam)-āj-á-/(pari)-vrāj-yà-* 'reunion, assembly'/'to be circumambulated'.

7.3.61 [1]bhúj-a-[2]ny-ubj-aú [1]pāṇí=[2]upa-tāp-áy-oḥ

The expressions bhúj-a- 'arm' and ny-ubj-á- 'disease, pain' are introduced [without the velar replacement of the palatal stop j before affix GhaÑ] to denote respectively 'hand' and 'heat, pain'.

bhuj-yá-te an-éna = *bhuj+GHaÑ* (3.3.121) = *bhúj-a-ḥ* (absence of guṇa replacement as well as velar replacement); in other senses: *bhóg-a-*. *ni-ubj+GHaÑ* = *ny-ubj-á-* (absence of velar replacement); in other meanings: *sam-udg-á-*.

7.3.62 [1]pra-yāj-á=[2]anu-yāj-aú yajña=aṅg-é

The expressions pra-yāj-á- 'first part of a sacrifice' and anu-yāj-á- 'second half of a sacrifice' (yajña=aṅg-e) are introduced [without velar replacement of palatal j before affix GHaÑ] when denoting a part of a sacrifice.

In other senses: *pra-yāg-á-/anu-yāg-á-*.

7.3.63 vánce̲-r ga-t-aú

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c 52 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vánc- 'go crookedly, cheat' (I 204) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker GH as IT or ṆyàT 52] to denote 'movement' (ga-t-aú).

vánc+ṆyaT = *vañc-yà-* in the phrase *vañc-yà-ṁ váñc-a-nti vaṇíj-aḥ* = *gan-távya-ṁ*

vaníj-aḥ gácch-a-nti 'traders go in for what is easily disposed of in sales', but *vanc+GHaÑ* = *váṅk-a-m kāṣṭha-m* 'flexible log'.

7.3.64 oká-ḥ=uc-aḥ K-é

The expression oká- 'house' is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem] uc- 'be suitable' (IV 114) [with affix 3.1.1] Ká.

uc+Ká (3.1.35) = *ok-á-* [with guṇa and velar replacements]; similarly: *ni+uc+Ká* = *ny-oká-* 'a bird'.

7.3.65 Ṇy-e ā́-vaś-ya-k-e

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops c or j 52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá(T) to denote absolute necessity (ā́-vaś-ya-k-e).

á-vaś-ya+pac+ṆyàT = *a-vaś-ya-pāc-yà-* 'necessarily to be cooked', but *pac+ṆyàT* (3.1.124) = *pāk-yà-* 'to be cooked'.

7.3.66 [1]yajA-[2]yā́ca-[3]rúcA-[4]pra-vacÁ=[5]ṛ́c-as=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops c or j of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] yaj- 'sacrifice, worship' (I 1051), yā́c- 'beg' (I 916), rúc- 'like, be agreeable', pra+vac- 'proclaim' (II 54) and ṛ́c- 'praise, adore' (VI 19) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆyàT 65].

1. *yaj+ṆyàT* = *yāj-yà-* 'to be sacrificed'; similarly: 2. *yāc-yà-* 'to be sought or requested'; 3. *roc-yà-* 'to be liked'; 4. *pra-vāc-yà-* 'to be proclaimed'; 5. *arc-yà-* 'to be praised'.

7.3.67 vac-aḥ á-śabda-saṁjñā-y-ām

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stop c 52 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vac- 'speak' (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆyàT 65] when not designating a linguistic technical term (śabda-saṁ-jñā́-y-ām).

vac+ṆyàT = *vāc-yà-* 'to be uttered', but *vāk-yà-* 'sentence, minimum unit of discourse'.

7.3.68 [1]pra-yoj-yà-[2]ni-yoj-y-aù śak-ya=arth-e

The expressions pra-yoj-yà- 'suitable for use' and ni-yoj-yà- 'fit to be appointed' are introduced to denote the sense of 'competence' (śakya=arth-e) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆyàT 65].

In other senses: *pra-yog-yà-/ni-yog-yá-* 'to be used/to be appointed' respectively.

7.3.69 bhoj-yà-m bhakṣ-y-è

The expression bhoj-yà- is introduced in the sense of 'food' (bhakṣ-y-è) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆyàT 65].

In other senses: *bhuj+ṆyaT* = *bho-gyà-* 'to be enjoyed'.

7.3.70 GHO-r lópa-ḥ lEṬ-i vā

The substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) optionally (vā) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lEṬ (Subjunctive Mood).

dá-dh-a-t rátna-n-i dāś-uṣ-e (RV 4.15.3) 'let him give jewels to the donor'. This form is derived thus: *dhā+lEṬ* = *dhā+Ślu+aṬ+tiP* (3.4.94) = *dá-dh∅+aṬ+t∅* (3.4.97) = *dá-dh-a-t*. Alternately in the phrase *yád agní-r agnáy-e da-dā-t* there is no ∅ replacement of the stem-final.

7.3.71 oT-aḥ ŚyaN-i

[Substitute lópa (∅) replaces 70 the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme o(T) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] ŚyaN (3.1.69).

ní+śo+ŚyaN+tiP = *ní-ś∅-ya-ti* 'whets, hones, sharpens'; *áva+cho+ŚyaN+tiP* = *áva-ch-ya-ti* 'cuts'; *áva-d-ya-ti* 'divides'; *áva-s-ya-ti* 'terminates'.

7.3.72 Ksa-sya aC-i

[Substitute lópa (∅) 70 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the substitute Aorist marker] Ksa (3.1.45) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes (of lUṄ) beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

duh+lUṄ = *áṬ* (6.4.71)+*duh+Cli+iṬ* (3.1.43) = *á-duh+Ksa+iṬ* (3.1.45) = *á-duh-sØ+i* = *ádugh-s-i* (8.2.32) = *ádhug-s-i* (8.2.37) = *á-dhuk-ṣ-i* (8.3.59; 4.55) 'I have milked'; similarly *á-dhuk-ṣ-ā-tām/°ā-thām* exceptions to 2.81 above.

7.3.73 luK=vā [1]duhA-[2]dihA-[3]lihA-[4]gúh-ām ātman-e-pad-é dánt-y-e

The substitute luK (Ø[1]) optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] duh- 'milk' (II 4), dih- 'smear' (II 5), lih- 'lick' (II 6) and gúh- 'hide' (I 944) [ending in 1.1.72 the substitute lUṄ marker Ksa 72 before 1.1.66] Ātmanepadá [l-substitutes of lUṄ beginning with] a dental phoneme (dánt-y-e).

1. *duh+lUṄ* = *áṬ+duh+Ksa+ta* = *á-dugh+sa+ta/á-dugh-sØ-ta* = *á-dhuk-ṣa-ta/á-dugh-Ø-ta* (8.2.26) = *á-dugh-dha* (8.2.40) = *á-dug-dha* (8.4.53); *á-dug-dhāḥ/á-dhuk-ṣa-thāḥ;* *á-dug-dhvam/á-dhuk-ṣa-dhvam;* *áduh-vahi/ á-dhuk-ṣā-vahi.* On similar lines: 2. *á-dig-dha/á-dhik-ṣa-ta*; 3. *a-lī-ḍha/ á-lik-ṣa-ta/á-lik+Ksa+ta* = *á-liḍh+sØ+ta* (8.2.31) = *á-liḍh-dha* (8.2.40) = *á-liḍh-ḍha* (8.4.41) = *á-līØ-ḍha* (8.3.13); *á-liḍh-sa-ta* = *á-lik-ṣa-ta* (8.2.41). 4. *ny-á-gū-ḍha/ny-á-ghuk-ṣa-ta.*

7.3.74 śam-ām aṣṭā-n-ā́ṁ dīrghá-ḥ ŚyaN-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the áṅga-s 6.4.1] of eight (verbal stems: aṣṭā-n-ā́m) beginning with śam- 'become quiet' (IV 92-99) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] ŚyaN.

These eight verbal stems are: 92. *śámU upa-śam-é*; 93. *támU kāṅkṣā́-y-ām* 'be weary' *(glā-naú)*; 94. *dámU upa-śam-é* 'subdue'; 95. *śrámU tápas-i khéd-e ca* 'be fatigued'; 96. *bhrámU án-ava-sthā-n-e* 'err, stray'; 97. *kṣámŪ(Ṣ) sáh-an-e* 'bear, endure'; 98. *klámU glā-n-aú* 'be tired'; 99. *mádĪ harṣ-é* 'be glad'.

1. *śam+ŚyaN+tiP* = *śā́m-ya-ti*; 2. *tā́m-ya-ti*; 3. *dā́m-ya-ti*; 4. *śrā́m-ya-ti*; 5. *bhrā́m-ya-ti*; 6. *kṣā́m-ya-ti*; 7. *klā́m-ya-ti*; 8. *mā́d-ya-ti.*

7.3.75 [1]ṣṭhívU-[2]klámi-[3]ā́-cám-āṁ Ś-IT-i

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the vowel of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] ṣṭhív- 'spit out' (I 592, IV 4), klám- 'be tired' (IV 98) and ā́+cám- 'sip' (I 497) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ś as IT.

1. *ṣṭhív+ŚyaN+tiP* = *ṣṭhī́v-ya-ti/ṣṭhīv-ŚaP+tiP* (I 592); 2. *klā́m-ya-ti/klā́m-a-ti*; 3. *ā́-cam+ŚaP+tiP* = *ā́-cām-a-ti,* but *cám-a-ti/ví-cam-a-ti.* While [ṣṭhív-] is a

member of both classes I and IV, the inclusion of [klam-] is to indicate that it can also belong to the ŚaP-class.

7.3.76 krám-aḥ parasma-padé-ṣu

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] krám- 'tread' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75] co-occurring with l-substitutes of Parasmaipadá.

krám+ŚaP+tiP = krā́m-a-ti; á-krám+ŚaP+te = á-kram-a-te (1.3.40).

7.3.77 [1]íṣÚ-[2]gamị-[3]yam-āṁ cha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme ch replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] íṣ- 'desire, wish' (VI 59), gam- 'go' (I 1031) and yam- 'sustain, hold' (I 1033) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

iṣ+Śá+tiP = ich-á-ti = icch-á-ti (6.1.73). *gam+ŚaP+tiP = gácch-a-ti. yam+ŚaP+tiP = yácch-a-ti.*

By citing the form [íṣÚ] this blocks out the two other homophonous tems [*íṣÁ gá-t-au* IV 19, *íṣÁ ā́bhīkṣṇ-y-e* IX 53].

7.3.78 [1]pā-[2]ghrā-[3]dhmā-[4]sthā-[5]mnā-[6]dāṆ-[7]dṛśị=[8]arti-[9]sarti-[10]śada-[11]sad-ām [1]piba-[2]jighra-[3]dhama-[4]tiṣtha-[5]mana-[6]yaccha-[7]paśya-[8]ṛccha-[9]dhau-[10]śīya-[11]sīd-ā-ḥ

The eleven substitute morphemes beginning with pib-a- replace [respectively 1.3.10 the whole of 1.1.55 eleven áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] beginning with pā- 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

There is some hesitation regarding the nature of the final vowel in the substitute morphemes: whether it is a part of the morpheme or is used for ease of pronunciation. [dhau-] indicates the first option. On the other hand [pib-a] poses the difficulty of non-application of 86 below in [píb-a-ti]. A special metarule of exegesists provides for this situation or an alternate suggestion in the case of the first option above is to provide for udā́tta accent on the first syllable. In the case of the first option 6.1.97 provides for the correct surface forms: (I 974-77):

1. *pā+ŚaP+tiP = píb-a-ti*; 2. *ghrā: jíghr-a-ti*; 3. *dhmā: dhám-ati*; 4. *sthā: tíṣṭh-a-ti*; 5. *mnā: mán-a-ti*; 6. *dāṆ: yácch-a-ti*; 7. *dṛ́ś-* (I 1017): *páśy-a-ti*; 8. *ṛ* (I 983, III 17): *ṛ́cch-a-ti*; 9. *sṛ-* (I 983, III 17): *dhā́v-a-ti*; 10. *śad-* (I 908, VI 134): *śī́y-a-te*; 11. *sad-* (I 907, VI 113): *sī́d-a-ti/sī-dá-ti.*

The respective meanings are: 1. 'drinks'; 2. 'smells'; 3. 'blows, inflates'; 4. 'remains,

stands'; 5. 'thinks, meditates'; 6. 'gives'; 7. 'sees, perceives'; 8. 'goes, moves'; 9. 'runs'; in other meanings like 'flows': *sár-a-ti*; 10. 'falls'; 11. 'sits, settles down'.

In view of affixes with marker Ś as it, *pā rákṣ-aṇ-e* II 47 is not covered by this rule since $\emptyset^1$ replaces [ŚaP] and 1.1.63 blocks any operation relating to the áṅga.

7.3.79 [1]jñā́-[2]ján-or jā

The substitute morpheme jā replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] jñā́- 'know' (IX 16) and ján- 'be born' (IV 41) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker Ś as IT 75].

1. *jñā́+Snā́+tiP = jā-nā́-ti* 'knows, cognizes'. 2. *ján+ŚyaN+te = jā́-ya-te* 'is born'.

7.3.80 pū́-ādī-n-ām hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the class of verbal stems] beginning with pū́- 'purify' (IX 12) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

This group consists of IX 12-32 in the Dhatu-pāṭha. *pū́+Snā+tiP = pu-nā́-ti/pu-nī-té*; similarly: *lū: lu-nā́-ti/lu-nī-té; stṝ: stṛ-nā́-ti/°-ṇī-té; vṝ: vṛ-ṇā́-ti/°-ṇī-té; pū+Ktá = pū-tá; pū+KtiN = pū́-ti-* 'purity, cleanliness'.

7.3.81 mī-nā́-te-r ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [the substitute short vowel 80 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] mi(Ñ IX 4) 'injure, destroy' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

prá-mi-ṇ-anti vratā́-n-i 'they infringe laws', but in the spoken language *prá-mī-ṇā-ti*.

7.3.82 míd-eṛ guṇá-ḥ

The substitute Guṇá vowel (e 1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] míd- (IV 133) 'be unctuous' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

míd+ŚyaN+tiP/tas/jhi = méd-ya-ti/tas méd-y-a-nti (6.1.97). By 1.2.4 [ŚyaN] is regarded as a Ṅ-IT and consequently blocks the operation of 86 below. This rule provides for guṇá replacement before it. [mid-] also occurs in the bhū- class, but since [ŚaP] is not Ṅ-IT, 86 operates: *mid+ŚaP+tiP = méd-a-ti*.

7.3.83 Jus-i ca

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o) 82 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final vowel 1.1.52 (iK 1.1.3) of verbal stems before 1.1.66] the l-substitute Jus (3.4.109-11).

bhī+lAṄ = *áṬ+bhī+Ślu+Jus* (3.4.109) = *á-bi-bhī+∅²+us* (6.1.10; 7.4.49; 8.4.54) = *á-bi-bhay-uḥ* (84; 6.1.78) 'they feared'. But in *su+lIṄ* = *su+Śnu+yā́suṬ+Jus* = *su-nu-yā́∅-us* (2.79) there is no Guṇá replacement of [nu-] final since the initial increment [yā́suṬ.] of [Jus] is a Ṅ-IT (3.4.103) = *su-nu-y-u-ḥ* (6.1.96). *kr̥+lUṄ* = *áṬ+kr̥+siC+Jus* (3.4.109) = *á-kār-ṣ-uḥ* (2.1) where Vr̥ddhi replacement blocks this rule, contra 1.4.2.

7.3.84 sārva-dhātu-ka=ārdha-dhātu-kay-oḥ

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.2) 82 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72 a vowel denoted by the siglum iK = i, u, r̥, l̥ 1.1.3) before 1.1.66] sā́rva-dhātu-ka (3.4.113) and ā́rdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114) [affixes 3.1.1].

jí+ŚaP+tiP = *jé-a-ti* = *jáy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'conquers, wins'. Similarly *ní+ŚaP+tiP* = *náy-a-ti* 'leads'; *su+Śnú+tiP* = *su-nó-ti* 'extracts, distils'; since [Śnu] is deemed a Ṅ-IT by 1.2.4 Guṇa replacement does not take place before it.

kr̥+tumuN = *kár-tum* 'to make'; *kr̥+ú+tiP* = *kar-ó-ti* 'makes' where the present class marker [ú] is ā́rdha-dhātu-ka, not being Ś-IT or tiṄ and itself undergoes Guṇa replacement before the sā́rva-dhātu-ka [tiP].

7.3.85 jā́gr-aḥ á-¹vi-²CíṆ-³ṆaL-⁴Ṅ-IT-su

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a 1.1.2) 82 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] jā́gr̥- 'wake up' [before 1.1.66 sā́rvadhātuka and ā́rdhadhātuka 84 affixes] excluding vi(uṆādi), CíṆ, ṆaL and those with marker Ṅ as IT.

jā́gr̥+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP = *jāgar-í+a=ti* = *jāgar-é-a-ti* (84) = *jāgar-áy-a-ti* 'wakes (someone) up'; here this rule blocks the operation of 2.115 which would have resulted in a Vr̥ddhi replacement. Similarly: *jā́gr̥+ṆvuL* = *jāgā́r-aka-* 'one who wakes.'

Exceptions: *jā́gr̥+vi-* 'watchful'; *+ṆaL* = *ja-jāgr̥+ṆaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.59-60) = *ja-jāgā́r-a* 'woke up'; *+CíṆ* = *á-jāgr̥+CiṆ* = *á-jāgār-i; +Ṅ-IT* = *jāgr̥+(ŚaP-∅¹)+tás* = *jāgr̥-tás* (1.2.4).

7.3.86 ¹pu̱K=anta-²laghú=upa-dha-sya ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.1) 82 replaces] the penultimate (°upa-dha-sya) vowel [of an áṅga 6.4.1 which ends 1.1.72 in the final increment 1.1.46] pu̱K or contains a light (laghu-°) [penultimate iK 1.1.3 before 1.1.66 sā́rvadhātuka and ā́rdhadhātuka 84 affix 3.1.1].

1. *pú̱K=anta: hrī+pu̱K+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* (36) = *hrep-áy-a-ti* 'causes (someone) to feel ashamed'. 2. *vid+∅¹+tiP* = *ved+ti* = *vet-ti* 'knows'; *bhid+tumu̱N* = *bhéd+tum* ≐ *bhét-tum* (8.4.55), but *nind+ŚaP+tiP* = *nínd-a-ti* 'blames, censures', *kūj+ŚaP+tiP* = *kū́ja-ti* 'hums, warbles'.

7.3.87 ná=abhy-àsta-sya=aC-i P-IT-i sā́rvadhātuk-e

[A substitute Guṇá (= a, e, o) 82] does not (ná) replace [the light penultimate 86 vowel iK 1.1.3] of a reduplicated [áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66] a sā́rvadhātuka [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT, beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

nij+lOṬ = *nij+Ślu+miP* (2.4.75) = *ni-nij+∅²+mi* (3.4.89) = *ni-nij-āṬ+ni* (3.4.87,92 *P*-IT) = *ne-nij-ā-ni* (4.75) 'I will wash or cleanse'. But *ne-nij+tiP* = *ne-nek-ti* (8.2.30).

7.3.88 ¹bhū́-²súv-os tiṄ-i

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (o) 82 does not 87 replace the vowel iK 1.1.3 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] bhū́- 'become' (I 1) and sū́- 'give birth to' (II 21) [before 1.1.66 sā́rvadhātuka 84 l-substitutes 3.4.78] tiṄ.

bhū́+lUṄ = *bhū́+Cli̱* (3.1.43) = *bhū́+si̱C* (3.1.44) = *bhū́+∅¹+t* (2.4.77) = *áṬ+bhū-t* (6.4.71) = *á-bhū-t/á-bhū-s/á-bhūv-am.*
sū+lOṬ = *sū(+ŚaP-∅¹)+i* (2.4.72) = *sū+āṬ+ai* (3.4.92-3) = *sū+ai* (6.1.88) = *suv-ai* (6.4.77), *suv-ā-vahai/°-ā-mahai.*

7.3.89 uT-aḥ vṛ́d-dhi-r luK-i ha̱L-i

A substitute vṛ́d-dhi vowel (au) replaces [the final vowel 1.1.52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel u(T) [before 1.1.66] luk (∅²) [co-occurring with a sā́rvadhātuka affix 3.1.1 with P as IT marker 87, beginning with] a consonant (ha̱L-i).

yu+∅¹+tiP = *yaú-ti* 'mixes', but *yu+tás* = *yu-táḥ* (8.3.15); but *i+∅¹+tiP* = *é-ti* 'goes'.

7.3.90 ūrṇ-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute vṛ̥d-dhi vowel (au) 90] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.72 vowel (u) of the verbal stem] ūrṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before a sārvadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87, beginning with a consonant 89].

prá+ūrṇu+∅[1]*+tiP* = *°-ūrṇo-ti/°-urṇau-ti* but *prórṇu-taḥ*. *prórṇu+lOṬ* = *prorṇu+āṬ+ni* = *prorṇav-ā-ni* (84; 6.1.78).

7.3.91 guṇá-ḥ á-pṛ̥k-t-e

A substitute Guṇá vowel (o 1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel iK 1.1.3 (= u) of the verbal stem ūrṇu- 'cover' (II 30) before 1.1.66] a single phoneme (á-pṛ̥k-t-e 1.2.41) [sārvadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 97 consisting of a consonant 89].

prá+ūrṇu+lAṄ = *praúrṇu+∅*[1]*+t* = *praúrṇo-t/°-ḥ* (6.1.9; 4.72).

7.3.92 tṛ̥ṇáh-aḥ iM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] iM is inserted after the last vowel [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] tṛ̥h- 'crush, bruise' (VII 18) [before 1.1.66 a sārvadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89].

tṛ̥h+ŚnáM+tiP = *tṛ̥-ṇá-h+tiP* = *tṛ̥-ṇá-i-h+ti* = *tṛ̥-ṇé-h+ti* (6.1.87) = *tṛ̥-ṇé-ḍh+ḍhi* (8.2.31,40; 4.41) = *tṛ̥-ṇé-∅-ḍhi* (8.3.13)/*tṛ̥-ṇé-k-ṣi* (8.2.41)/*tṛ̥-ṇé-h-mi*. *tṛ̥h+lAṄ* = *tṛ̥h+ŚnaM+t* = *áṬ+tṛ̥-ṇa-i-h+t* (6.4.71) = *á-tṛ̥-ṇe-ḍh+ḍh* = *á-tṛ̥-ṇe-∅-ḍ* = *á-tṛ̥-ṇe-ṭ* (8.4.56), but before such affixes beginning with a vowel: *tṛ̥h+lOṬ* = *tṛ̥-ṇá-h+āṬ-ni/va/ma* = *tṛ̥-ṇá-h+āni/āva/āma*.

7.3.93 bruv-aḥ īṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] īṬ is inserted at the head of [a sārvadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] brū- 'speak' (II 35).

brū+∅[1]*+tiP* = *bro+ī-ti* (84) = *brav-ī-ti* (6.1.78)/*-ī-ṣi* (8.3.59)/*-ī-mi* but *bráv-āṇi/āva/āma* and *brū-tás/thás/vás/más*.

7.3.94 yáṄ-aḥ vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṬ 93] is optionally (vā) inserted [at the head of a sārvadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 an áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the intensive/frequentative marker yáṄ (3.1.22).

lap+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = *la-lap-yá-a-te* (6.1.9) = *la-lap-y-á-te* (6.1.97) = *lā-lap-y-á-te* (4.83)/*lā́-lap-ØØ*[1]*+īṬ-ti* (2.4.74) = *lā́-lap-ī-ti; bhū+yáṄ-luK* (2.4.74)+*tiP* = *bó-bho-ti/bo-bho+ī-ti* = *bó-bhav-ī-ti* (6.1.78); *vr̥+yáṄ-luK+ti* = *vár-var-ti* (4.92)/*vár-ī-var-ti* (4.92).

7.3.95 [1]tu-[2]rú-[3]stu-[4]śámi̲=[5]ám-aḥ sārvadhātuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṬ 93 is optionally 94 inserted at the head of] sārvadhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] tu- 'be strong', rú- 'cry' (II 24), stu- 'praise, laud' (II 34), śam- 'be calm' (IV 92) and ám- 'go' (I 493).

The repetition of the word [sārvadhātuka] in this rule when it was already recurring from 87 above is to block out the qualifying marker [P-IT] associated with it in 87.

1. *ud+tu+Ø*[1] (2.4.73)+*tiP* = *út-tau-ti* (89)/*út-tavī-ti*. 2. *úpa+ru+Ø*[1]*+ti* = *úpa-rau-ti/úpa-rav-ī-ti*; 3. *úpa-stau-ti/úpa-stav-ī-ti*; 4. *śam+ŚyaN+dhvam* = *śā́m-ya-dhvam* (74)/*śám-ī-dhvam* (2.4.73); 5. *abhy-àm-a-ti/abhy-àm-ī-ti*.

7.3.96 [1]ás-ti-[2]si̲C-aḥ=á-pr̥k-t-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṬ 93 is inserted at the head of a sārvadhātuka 95 affix 3.1.1] consisting of a single phoneme (á-pr̥k-t-e 1.2.41) [consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) and the substitute Aorist (lUṄ) marker si̲C.

1. *as+lAṄ* = *áT+as+Ø*[1]*+t* (3.4.110; 6.4.72) = *ás+ī-t/s* (= ḥ 8.3.15). 2. *kr̥+lUṄ* = *kr̥+si̲C+t* (3.4.100) = *áT+kār-ṣ+ī-t* (2.1; 6.4.71; 8.3.59); *ás-mi, á-kār-ṣ-am*.

7.3.97 bahulá-ṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46 long īṬ 93 is inserted] variously (bahu-lá-m) at the head of [a single phoneme 96 sārvadhatuka affix 95 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) and one ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist substitute marker si̲C 96].

1. *áṬ+as+∅¹+t* = *ás-t* = *ás+∅* (6.1.68) = *āḥ* (8.3.15). 2. *kṣar+lUṄ* = *áṬ+kṣar+siC+t* = *á-kṣār-s-t* = *á-kṣār-s-∅* = *á-kṣār+∅* (8.2.24) = *á-kṣā-ḥ* (8.3.15)/*á-kṣār-ī-t*.

7.3.98 rúd-as ca pañcá-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṬ 93 is inserted at the head of a sārvadhātuka 95 affix consisting of a single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the group of] five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, shed tears, weep' (II 58).

These five stems are: 58. *rūd-ÍR aśru-vi-móc-an-e*, 59. *ÑI-ṣvap-Á nidrā-kṣay-é* 'sleep, lie down', 60. *śvásÁ prā́ṇ-an-e*, 61. *anÁ ca (prā́ṇ-an-e)*, 62 *jakṣÁ bhakṣá-hás-anay-oḥ*.

1. *rud+lAṄ* = *áṬ+rud+∅¹+t* = *á-rod-ī-t/-īs* = *-īḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15); similarly: 2. *á-svap-īt/-īḥ*; 3. *á-śvas-īt/-īḥ*; 4. *prāṇ-īt/-īḥ* 'breathed'; 5. *á-jakṣ-īt/-īḥ* but *rod-i-mi/-ṣi/-ti* (2.76).

7.3.99 aṬ gā́rg-ya-gālavay-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] short a(Ṭ) is inserted at the head of [a sārvadhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the group of five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, weep, shed tears' (II 58) 98] according to the grammarians Gā́rg-ya and Gālava.

rud+lAṄ = *á-rud+∅¹+t* = *á-rod-at/-aḥ* (84); *á-svap-at/-aḥ; á-śvas-at/-aḥ; prā́ṇ-at/-aḥ; á-jakṣ-at/-aḥ*.

7.3.100 ad-aḥ sárve-ṣām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 aṬ is inserted at the head of a sārvadhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 affix 3.1.1 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ad- 'eat' (II 1) according to all grammarians.

ad+lAṄ = *áṬ+ad+∅¹+t* = *ád-at/-aḥ* but *ad+tiP* = *át-ti* (8.4.55)/*si/ád-mi*.

7.3.101 aT-aḥ dīrghá-ḥ ya̱Ñ-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [before 1.1.66 a sā́rvadhātuka 95 affix 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum ya̱Ñ (= semivowels, nasals or bh).

The siglum [ya̱Ñ] here stands primarily for v and m only, since [jh] is always replaced by [a(n)t 1.3ff.]. Its fuller use in relation to a succeeding rule extends it to include the consonants [y, bh].

pác+ŚaP+mi/vas/mas = *pác-ā+mi/vas/-mas; édh+ŚaP+vahe/mahe* = *édh-ā+vahe/mahe* but *ci-nu-vás/-más; pác-a-ta/tha.*

7.3.102 sUP-i ca

[A substitute long vowel 101 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 short vowel a(T) 101 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum ya̱Ñ (semivowels, nasals or bh) 101].

devá+Ṅe = *devá+ya* (1.13) = *devā́-ya; devá+bhyām* = *devā́-bhyām,* but *agní-bhyām, devá-sya.*

7.3.103 bahu-vacan-é jha̱L-i eT

The substitute phoneme e(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel a(T) 101 before 1.1.66] a plural [sUP triplet 102] beginning with a non-nasal consonant denoted by the siglum jha̱L (= all consonants other than nasals).

devá+bhyas = *devé-bhyaḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15); *devá+su* = *devé-ṣu* (8.3.59). In the deep structure situation [devá+bhyas] both 102 and 103 are applicable, but by metarule 1.4.2, 103 blocks 102. Exception to 102 above.

7.3.104 os-i ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short a(T) 102 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] os (= gen. loc. dual).

devá+os = *devé+os* = *deváy-oḥ* (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

7.3.105 āṄ-i ca=āP-aḥ

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] āṄ (= instr. sing.) as well as (ca) [os 104].

[āṄ] is deemed as a Pre-Pāṇinian technical term for his [Ṭā]. *mấlā+āṄ/os* = *mấle+ā/os* = *mấlay-ā* (6.1.78)/*mấlay-oḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15).

7.3.106 sam-bud-dh-au ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.51 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP 105 before 1.1.66] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au) sUP triplet.

mấlā+sU (voc.) = *māle+∅* (6.1.69).

7.3.107 [1]ambấ=artha-[2]nady-ór hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting the sense of ambấ 'mother' as well as stems denoted by the t.t. nadī́ (1.4.3ff.) [before 1.1.66 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

ambấ/akkấ/allấ+sU (voc.) = *ámba/ákka/álla+∅* (6.1.69). *nadī́/vadhū́+sU* (voc.) = *nádi/vádhu+∅*.

7.3.108 hrasvá-sya guṇá-ḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (hrasvá-sya: vowel 1.2.28: iK) [before 1.1.66 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

agní/vāyú/pitṛ́+sU (voc.) = *ágne/vấyo/pítar+sU* = *ágne/vấyo+∅* (6.1.69)/*pítar+∅* (6.1.68) = *pítaḥ* (8.3.15).

7.3.109 Jas-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o 1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 iK 1.1.3 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short vowel 108 (iK) before 1.1.66 sUP triplet] Jas also (ca).

> *hári/vāyú/pitŕ̥+Jas = háre/vāyó/pitár+as = háray-aḥ/vāyáv-aḥ/pitár-aḥ* (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

7.3.110 r̥T-aḥ [1]Ṅi-[2]sarvanāmasthānáy-oḥ

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel r̥T [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] Ṅi (loc. sing.) and the strong triplets denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāná (= sUṬ).

> *pitŕ̥+Ṅi = pitár-i; pitŕ̥+au/am = pitár-au/-am. +Jas = pitár-aḥ* (109 above). Though [Śi] is a strong case affix (1.1.42) the present rule does not apply to neuter stems as by 1.72 above the stem gets an infixed increment [nuM] whereby *kartŕ̥+Śi = kartŕ̥-n+Śi* thus making the áṅga not ending in [r̥] and by 6.4.8 the surface form becomes *kartr̥̄́-ṇ-i*.

7.3.111 GHE-r Ṅ-IT-i

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) [before sUP triplets] with marker Ṅ as IT.

> *agní/vāyú+Ṅe/Ṅas(I) = agné/vāyó+e/as = agnáy-e/vāyáv-e; agn-é-ḥ/vāy-ó-ḥ* (6.4.110; 8.2.66; 3.15). For *agní/vāyú+Ṅi* see 119 below.

7.3.112 āṬ=nady-ā́ḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] āṬ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets with marker Ṅ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadī́ (1.4.3ff.).

> *nadī́/vadhū́+Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi = nadī́/vadhū́+āṬ-e/as/ām* (116) = *nady-aí/vadhv-aú, nady-ā́ḥ/vadhv-ā́ḥ; nady-ā́m/vadhv-ā́m.*

7.3.113 yāṬ āP-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāṬ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ṅ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by] the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP).

mā́lā+Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi = *mā́lā+yāṬ-e/as/ām* (116) = *mā́lā-yai/yās/yām.*

7.3.114 sarva-nāmn-aḥ syāṬ hrasvá-s=h ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] syāṬ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ṅ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) 113] and the short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga final 1.1.52 vowel].

sarvā́+Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi = *sárva+syāṬ-e/as/ām* (116) = *sárva-syai/syās/syām.*

7.3.115 vibhāṣā [1]dvi-tī́yā-[2]tṛ-tī́yā-bhyām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 syāṬ 114] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [at the head of sUP triplets with marker Ṅ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of pronominal stems 114] dvi-tī́y-ā 'second' and tṛ-tī́y-ā 'third' [and the short vowel replaces their áṅga- final phoneme before 1.1.66 these triplets].

dvi-tī́y-ā/tṛ-tī́y-ā+Ṅe/Ṅas(I)/Ṅi = *dvi-tī́ya/tṛ-tī́ya+syāṬ-e/as/ām* = *dvi-tī́ya-syai/syās/syām* // *dvi-tī́yā+yai/yās/yām* (113). *tṛ-tī́ya+syai/syās/syām* // *tṛ-tī́yā-yai/yās/yām* (113).

7.3.116 Ṅe-r ām [1]nadī́=[2]āP=[3]nī́-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ām replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Ṅi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadī́ (1.4.3ff.) or by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) and the [nominal stem] nī́- 'leader'.

1. *vadhū́+Ṅi* = *vadhū́+ām* = *vadhū́+āṬ-ām* (112) = *vadhv-ā́m.* 2. *mā́lā+Ṅi* = *mālā+yāṬ+ām* (113) = *mā́lā-yām.* 3. *senā-nī́+Ṅi* = *senā-nī́+ām* = *senāny-ā́m.*

7.3.117 ¹iT=²uT=bhyām

[The substitute morpheme ām replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet Ṅi 116, introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short iT or uT [belonging to nadī́-type 116].

The recurrence of [nadī́] here is for the purpose of denoting feminine stems ending in short [i, u] which are covered by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) and share the characteristics of masculine stems ending in short [i, u] but are not subject to this operation. Cf. 1.4.6 for their being nadī́ before Ṅ-IT.

ma-tí/dhe-nú+Ṅi = *ma-tí/dhe-nú+ām* = *ma-tí/dhe-nú+āṬ+ām* (112; 1.4.6) = *maty-ā́m/dhe-nv-ā́m*. For alternative forms cf. 119 below.

7.3.118 auT

The substitute morpheme auT replaces [the sUP triplet Ṅi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 short iT or uT 117].

The examples here are constituted by stems which are neither denoted by the t.t. nadī́ (1.4.3,6) nor by GHI (1.4.7).

sákhi/pá-ti+Ṅi = *sákhi/pá-ti+au* = *sákhy-au/paty-au* (1.4.7-8).

7.3.119 aT=ca GHE-ḥ

[The substitute morpheme auT 118 replaces the sUP triplet Ṅi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 áṅga-s 6.4.1 denoted by the t.t.] GHI (1.4.7) and (ca) the substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of these stems before 1.1.66 that sUp triplet].

agní/vāyú/ma-tí/dhe-nú+Ṅi = *agní/vāyú/matí/dhenú+au* = *agná/vāyá/matá/dhená+au* = *agn-aú/vāy-aú/mat-aú/dhen-aú*.

7.3.120 āṄ-aḥ nā á-striy-ām

The substitute morpheme nā replaces the sUP triplet āṄ (inst. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of GHI stems (1.4.7)] excluding feminine stems (á-striy-ām).

agní/vāyú+āṄ = *agní/vāyú+nā* = *agní-nā/vāyú-nā*; similarly from neuter stems: *vā́ri-ṇā/mádhu-nā*, but from fem. stems: *maty-ā́/dhenv-ā́*.

7.4.1 Ṇ-au CaṄ-i upa-dhā́-y-āḥ hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) vowel [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC.

kr̥+ṆíC+CáṄ+t (3.1.48) = *kār-i-CáṄ+t* (2.115) = *kār+∅+CáṄ+t* (6.4.51) = *kar+CáṄ+t* = *ka-kar-á-t* (6.1.11) = *ca-kar-á-t* (4.62) = *cī-kar-á-t* (4.93-4) = *áT+cī-kar-a-t* (6.4.71) = *á-cī-kar-a-t*. Similarly from the verbal stems *gaṇ-, śri-, nī-, dru-, pū-*: *á-jī-gaṇ-a-t/á-śi-śriy-a-t* (6.1.77)/*á-nī-nay-a-t/á-du-drav-a-t/a-pī-pav-a-t* (4.80,93-4).

7.4.2 ná [1]aC=lopí(n)=[2]śā́sÚ=[3]r̥T=IT-ām

[A substitute short vowel 1] does not (ná) replace [the áṅga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] which undergoes a lópa (∅) replacement of [its final 1.1.52] vowel (aC- °), of śā́s- 'teach, instruct, command' (II 66) or those (verbal stems) with marker R̥ as IT (when introduced in the Dhp.) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

rā́j-ān-am ati-krān-távān = *ati+rāj∅∅+ṆíC+CáṄ+t* (6.4.144) = *aty-á-ra-rāj-at* 'has overcome the king'. *śā́s+ṆíC+CáṄ+t* = *á-śa-śās-a-t*. *bādh-R̥+ṆíC+CáṄ+t* = *á-ba-bādh-a-t* 'has oppressed'.

7.4.3 [1]bhrā́ja-[2]bhā́sa-[3]bhā́ṣA-[4]dī́pa-[5]jīvÁ-[6]mīlÁ-[7]pīḍ-ām anya-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 1] optionally (anya-tará-sysām) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] bhrā́j- 'shine' (I 875), bhā́s- 'shine' (I 685), bhā́ṣ- 'speak' (I 643), dī́p- 'shine' (IV 42), jī́v- 'live' (I 594), mī́l- 'shut the eye' (I 550) and pīḍ- 'torment' (X 11) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

1. *bhrā́j+ṆíC+CáṄ+t* = *á-bi-bhraj-a-t* (93)/*á-ba-bhrāj-a-t*. Similarly: 2. *á-bī-bhas-a-t* (93-4)/*á-ba-bhās-a-t*; 3. *á-bī-bhaṣ-a-t/á-ba-bhāṣ-at*; 4. *á-dī-dip-a-t/á-di-dīp-a-t*; 5. *á-jī-jiv-a-t/á-ji-jīv-at*; 6. *á-mī-mil-a-t/á-mi-mīl-at*; 7. *á-pī-piḍ-at/á-pi-pīḍ-a-t*.

The short vowel of the reduplicated syllable is replaced by the long one when the penultimate vowel of the stem is replaced by the short one by 94 below.

7.4.4 lópa-ḥ píb-a-te-r ī T=ca abhy-ās-á-sya

A substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] pā- (I 972) 'drink' [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1] and the substitute long ī replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

pā+ṆíC+CaṄ+t = pāy-í+CáṄ+t (3.37) = *p(∅)yi+CáṄ+t = pi-py-∅+a-t* (6.4.51) = *á-pī-py-a-t/tām/an.*

7.4.5 tí-ṣṭh-a-te-r iT

The substitute short vowel i(T) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] sthā- 'stand, stay, abide' (I 975) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

sthā+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = sthā-p-í- (3.36)+*CáṄ+t = sthā-p+∅+CáṄ+t* (6.4.51) = *á-ti-ṣṭhip-a-t/-tām/-an.*

7.4.6 ji-ghr-a-te-r vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 5] optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 penultimate 1 vowel of the verbal stem] ghrā- (= ji-ghra- 3.38) 'smell' (I 973) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

ghrā+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = ghrā-p-í+CáṄ+t = ghrā-p-∅+CáṄ+t = á-ji-ghrip-a-t/á-ji-ghrap-a-t.

7.4.7 ur ṛT

The substitute short vowel ṛ(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] ṛ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

This rule blocks out substitutes ir (1.101), ar (3.86), ār (2.114).
kṝt+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-ci-kīrt-a-t/á-cī-kṛt-at (93-4); *vṛt+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-va-vart-a-t/á-vī-vṛt-at; mṛj+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-ma-mārj-a-t/á-mī-mṛj-at.*

7.4.8 nítya-ṁ chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute short vowel ṛ(T) 7] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1 ṛ 7 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ co-occurring after the causative marker ṆíC 1].

vṛdh+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-vī-vṛdh-a-t/-tām/-an.

7.4.9 dáy-a-te-r digi lIṬ-i

The substitute morpheme digi replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] de(Ṅ) 'protect, guard' (1011) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] lIṬ.

The verbal stem *dáyA dā́na-gáti-rákṣaṇa-hiṁsā́=ā-dā́ne-ṣu* (I 510) is not coming under this rule as it is covered by 3.1.37. *deṄ+lIṬ = digi+eŚ = digy-e.* By interpretation the substitute replaces the whole reduplicated theme of the original stem.

7.4.10 ṛT-as ca saṁ-yogá=āde-r guṇá-ḥ

A substitute guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final vowel 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) with an initial conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-á=āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of lIṬ 9].

smṛ+lIṬ = sa-smṛ+átus/ús (6.1.8; 7.4.60,66)k = *sa-smar-átus/ús* 'remembered, recollected', but *kṛ+atus/us = ca-kr-átus/ús.*

7.4.11 [1]ṛcch-á-ti=[2]ṛ=[3]ṝT-ām

[A substitute Guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stems] ṛch- 'go, move' (VI 15), ṛ- 'go, move' (I 983) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ṝ(T) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of lIṬ 9].

1. *ṛch+lIṬ = ṛch+ṆaL = a-ṛch+ṆaL* (66) = *ā-ṛch+ṆaL* (70) = *ā+nuṬ-ṛch+ṆaL* (71) = *ā-nárcch-a/átus/ús*; 2. *ṛ+lIṬ = ṛ+átus/ús = a+ṛ+átus/ús = ā-ṛ+átus/ús = ā-r-átus/ús*; 3. *kṝ+átus/ús = ca-kṝ-átus/ús* (62,66) = *ca-kar-átus/ús* 'scattered'.

7.4.12 ¹śṝ-²dṝ-³pṝ-āṁ hrasvá-ḥ vā

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stems] śṝ- 'injure' (IX 18), dṝ- 'break or split open' (IX 23) and pṝ- 'protect, fill up' (IX 19) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 9].

The option is with reference to the operation of 11 above.

1. *ví-śṝ+átus/sús = ví-śa-śṛ+atus/us = ví-śa-śr-atus/us; ví-śa-śar-atus/us* (11); 2. *ví-da-dr-atus/us; ví-da-dar-atus/us*; 3. *ní-pa-pr-atus/us; ní-pa-par-atus/us*.

7.4.13 k-e=aṆ-aḥ

[A substitute short vowel 12 replaces a (long) vowel denoted by the siglum] aṆ[1] (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ka.

jā-nā́-ti = jñā+Ká (3.1.135)+*ṬāP = jn∅+á+ṬāP* (6.4.64) = *jnā́; jnā́+ká+ṬāP* (5.3.70)/*jnā́+kaN+ṬāP* (5.3.76) = *jna-k-ā́/jná-k-ā*. (3.47). *kumārī+ká+ṬāP = kumāri-k-ā́* (5.3.76), but *go+ká+ṬāP = go-k-ā́, nau-k-ā́* 'small boat', (+uṆ-ādi affix).

7.4.14 ná kaP-i

[A substitute short vowel 12] does not (ná) replace [a long vowel denoted by the siglum aṆ[1] (d= a, i, u) 13 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] kaP (5.4.151ff.).

bahvy-áḥ kumāry-áḥ a-syá = bahu=∅¹+kumārī+kaP = bahu-kumarí-ka- (6.2.175 for accent); similarly *bahu-vadhū́-ka-* 'having many daughters-in-law'.

7.4.15 āP-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 12 does not 14] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replace [the final phoneme (long vowel) of an áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 kaP 14].

bahvy-áḥ mā́lāḥ a-syá = bahu-∅¹+mālā+kaP (5.4.151) = *bahu-mālā́-ka-ḥ bahu-mālá-ka-ḥ* 'possessing many garlands'.

7.4.16 ¹ṛ-²dṛś-aḥ aṄ-i guṇá-ḥ

A substitute Guṇá replaces [áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short ṛ and [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel ṛ of the verbal stem] dṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] aṄ (contra 1.1.5).

By 3.1.59 this affix is introduced in the domain of Chándas after the verbal stems *kṛ-, mṛ-, dṛ-, ruh-* which implies that the sonant vowel [ṛ] is short and thus blocks out its allophones which would otherwise be implied by 1.1.69, not being marked by T as IT.

1. *kṛ+lUṄ* = *kṛ+Cli* (3.1.43) = *kṛ+aṄ* (3.1.59) = *áT+kṛ+a-t* = *á-kar-a-t* (6.4.71); *á-mar-a-t; á-dar-a-t.*
2. *dṛś+aṄ* (3.1.57) = *á-darś-a-t.*

7.4.17 ás-ya-te-s thuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] thuK is inserted at the end of [the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ás- 'throw, cast, shoot at' (IV 100) [before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker aṄ 16].

as+lUṄ = *as+aṄ* (3.1.52) = *áṬ+as-thuK+a-t* (6.4.72) = *ás-th+a-t.*

7.4.18 śváy-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short /a/ replaces [áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) [before the substitute Aorist marker aṄ 16].

śvi+lUṄ = *śvi+aṄ+t* (3.1.58) = *á-śva+a-t* = *á-śv-a-t* (6.1.97).

7.4.19 pát-aḥ puM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] puM is inserted after the last vowel [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] pát(Ḷ) 'fall, fly' (I 898) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aṄ 16].

pat(Ḷ)+lUṄ = *pat+aṄ+t* (3.1.55) = *á-pa-p-t-a-t/-tām/-an.*

7.4.20 vac-aḥ uM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] uM is inserted after the last vowel [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vac- 'speak' (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aṄ 16].

vac+lUṄ = vac+aṄ+t (3.1.52) = *á-va-u-c+a+t* = *á-voc-a-t* (6.1.87).

7.4.21 śīṄ-aḥ sārva-dhdātu-ke guṇá-ḥ

A substitute guṇá vowel (= e 1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] śīṄ- 'lie down' (II 22) [before 1.1.66] sārva-dhātuka [affixes 3.1.1]. (3.4.113).

śī+∅[1] *+té/āte/áte* = *śé-te/śáy-āte* (6.1.78)/*śé-r-ate* (1.6). [6.1.186].

7.4.22 ayaṄ y-i K-Ṅ-IT-i

The substitute element ayaṄ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the verbal stem śīṄ- 'lie down' (II 22) 21 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semivowel y- ° and having marker K or Ṅ as IT.

śī+yáK+te(bhāv-é) = *śay-yá-te* 'lying down takes place' (Impersonal construction); *pra+śī+Ktvā́* = *pra-śī+LyaP* = *pra-śáy-ya* 'having lain down upon'.

7.4.23 upa-sarg-ā́t hrasvá-ḥ ū́h-a-te-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] ū́h- 'guess, suspect' (I 679), co-occurring after a preverb [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y- ° and marked with K or Ṅ as IT 22].

sám+ū́h+yáK+te = *sám-uh-ya-te,* but *ūh-yá-te*.

7.4.24 é-te-r lIṄ-i

[A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) 23 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] i- 'go' (II 36) [co-occurring after a preverb 23, before l-substitutes of] lIṄ [beginning with y- ° and marked by K or Ṅ as IT 22].

Exception to 25 below. *úd/sám/ánu+i+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* (3.4.103,107) = *úd/sám/ánu+i-yā∅-∅-t* (2.79) since [yāsuṬ] here is ṄIT by 3.4.103. In the case of the Precative/Benedictive it is K-IT (3.4.104) and the resulting forms are: *úd/sám/ánu+i-yā∅t* (8.2.29)/*-i-yās-tām/i-yās-uḥ*.

7.4.25 á-[1]kr̥t-[2]sārva-dhātu-kay-oḥ dīrghá-ḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in a vowel (denoted by the siglum aC 1.2.28), before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-° and marked by K or Ṅ as IT 22] excluding kŕ̥t (3.1.93ff.) and sārvadhātuka (3.4.113).

bhr̥śa+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te = *bhr̥śā-yá-te* (3.1.12; 6.1.97); *ci+yáK+te* = *cī-yá-te* 'is piled or heaped up'. *stu+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *to-ṣṭū-ya-te* (3.1.22; 6.1.9; 7.4.82) 'constantly praises'. But *pra+kr̥+LyaP* = *pra-kŕ̥-t-ya; ci+lIṄ* = *ci-nu+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* = *ci-nu-yā́+∅+∅-t* = *ci-nu-yā́-t*; however for the Precative/Benedictive which is ārdhadhātuka: *ci+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* = *cī-yā́∅∅-t* (8.2.29).

7.4.26 Cv-AU ca

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 26 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme (aC 1.2.28)] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Cvi̱ (5.4.50).

śuci+Cvi̱+bhū+ŚaP+ti = *śucī́-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes purified'; *paṭú+Cvi̱+kr̥+u+ti* = *paṭū́-kar-o-ti* 'makes skillful'.

7.4.27 rīṄ r̥T-aḥ

The substitute element rīṄ replaces [áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53] short vowel r̥(T) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-° 22 excluding kŕ̥t and sārvadhātuka affixes 25, and before Cvi̱ 26].

mātr̥+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP (3.1.8) = *mātrī-yá-ti* 'desires a mother for oneself'; *mātr̥+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *mātrī-yá-te* (3.1.11) 'acts like a mother'; *kr̥+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* (3.1.22) = *ce-krī-yá-te* (82); *mātr̥+Cvi̱+bhū+ŚaP+ti* = *mātrī́-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes a mother'. But *kr̥̄+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *kir+yáṄ+a-te* (1.100) = *ce-kīr-yá-te* (82) 'repeatedly scatters'.

7.4.28 riṄ [1]Śsa-[2]yáK-[3]lIṄ-k-ṣu

The substitute element riṄ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme short r̥(T)27 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Śa (3.1.77), yáK (3.1.67) and l-substitutes of lIṄ [beginning with y-°, excluding sārvadhatuka affixes 25].

1. *á-dr̥Ṅ+Śa+te* = *á=dri-y-a-te* (6.4.77) 'honors, waits upon'; 2. *kr̥+yáK+te* = *kriy-á-te* 'is being done'; 3. *kr̥+lIṄ (āśiṣ-i)* = *kr̥+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t/tām/us* =

kri-yā́∅+∅+t (8.2.29) = *kri-yā́-t/kri-yā́s-tām/us; bhṛ+Ślu+yā́suṬ+suṬ+t* = *bi-bhṛ-yā∅+∅+t/tām/us* (2.79) = *bi-bhṛ-yā́-t/tām/bi-bhṛ-y-ús* (6.1.96).

7.4.29 guṇá-ḥ [1]arti-[2]saṁ-yog-á-ādy-oḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel ṛT 27 of the verbal stem] ṛ 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant (°saṁ-yog-á=ādy-oḥ) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáK and l-substitutes of lIṄ 28 excluding sārvadhatuka affixes 25].

1. *ṛ+yáK+te* = *ar-yá-te* (contra 1.1.5); *smṛ+yáK+te* = *smar-yá-te* 'is remembered'; but *kṛ+yáK=te* = *kriy-á-te*. 2. *ṛ+yā́s+s+t/tam/us* = *ar-yā́∅+∅+t* (8.2.29) = *ar-yā́-t/ar-yā́s-tām/us; smar-yā́-t/smar-yā́s-tām/us.*

7.4.30 yáṄ-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme short ṛT 27 of the verbal stems ṛ- 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant 29] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáṄ (3.1.22).

1. *ṛ+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *ar+yáṄ+a+te* = *ar-ar-yá-te* (6.1.2,9; 7.4.60) = *ar-ār-yá-te* (83). 2. *svṛ+ydáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *svar+yáṄ+a=te* = *sa-svar-yá-te* = *sā-svar-yá-te* (83).

7.4.31 ī [1]ghrā-[2]dhm-oḥ

The substitute long vowel ī replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and dhmā 'blow, inflate' (I 974) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáṄ 30].

1. *ghrā+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *ghrī+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *je-ghrī-yá-te* (6.1.97, 7.4.82). 2. *dhmā+yáṄ* = *dhmī+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *de-dhmī-yá-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,82; 8.4.54).

7.4.32 a-sya Cv-au

[The substitute long vowel ī 31 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class] a [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Cvi (5.4.50).

śukla/khaṭvā+Cvi+bhū+ŚaP+tiP = *śuklī́-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes white'; *khaṭvī́-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes a cot'.

7.4.33 KháC-i ca

[The substitute long vowel ī 31] also (ca) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class /a/ 32 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC.

> *ātmán-aḥ putrá-m icch-á-ti* = *putrá+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *putrī-yá-a-ti* = *putrī-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'desires a son for one's self'. Exception to 25 above.

7.4.34 [1]aśanā-yá=[2]udan-yá-[3]dhdanā-y-ā́ḥ [1]bu-bhk-ṣā́-[2]pi-pā-sā́-[3]gardhé-ṣu

The verbal stems [as derived with affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33] are introduced as aś-anā-yá-, udan-yá- and dhanā-yá to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'be hungry' (bu-bhuk-ṣā), 'be thirsty' (°-pi-pā-sā́-°) and 'covet' (°-gardhé-ṣu).

> Exception to 33 above. In other senses: *aś-anī-yá-* 'to be greedy for food without being hungry'; *udakī-yá-* 'to wish for water (without being thirsty)'; *dhanī-yá-* 'to wish for riches (without being greedy or covetous)'.

7.4.35 ná=chándas-i á-putra-sya

In the Chándas [the substitute long vowel ī 31] does not (ná) replace [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme a 32] excluding that of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

> Exception to 33. *mitra+KyáC+ú* (3.2.170) = *mitra-y-ú-* (6.4.148) 'friendly, affectionate, amicable' but *putra+KyaC+ŚatṚ* = *putra+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatṚ+Jas* = *putrī-y-ánt-aḥ* 'desiring sons for themselves'.

7.4.36 [1]duras-y-ú-r-[2]draviṇas-y-ú-r=[3]vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti-[4]riṣaṇ-yá-ti

[In the domain of Chándas 35] the expressions duras-y-ú- 'wishing to do harm', draviṇa-s-y-ú- 'desiring or bestowing goods', vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti 'be in heat, desire the male' and riṣaṇ-yá-ti 'fails, miscarries' are introduced [as derived with the affix 3.1.1. KyáC 33].

> 1. *duṣṭa+KyáC* = *duras+ya+ú-* (3.2.170) = *duras-y-ú-* (6.4.148) = *duṣṭī-yá-ti*. 2. *draviṇa+KyaC+ú* = *draviṇas-y-ú-* = *draviṇī-yá-ti*. 3. *vṛṣa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vṛṣaṇ-yá=ti* = *vṛṣī-yá-ti*. 4. *riṣṭa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *riṣaṇ-ydá-ti* = *riṣṭī-yá-ti*.

7.4.37 [1]áśva=[2]aghá-sya āT

[In the Chándas 35] the substitute phoneme long āT replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of nominal stems 4.1.1] áśva- 'horse' and aghá- 'evil' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

Exception to 33. 1. *áśva+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP = aśvā-yá-ti* (6.1.97); 2. *aghā-yá-ti; aśvā-yá+ŚaP+ŚátR̥+Jas = asvā-y-ánt-aḥ; aghā-ya+ú* (3.2.170)+*Jas = agha-y-áv-aḥ*

7.4.38 [1]devá-[2]sumnáy-or yájuṣ-i kā́ṭhak-e

In the ritual formulae of the Kā́ṭhaka school [the substitute phoneme long ā(T) 37 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] devá- 'divinity' and sumná- 'grace, favor' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

devá+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatR̥+Jas = devā-y-ánt-aḥ 'becoming divine'; similarly *sumnā-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming gracious'.

7.4.39 [1]kaví=[2]adhvará-[3]pŕ̥tana-sya=r̥c-í lópa-ḥ

In the domain of the R̥g-Veda the substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kaví- 'poet, wise man', adhvará- 'sacrifice' and pŕ̥tanā 'army, adversaries' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

1. *kavi+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatR̥+Jas = kav∅-y-ánt-aḥ* (6.1.97) 'becoming wise'; similarly: 2. *adhvar-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming engaged in sacrifices'; 3. *pr̥tan-y-ánt-aḥ* 'fighting against'.

7.4.40 [1]dya-ti-[2]sya-ti-[3]mā-[4]sth-ām iT t-i K-IT-i

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] do- 'cut' (IV 40), so- 'end, terminate' (IV 39), mā- 'measure' (IV 34) and sthā- 'stay, remain' (I 975) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the phoneme t-°, with marker K as IT.

1. *do+Ktá = di-tá-, nír-di-ta(-vat)-* 'cut off'; 2. *ava-so+Kta- = áva-si-ta-(vat)-* 'terminated'; 3. *mā+Ktá(-vatU) = mi-tá(vat)-* 'measured'; 4. *sthā+Ktá(vatU) = sthi-tá-(vat)-* 'remaining, standing'.

7.4.41 [1]śā-[2]ch-or anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 30] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] šo- (= śā-) 'sharpen, whet, hone' (II 37) and cho- (= chā) 'cut' (IV 38) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme t-° with marker K as IT 40].

1. *ni+śo+Ktá(vatU)* = *ní-śi-ta-(vat)-* 'sharpened'/*ní-śā-ta(vat)-*. 2. *áva+cho+Kta(vatU)* = *áva-cchi-ta-(vat)-/áva-cchā-ta(vat)-* 'cut'.

7.4.42 dá-dhā-te-r hi-ḥ

The substitute morpheme hi replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1] of the verbal stem dhā- 'bear, support' (III 10) [before an affix 3.1.1 with initial t-° and marker K as IT 40].

dhā+Ktá(vatU) = *hi-tá-(vat)-; dhā+Ktvā́* = *hi-tvā́,* but *pra+ṇi+dhā+Ktvā́* = *pra-ṇi+dhā+LyaP* (1.37) = *pra-ṇi-dhā́-ya.*

7.4.43 já-hā-te-ś ca Ktv-i

[The substitute morpheme hi 42] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] hā- 'abandon, renounce' (III 8) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā́.

hā+Ktvā́ = *hi-tvā́* 'having abandoned or renounced', but from the verbal stem *O-hā-Ṅ ga-t-au* (III 7)+*Ktvā́* = *hā-tvā́.*

7.4.44 vibhāṣā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute morpheme hi 42] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem hā- 'abandon' (III 8) before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ktvā́ 43].

hi-tvā́/hā-tvā́.

7.4.45 [1]sú-dhi-ta-[2]vásu-dhi-ta-[3]nemá-dhi-ta-[4]dhi-ṣvá-[5]dhi-ṣīy-á ca

[In the domain of Chándas 44] the expressions sú-dhi-ta- 'well placed', vásu-dhi-ta- 'possession of wealth', nemá-dhi-ta- 'half-supported', dhi-ṣvá 'bear!', dhí-ṣīy-a 'may I place' are introduced.

1-3. In the expressions ending in °*-dhi-ta-*, *dhā* is not replaced by *hi-* before *Ktá(vatU)*, an exception to 42 above. In the remaining two forms: 4. *dhā+lOṬ* = *dhā+Ślu+sva* = *da-dhā+sva* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54); ∅ replaces the reduplicated syllable, and short vowel [i] replaces the áṅga-final before the l-substitute [svá]: *dhi+svá* = *dhi-ṣvá* (8.3.59) corresponding to the non-Chandas speech *da-dh∅+svá* (6.4.112) = *dhad+svá* (8.2.37) = *dhat-svá* (8.4.55). 5. *dhā+lIṄ* *(āśiṣ-i)* = *dhā+sīyuṬ+a* = *dhi-sīy-a* = *dhi-ṣīy-á* (8.3.59) for non-Chándas *dhā-sīy-á*.

7.4.46 d-aḥ dad GHO-ḥ

The substitute morpheme dad- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] dā- 'give' (III 9) belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial phoneme t-° with marker K as IT 40].

dā+Ktá(vatU) = *dad+tá(vat)-* = *dat-tá(vat)-* (8.4.55), but from *dāP láv-an-e* (II 50)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *dā-tá(vat)-* and *áva+daiP śódh-an-e* (I 971)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *áva-dā-ta(vat)-* 'purified' and *dheṬ pā́-n-e* (I 951)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *dhā-tá(vat)-* 'drunk'.

7.4.47 aC-aḥ upa-sarg-ā́t ta-ḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem dā- 'give' (III 9), belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) 46] co-occurring after a pre-verb [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial t-°, with marker K as IT 40].

The interpretation of this rule requires some finesse. If [aC-aḥ] as qualifying [upa-sarg-ā́t] is considered as an ablative, the substituendum for [t] is the initial of what follows the ablative (1.1.54), viz. [d]; in order to avoid this interpreters either take [aC-aḥ] as repeated, one in the ablative qualifying the preverb, the other in the genitive to indicate the substituendum which yields the correct result; or in the alternative consider the substitute as [tt] when by 1.1.55 it replaces the whole of the substituendum.

prá+dā+Kta(vatU) = *prá-dt+ta(vat)* = *prá-tt-ta(vat)* (8.4.55) 'donated', but *nir-dat-ta(vat)*.

7.4.48 ap-áḥ bh-i

[The substitute phoneme t 47 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem] áp- 'water' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial] bh-°.

Since this stem usually takes only the plural sUP triplets, these are [bhis, bhyas]. *ap+bhis/bhyas* = *at+bhis/bhyas* = *ad-bhíḥ/bhyáḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15; 4.55); accent by (6.1.68).

7.4.49 s-aḥ s-i ā́rdha-dhātu-k-e

[The substitute phoneme t 47 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] dental sibilant °-s [before 1.1.66] an ārdhadhātuka [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] s-°.

vas+syá+tiP = *vat-syá-ti* 'will abide or reside'; *ad+saN* = *ghas+saN* (2.4.37) = *jí-ghas+saN* (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79; 8.4.54) = *jí-ghat-sa-* 'wish to eat', but *ā́-se* 'dost sit' (sārvadhātuka).

7.4.50 [1]tā́s=[2]as-ty-or lópa-ḥ

The substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.55 phoneme of themes of verbal stems ending in the non-sigmatic future marker] tā́s (3.1.33) and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before an affix 3.1.1 with] initial s-°.

1. *kṛ+lUṬ* = *kṛ+tā́s+siP* (3.1.33) = *kar-tā́∅-si* = *kar-tā́-si*. 2. *ás+∅*[1]*+siP* = *a∅-si* = *á-si*.

7.4.51 r-i ca

[The substitute lópa (∅) 50 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker tā́s and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] r-°.

kṛ+tā́s+rau/ras (2.4.85) = *kar-tā́∅+rau/raḥ*. With reference to the verbal stem [as], except for a single form cited by commentaries from the domain of Chándas, no such affix is found in non-Chándas: *vy-ati+as+lIT*. = *vy-ati+as+re* (6.4.76) *vy-ati+∅s+re* (6.4.111) = *vy-ati-∅-re* without reduplication.

7.4.52 ha eT-i

The substitute phoneme h replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker tā́s and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] e-°.

kṛ+tā́s+e (3.4.79) = *kar-tā́h-e; vy-áti-as+e* = *vy-ati+∅s+e* (6.4.111) = *vy-áti-h-e.*

7.4.53 ¹y-i̱=²i-varṇay-or ¹dīdhī-²vevy-oḥ

[The substitute lópa (∅) 50 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] dīdhī(Ṅ) 'shine' (II 67) and vevī(Ṅ) 'go' (II 58) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme] y- ° or i- °.

1. before y- °: *ā-dīdhī+Ktvā́* = *ā-dīdhī-LyaP* (1.37) = *ā-dī́dh∅-ya* = *ā-dī́-dh-ya*; similarly *ā-vév-ya.*
2. before i-/ī- °: *ā-dīdhī+iṬ+tṛC* = *ā-dīdh∅-i-tṛ́-* = *ā-dī-dh-i-tṛ́-/ā-vev-i-tṛ́-*. *ā-dīdhī+lIṄ* = *ā-dīdhī+∅*¹ *+sīyuṬ+suṬ+ta* (3.4.102,107) = *dā-dīdh∅+∅īy+∅+ta* (2.79) = *ā́=dīdh-ī∅-ta* (6.1.66) = *ā́-dīdh-ī-ta/ā́-vev-ī-ta.*

7.4.54 saN-i ¹mī-²mā-³GHU-⁴rabhA-⁵labhA-⁶śaka̱-⁷páta̱-⁸pad-ām aC-aḥ is

The substitute element /is/ replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1] vowel (aC-aḥ) phoneme [of the verbal stems] mī(Ñ) 'destroy' (IX 4), miÑ (V 4 → mī- 6.4.16) 'toss, fling', mā- 'measure' (II 53, IV 34), meṄ 'barter, exchange' (I 1010), those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), rabh- 'grasp, seize' (I 1023), labh- 'take, seize, catch, gain' (I 1024), śak- 'be able' (V 15), pát- 'fall, fly' (I 898) and pad- 'go' (IV 60) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN (3.1.7) [beginning with s- ° 49].

1. *mī/mi+saN* = *m-is+saN* = *mít-saN* (49); *prá-mit-saN* (58). 2. *mā/me+saN* = *m-is+saN* = *mít-saN/ápa-mit-saN* (58). 3. *dā/dhā+saN* = *d-is/dh-is+saN* = *dít-saN/dhít-saN-* (58). 4. *ā-rabh+saN* = *ā́-risbh+saN* = *ā́-ri∅bh+saN* (8.2.29) = *ā́-rip-saN* (8.4.53). 5. *ā́labh+saN* = *ā́-lip-saN* (58). 6. *śak+saN* = *śisk+saN* = *śí∅k+saN* = *śík-ṣaN* (58; 8.3.59). 7. *pat+saN* = *pist+saN* = *pi∅t-saN* = *pít-saN* (58). 8. *pad+saN* = *pisd+saN* = *pi-d+saN* = *pít-saN* (58; 8.4.55).

In all these cases ∅ also replaces the reduplicated syllable generated by 6.1.9 (cf. 58 below). When saN is preceded by initial increment iṬ.: *pat+saN* = *pi-pat+iṬ-saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *pi-pat-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59) since by a vārttika *pat-* is optionally seṬ.

7.4.55 ¹āp-²jñapi̱=³ṛdh-ām īT

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stems] āp- 'reach, attain' (V 14), jñap- 'make known, announce, proclaim' (X 81) and ṛdh- 'prosper' (IV 135, V 24) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 beginning with s- ° 49].

1. *āp+saN* = *ī́p+saN*; 2. *jñap+saN* = *jñī́p-saN*; 3. *ṛdh+saN* = *īr-dh+saN* (1.1.51) = *ī́rt-saN* (8.4.55). ∅ replacement of reduplicated syllable by 58 below.

7.4.56 dambh-aḥ iT=ca

The substitute phoneme short i(T) as well as (ca) [long ī(T) replace the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] dambh- (danbhU V 23) 'hurt, injure' [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s- ° 49].

dambh+saN = *da∅bh+saN* (1.2.10; 6.4.24) = *dibh/dībh+saN* = *dhib/dhīb+saN* (8.2.37) = *dhíp/dhī́p-saN* (8.4.55), but *dí-dambh-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59).

7.4.57 muc-aḥ á-karma-ka-sya guṇá-ḥ=vā

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] muc- 'release, set free' (VI 136) when having an intransitive meaning (á-karma-ka-sya) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s- ° 49].

By 1.2.10 [saN] occurring after this stem would normally be K-IT, but by prescribing Guṇá replacement here 1.1.5 is blocked. *muc+saN* = *moc+saN* = *mok+saN* (8.2.30) = *mók-ṣaN* (8.3.59)/*mú-muc+saN* = *mu-muk-ṣaN* (6.1.9; 7.4.60; 8.3.59): *mók-ṣa-te/mú-muk-ṣa-te vátsa-ḥ svayá-m eva* 'the calf frees itself' (reflexive). The marker [yáK] is not required here by a vart. on 3.1.78. When not intransitive: *múmuk-ṣa-ti vátsa-ṁ devadattáḥ* 'D. releases the calf'.

7.4.58 á-tra lópa-ḥ abhy-ās-á-sya

In this section (á-tra) [beginning with 54 above] the substitute lópa (∅) replaces the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

54. (a) *mít-sa-ti/prá-mit-sa-ti*; (b) *ápa-mit-sa-ti*; (c) *dít-sa-ti/dhít-sa-ti*; (d) *ā́-rip-sa-ti*; (e) *ā́-lip-sa-ti*; (f) *śík-ṣa-ti*; (g) *pít-sa-ti*; (h) *pít-sa-te*.

55. (a) *ī́p-sa-ti*; (b) *jñī́-p-sa-ti*; (c) *ī́rt-sa-ti*.

56. *dhíp-sa-ti/dhī́p-sa-ti*.

57. *mók-ṣa-ti/mú-muk-ṣa-ti*.

The expression [abhy-ās-á-sya] will now recur up to the end of this pādá, as a governing expression.

7.4.59 hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel 54 of the reduplicated syllable 58].

nī+lIṬ = *nī-nī+ṆaL* (6.1.8) = *ni-nī+ṆaL* = *ni-náy-a* (2.115; 6.1.78); *ḍhauk+lIṬ* = *ḍhauk+éŚ* = *ḍu-ḍhauk+é* (60; 1.1.48) = *ḍu-ḍhauk-é*.

7.4.60 haL-ādí-ḥ śéṣa-ḥ

The first consonant (haL-ādí-ḥ) [of the reduplicated syllable] remains [and all the remaining are replaced by ∅].

glai+lIṬ = *glā-glā+lIṬ* (6.1.8,45) = *gā-glā+au* = *ga-glā+au* (59) = *ja-glā+au* (62; 7.1.34) = *ja-gl-aú* 'had become tired'.
pat+ṆaL = *pat-pat+ṆaL* = *pa∅-pát+a* (2.116) = *pa-pát-a*.
aṭ+ṆaL = *aṭ-aṭ+ṆaL* = *a∅-aṭ+ṆaL* = *ā-aṭ+ṆaL* (70) = *áṭ-a*.

7.4.61 śáR-pūrv-ā-ḥ khaY-aḥ

Unvoiced stops (khaY-aḥ), co-occurring after sibilants (śáR-pūrvāḥ) [of the reduplicated sysllable 58] remain [and the sibilants are replaced by ∅].

sthā+saN = *sthā-sthā+saN* = *tha-sthā+saN* (59,60) = *thi-sthā-sa-* (79) = *ti-ṣthā-sa* (8.3.59; 4.41,54). But *snā+lIṬ* = *sa-snā+au* (60) = *sa-sn-aú; śru+ṆaL* = *śu-śrāv-á; syand+ṆaL* = *sa-syánd-a* since they are voiced consonants preceded by sibilants.

7.4.62 ¹kU-²h-os=cU-ḥ

A substitute palatal stop (cU 1.1.69) replaces (the corresponding 1.1.50) velar stop (kU) or the phoneme /h/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

The choice of the particular stop is determined by the metarule 1.1.50. *kṛ+lIṬ* = *kṛ-kṛ+ṆaL* = *kar-kṛ+ṆaL* (66; 1.1.51) = *ka-kár-a* (2.115) = *ca-kár-a; gam+lIṬ* = *gam-gam+ṆaL* = *ga∅-gám-a* (60) = *ja-gám-a*. Similarly *khan+ṆaL* = *ca-khán-a* (60; 8.4.54); *ghas+ṆaL* = *ja-ghá-sa*.

7.4.63 na káv-a-te-r yáṄ-i

[The substitute palatal stop (=c) 62] does not (ná) replace [the velar phoneme (k) of the verbal stem 62] ku(Ṅ) 'make a sound' (I 999) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yáṄ.

ku+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = *ku-ku+yá+a+te* (6.1.9) = *ko-kū-yá-a-te* (25, 82) = *ko-kū-yá-te* (6.1.97) 'sounds repeatedly or intensively' but *ku+lIṬ* = *ku+éŚ* = *cu-kuv-é* (62; 6.1.77).

This rule is not applicable to *ku śabd-e* (II 23), *kuṄ śabd-e* (VI 108).

7.4.64 kr̥ṣe-ś chándas-i

In the Chándas [a palatal stop (c) 62 does not 63 replace the velar stop (k) 62 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem] kr̥ṣ- 'draw, drag, plough' (I 1039) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker yáṄ 63].

kr̥ṣ+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = *karī-kr̥ṣ-yá-te* (66.90; 1.1.51) 'ploughs repeatedly or intensively' for current *carī-kr̥ṣ-yá-te*.

7.4.65 [1]dā́-dhar-ti-[2]dár-dhar-ti-[3]dár-dhar-ṣi-[4]bó-bhū-tu-[5]té-tik-te=[6]ál-ar-ṣi-[7]ā-pánī-phan-at-[8]saṁ-sáni-ṣyad-at-[9]kári-kr-at-[10]káni-krad-at-[11]bhári-bhr-at-[12]dávi-dhv-at-aḥ=[13]dávi-dyut-at-[14]tári-tr-at-aḥ=[15]sárī-sr̥p-at-am-[16]várī-vr̥j-at-[17]mar-mŕ̥jy-a=[18]ā́-ganī-gan-ti iti ca

[In the Chándas 64] the eighteen expressions (denoting irregular forms) beginning with dā́-dhar-ti and ending with ā́-ganī-gan-ti are introduced (as current therein).

The irregularities are in not being subject to the rules framed in the Aṣṭ.

Expressions 1-3 are derived either from the causative stem *dhār-í-* (= *dhr̥+ṆíC*) or from *dhr̥+Ślu* with ∅ replacement of both markers [yáṄ] and [ṆíC] for the first form and augment [ruK 91] for the other two.

4. *bhū+yáṄ-luK+tu* = *bó-bhū-tu* (= *bó-bho-tu/bó-bhav-ī-tu*).
5. *tij+yáṄ-luK+te* = *té-tik-te* (= *té-tik-ti*).
6. *r̥+Ślu+siP* = *ál-ar-ṣi/r̥+yáṄ-luK+siP* with l-replacement in the reduplicated syllable.
7. *ā-pánī=phaṇ-at* is the present participle of *ā-phaṇ+yáṄ-luK* with [nīK] increment of the reduplicated syllable (RV 4.40.4).
8. *sam+syand+yáṄ-luK+ŚatR̥* = *saṁ-sáni-ṣyad-at-* (*sáni-ṣyad-at-* RV 9.110.4) with [niK] increment of the reduplicated syllable.
9. Similarly *kr̥+yáṄ-luK+ŚatR̥* = *kári-kr-at-* (RV 3.58.9) with [riK] increment of the reduplicated syllable.
10. *krand+yáṄ-luK+ŚatR̥* = *káni-krad-at-* with augment [niK], or as commentaries indicate *krand+aṄ+t* with reduplication, and non-replacement of the velar by palatal (RV 1.152.5).
11. *bhr̥+yáṄ-luK+ŚatR̥* = *bhári-bhr-at-* with final augment [riK], non-replacement of the reduplicated syllable by iT (contra 76) and non-replacement of the voiced aspirate by the non-aspirate therein (RV 2.4.4).

12. *dhvṛ+yáṄ-luK+ŚatṚ-* with final increment [riK] of the reduplicated syllable and ∅ replacement of stem vowel (RV 7.10.1).
13. *dyut+yáṄ-luK+ŚatṚ-* with absence of vocalization and replacement of reduplicated syllabic vowel by [a] with final increment [vuK] (RV 6.16.45).
14. *tṝ+yáṄ-luK+ŚatṚ-* or *tṝ+Ślu+ŚatṚ-* (according to commentaries) with final increment [riK] (RV 4.40.3)+*Ṅas*.
15. *sṛp+yáṄ-luK+ŚatṚ+am* with final increment (rīK).
16. *vṛj+yáṄ-luK/Ślu+ŚatṚ-* with final increment [rīK] (RV 7.24.4).
17. *mṛj+lIṬ = mṛj+ṆaL* with final increment [ruK] of the reduplicated syllable and of [yuK] of the verbal stem.
18. *á-gam+Ślu+tiP* with final increment [nīK] and non-replacement of the velar stop by the palatal. (RV 6.75.3).

7.4.66 u-r aT

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the phoneme-class ṛ [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

vṛt+lIṬ = vṛ-vṛ+éŚ = va-vṛ+éŚ = va-vr-é; kṛ+ṆaL = ca-kắr-a (2.115; 4.62).

7.4.67 [1]dyúti-[2]svāpy-óḥ sam-pra-sắr-aṇa-m

A substitute sam-pra-sắr-aṇa (vocalization 1.1.45) replaces [the semivowel 1.1.45 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] dyút- 'shine' (I 777) and svāp-í- 'cause to lie down' (= svap- II 59+ṆíC).

Exception to 60 above. *ví-dyut+saN+ŚaP+te = ví-diut-dyut+iṬ+saN+a-te* (60; 2.35) = *ví-di-dyot-i-ṣa-te* (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59). *svap+ṆíC+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = svāp-í+i+sa+a+ti = svap-svāp-i+i-sa-a-ti* (60; 1.1.59) = *sua∅-svāp-e-i-sa-a-ti* (59) = *su-ṣvāp-e-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59) = *su-ṣvāp-ay-i-ṣa-ti*.

7.4.68 vyáth-aḥ lIṬ-i

[A substitute sam-pra-sắr-aṇa vowel (iK 1.1.45) replaces the semivowel (yaN) of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem] vyáth- 'tremble' (I 801) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes] of lIṬ.

vyath+lIṬ = vyath-vyath+éŚ - vi∅-vyath+éŚ (60; 6.1.108) = *vi-vyath-é*.

7.4.69 dīrghá-ḥ iṆ-aḥ K-IT-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 5.4.1 of the verbal stem] iṆ 'go' (II 36) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lIṬ with marker K as IT.

i+átus/ús (1.2.5) = *y+átus/ús* = *i+y+átus/ús* (1.1.59; 6.1.8) = *ī-y-átus/ús*; but *i+ṆaL* = *aí+a* (2.115) = *i-áy+a* (1.1.59; 6.1.78) = *iy-áy-a; i+thaL* = *é+thaL/é+iṬ+tha* (2.63) = *i-é+tha/i-é-i-tha* (1.1.59) = *iy-é-tha/iy-áy-i-tha* (6.1.78) since these affixes are not K=IT. It may be noted that saṁdhi replacement takes place prior to reduplication by the meta-rule 1.1.59.

7.4.70 aT-aḥ ādé-ḥ

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 69] replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring as the initial (ādé-ḥ) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 68].

aṭ+lIṬ = *aṭ+átus/ús* = *a∅+aṭ+átus/ús* = *ā-aṭ-átus/ús* = *āṭ-átus/āṭ-ús*. Without this replacement 6.1.97 would have yielded **aṭ-átus/ús*.

7.4.71 tá-smāt nuṬ dví-haL-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] nuṬ is inserted at the head of [an áṅga 6.4.1] containing two consonants (dví-haL-aḥ) after (tá-smāt) [a substitute long vowel has replaced the initial short vowel a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 68].

aṅg+lIṬ = *aṅg+ṆaL/átus/ús* = *ā-aṅg+ṆaL/átus/ús* (60,70) = *ā-n-aṅg+ṆaL/átus/ús* = *ā-náṅg-a/ā-naṅg-átus/ús* 'had gone'.

7.4.72 aś-nó-te-s=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 nuṬ 71 is inserted at the head of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] aś- 'reach, attain' (V 18) [after a substitute long vowel 69 has replaced 71 the initial short a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 69 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 68].

aś+lIṬ = *aś+átus/ús* = *a∅-aś+átus/ús* (60) = *ā-naś+átus/ús* (70). In classical usage this verbal stem, being marked with anudātta as IT takes Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *aś+eŚ* = *a-aś+é* = *a-aś+é* (60) = *ā-naś-é* (70). But *áśÁ bhój-an-e* IX 51+*lIṬ* = *ā-aś-ṆaL/átus/ús* = *áś-a/āś-átus/ús*.

7.4.73 bháv-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] bhū́ 'become' (I 1) [before l-substitutes of lIṬ 79].

bhū+lIṬ = *bhū-v+lIṬ* (6.4.88) = *bhū́v+ṆaL/átus/ús* = *ba-bhū́v-a/ba-bhūv-átus/ús* (60; 8.4.54).

7.4.74 sa-sū́v-a iti nigam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expression sa-sū́v-a is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem sū- 'give birth to' (II 21) before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of lIṬ 68].

This stem with a Ṅ as IT-marker normally takes Ātmanepadá l-substitutes in the current speech (bhāṣā́-y-ām).

sū+Ṅ+lIṬ = *sū+ṆaL* = *sū-v+ṆaL* = *su-sūv+ṆaL* = *sa-sū́v-a* beside *sū+éŚ* = *su-ṣuv-é* (6.4.77; 8.3.59).

7.4.75 nij-āṁ trayā-ṇ-ā́ṁ guṇá-ḥ Śl-au

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel denoted by the siglum iK 1.1.3 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 6.4.1] of three verbal stems beginning with nij- 'wash, bathe' (III 11) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] Ślu (2.4.74).

The other two stems are: *vij-ÌR pṛthag-bhāv-é* (12) 'separate' and *viṣ-L̀ vy-ā́p-t-au* (13) 'pervade'.

1. *nij+Ślu+tiP* = *ni∅-nij+ti* (60) = *ne-nij+ti* = *né-nek-ti* (3.86; 8.2.30). 2. *vé-vek-ti*. 3. *vé-veṣ-ṭi*. *nij+lIṬ* = *nij+ṆaL/átus/ús* = *ni-néj-a, ni-nij-átus/ús*.

7.4.76 bhṛÑ-ām iT

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of three verbal stems 75] beginning with bhṛÑ- 'bear, sustain' (III 5) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker Ślu 75].

The other two stems are: 6 *māṄ mā́n-e śábd-e ca* 'measure, sound' and 7 *O-hā-Ṅ gá-t-au* 'go, depart'.

bhṛ+Ślu+tiP = *bhṛ-bhṛ+*$\emptyset^2$*+ti=bhir-bhṛ+tiP* (1.1.51) = *bí-bhar-ti* (3.84; 4.60; 8.4.54). *mā+Ślu* = *mí-mī-te* (6.4.113). *hā+Ślu+te* = *jí-hī-te*.

7.4.77 ¹arti-²pí-par-ty-oś ca

[The substitute short phoneme i(T) 76] also replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] ṛ- 'go' (III 16) and pṝ- 'fill up, sustain' (III 4) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker Ślu 75].

> *ṛ+Ślu = ar+Ślu+tiP = a-ar-ti* (60) *i-ar-ti = íy-ar-ti* (6.4.78). *pṝ+Ślu+tiP = par+∅²+tiP = pa-par-ti* (60) = *pí-par-ti*.

7.4.78 bahulá-ṁ chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem].

> *vaśÁ kān-t-au* (II 70) replaces class marker ∅¹ by ∅² with [i] replacing the vowel of the reduplicated syllable: *vaś+Ślu+tiP = ví-vaṣ-ṭi* (8.2.36; 4.41); *vac-* (II 54): *vac+Ślu* (2.4.76)+*tiP = ví-vak-ti* (8.2.30); *sac-* (I 1046)+*Ślu+tiP = sí-ṣak-ti* (8.3.59); *ghṛ* (I 985)+*Ślu=jí-ghar-ti* contra *dá-dā-ti; ja-ján-at=índra-m* (Mait. 1.9.1); *mātā́ yád vīrá-m da-dhán-at dhániṣṭhā* (RV 10.73.1).

7.4.79 saN-i aT-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN (3.1.7).

> *paṭh+saN+ŚaP+tiP = pá-paṭh-iṬ-sa-a-ti* (2.34; 4.60) = *pí-paṭh-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'wishes to recite/read/study'.

7.4.80 o-ḥ ¹pU-²yaṆ=³j-ḭ=á-par-e

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] replaces the phoneme /u/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58] occurring before (°-par-e) a labial stop (pU-°), a semivowel (°-yaṆ-°) or the phoneme /j/ when followed by the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79].

1. pU: *pū(Ṅ)+saN+ŚaP+te = pu-pū+iṬ+saN+a-te = pí-pav-i-ṣa-te* (2.35; 3.84; 6.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to purify'.
2. yaṆ: *yu+saN+ŚaP+tiP = yu-yu+iṬ-saN+a=ti = yí-yav-i-ṣa-ti* 'desires to mix'; similarly from *ru/lū+saN+ŚaP+tiP = rí-rav-i-ṣda-ti* 'desires to cry'/*lí-lav-i-ṣa-ti* 'desires to reap' and from their causative stems: *rí-rāv-ay-iṣ-a-ti/li-lāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti*.

3. j: *ju+NíC+saN+ŚaP+tiP = jāv-í+iṬ+sa-a-ti = ju-jāvi+i-sa-a-ti* (1.1.59; 7.4.60) = *jí-jāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (3.84; 6.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to cause (someone) to go'. But *bú-bhū-ṣa-ti*.

7.4.81 [1]sráv-a-ti-[2]śṛ-ṇó-ti-[3]dráv-a-ti-[4]práv-a-ti-[5]pláv-a-ti [6]cyáv-a-tī-n-ām vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] optionally (vā) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] srú- 'flow, run' (I 487), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), dru- 'run' (I 992), pru- (I 1006) and plu- (I 1007) 'flow' and cyu- 'shake about' (I 1004) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79, when followed by the phoneme-class /a/ 80].

1. *sru+NíC+saN+ŚaP+tiP = srāv-í+iṬ-saN-a-ti* (2.35, 115) = *sú-srāv-e-i-sa-a-ti* (3.84; 1.1.59) = *sú-srāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti/sí-srāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78,97; 8.3.59). Similarly: 2. *śú-śrāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti/śí-śrāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti*; 3. *dú-drāv-ay-i-sa-ti/dí-drāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti*; 4. *pú-prāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti/pí-prā́v-ay-i-ṣa-ti*; 5. *pú-plāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti/pí-plāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti*; 6. *cu-cyāv-ay-i-sa-ti/cí-cyāv-ay-i-ṣa-ti* but *sú-srū-ṣa-ti/śú-śrū-ṣa-ti*.

7.4.82 guṇá-ḥ yáṄ-luK-oḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel (iK 1.1.3) of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] yáṄ and yáṄ-luK.

hu (III 1)+*yáṄ+ŚaP+te = ju-hu-yá-a-te* (6.1.9; 7.4.62) = *jo-hū-yá-te* (25; 6.1.97) 'sacrifices continuously or intensively'.

hu+yáṄ-luK+ŚaP+tiP = ju-hu+Ø[1]+Ø[1]+tiP (Dhp II 71) = *jo-ho+īṬ+tiP* (3.84,94) = *jó-hav-ī-ti* (6.1.190).

7.4.83 dīrghá-ḥ a-K-IT-aḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58,] not containing a final increment with marker K as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

pac+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = paØ-pac-yá-a-te (60) = *pā-pac-yá-te* (6.1.97) 'cooks repeatedly'; *pac+yáṄ-luK+īṬ+tiP* (3.94) = *pā́-pac-ī-ti*. For counter-examples see the next four sūtra-s 84-7 and 90-92 below.

7.4.84 nīK ¹vancU-²sránsU-³dhvánsU-⁴bhránśU-⁵kásÁ-⁶páta-⁷padA-⁸skand-ām

[The final increment 1.1.46] nīK is inserted after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] vanc- 'go crookedly' (X 136), sráns- 'fall' (I 790), dhváns- 'fall to pieces' (I 791), bhránś- 'fall down' (I 792), kás- 'go' (I 913), pát- 'fall, fly' (I 898), pad- 'go, tread' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

1. *vanc+yaṄ+ŚaP+te* = *vañc-vañc-yá-a-te* (6.1.9) = *va∅∅-vañc-ydá-te* (60; 6.1.97) = *vanī-va∅c-yá-te* (6.4.24); *vanc+yáṄ-luK+īṬ+tiP* = *vánī-vañc-ī-ti* (3.94).

Similarly: 2. srans: *sanī-sras-ysá-te/sánī-sraṁs-ī-ti* (8.3.24). 3. dhvans: *danī-dhvas-yá-te/dánī-dhvaṁs-ī-ti*. 4. bhranś: *banī-bhraś-yá-te/bánī-bhraṁś-ī-ti*. 5. kas: *canī-kas-yá-te/cánī-kas-ī-ti*. 6. pat: *panī-pat-yá-te/pánī-pat-ī-ti*. 7. pad: *panī-pad-yá-te/pánī-pad-ī-ti*. 8. skand: *canī-skad-yá-te/cánī-skand-ī-ti*.

7.4.85 nuK aT-aḥ ánu-nāsika=anta-sya

[The final increment 1.1.46] nuK is inserted at the end of the short vowel a(T) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°-anta-sya) a nasal stop [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

tan+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = *ta+nuK+tan-yá-a-te* (60) = *tan-tan-yá-te* (6.1.97); *tan+yáṄ-luK+ī-ti* (3.94) = *tán-tan-ī-ti* 'stretches continuously'; similarly *jaṅ-gam-yá-te/jáṅ-gam-īti*.

7.4.86 ¹jápÁ-²jábhÁ-³dahÁ-⁴daśÁ-⁵bhanja-⁶páś-sāṁ ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nuK 85] is also (ca) inserted [at the end of a short a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] jáp- 'mutter' (I 424), jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), bhanj- 'smash' (VII 16) and páś- 'fasten, tie, bind' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

1. *jap+yaṄ+ŚaP+te* = *ja-nuK+jap+yá-a-te* (60) = *jañ-jap-yá-te* (6.2.97); *jáp+yáṄ-luK+ī+ti* = *jáñ-jap-ī-ti*. 2. jabh: *jañ-jabh-yá-te/jáñ-jabh-ī-ti*. 3. *dan-dah-yá-te/dán-dah-ī-ti*. 4. *dan-daś-yá-te/dán-daś-ī-ti*. The stem form [daśÁ] in this rule is to indicate that both before yáṄ and yáṄ-luK, ∅ replaces the nasal of the original stem [danśÁ I 1038 dáś-ane]. 5. *bam-bhaj-yá-te/bám-bhañj-ī-ti*. 6. *pam-paś-yá-te/pám-paś-ī-ti*.

7.4.87 [1]cárÁ-[2]phál-os=ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nuK 85] is also inserted (ca) [at the end of the short vowel a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

1. *cañ-cūr-yáte/cáñ-cur-ī-ti* (88, 8.2.77). 2. *pam-phul-ydá-te/pám-phul-ī-ti.*

7.4.88 uT pára-sya aT-aḥ

The substitute short vowel u(T) replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.66 the affixes yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 82].

Exx. cited under 87 above. For meaning cf. 3.1.24 above.

7.4.89 t-i ca

[The substitute phoneme u(T) replaces the phoneme short a(T) 88 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.66 an affix] with initial t-°.

1. *car+KtiN* = *cúr+ti-* = *cū́r-ti-* (8.2.77) 'moving, grazing'; 2. *prá+phul+KtiN* = *pra-phúl-ti-* 'blossoming, blooming'.

7.4.90 rīK ṛ́T=upa-dha-sya ca

[The final increment 1.1.46] rīK is inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1] with penultimate (°-upa-dha-sya) short vowel ṛ(T) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáṄ and yáṄ-luK 58] also (ca).

The implication of [ca] here is to extend the operation to other verbal stems where phoneme short [ṛT] is neither penultimate nor final. *vṛt+yáṄ+ŚaP+te* = *va-rīK-∅-vṛt-yá-a-te* (60) = *varī-vṛt-yá-te* (6.1.97); *+yáṄ-luK* = *várī=vṛt-ī-ti/vár-var-ti/vári-var-ti* (91); *vṛśc+yáṄ/yáṄ-luK* = *varī-vṛśc-yá-te/ várī-vṛśc-ī-ti; parī-pṛcch-yá-te/párī-pṛcch-ī-ti.*

7.4.91 ¹ru̱K=²riK-au ca luK-i

[The final increments 1.1.46] ru̱K and riK, as well as (ca) [rīK 90 are inserted at the end of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1 with penultimate short vowel r̥T 90 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáṄ-luK.

nr̥t+yáṄ-luK+īṬ+tiP = nárī-nar-ti/nár-nar-ti/nári-nar-ti/nárī-nr̥t-ī-ti (3.94), *nár-nr̥t-ī-ti/nári-nr̥t-ī-ti.*

7.4.92 r̥T-as ca

[The final increments 1.1.46 ru̱K, riK 91 and rīK 90] are also (ca) inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel r̥(T) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáṄ-luK 91].

vr̥+yáṄ-luK = vár-var-ti/vári-var-ti/varī-var-ti; var-vr̥t-ī-ti (3.87)/*vári-vr̥t-ī-ti/ várī-vr̥t-ī-ti* (3.94).

7.4.93 saN-vát laghú-n-i CáṄpare án-aC=lop-e

When there is no lopa (∅) replacement [of the final 1.1.52] vowel (án-aC-lop-e) [of the áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel (laghú-n-i) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 3.1.48 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker] CáṄ [its reduplicated syllable 58 is] treated like [the one before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN.

79. *kr̥+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = kār-i+CáṄ+t* (2.115) = *ka∅-kār-i+a+t* (6.1.11; 7.4.59,60) = *ca-kār-i-a-t* (62) = *ci-kar-∅-t* (6.4.51; 7.4.1,79) = *cī-kar-a-t* (94) = *áṬ-cī-kar-a-t* (6.4.71) = *á-cī-kar-a-t.*

80. *pu+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-pī-pav-a-t*; 81. *á-si/su+srav-a-t.*

But *takṣ+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-ta-takṣ-at; jāgr̥+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-ja-jāgar-a-t* since they contain a metrically heavy vowel. Similarly *katha* (X 37)+*ṆíC+CáṄ+t = kath∅-i+CaṄ+t* (6.4.48) = *á-ca-kath-a-t.*

7.4.94 dīrghá-ḥ laghó-ḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces the light (vowel) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel [before the causative marker ṆíC co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ 1, without ∅ replacement of its final vowel (before ṆíC) 93].

Exx. cited under 93 above.

7.4.95 aT [1]smṛ́-[2]dṝ́-[3]tvára-[4]práthA-[5]mrádA-[6]stṝ́-[7]spáś-ām

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the vowel of [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] smṛ́- 'remember' (I 845), dṝ́- 'tear up' (IX 23), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812), práth- 'extend' (I 802), mrád- 'crush, pound' (I 804), stṝ- 'strew, scatter' (IX 14) and spáś- 'perceive, observe, espy' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ 93].

Exception to 93 and 94. 1. *smṛ+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = a-sa-smar-a-t* 'caused (someone) to remember'; similarly: 2. *dṝ́: á-da-dar-a-t*; 3. *tvár: á-ta-tvar-a-t*; 4. *práth: á-pa-prath-a-t*; 5. *mrád: á-ma-mrad-a-t*; 6. *stṝ́: á-ta-star-a-t; spáś: á-pa-spaś-a-t.*

7.4.96 vibhāṣā [1]véṣṭi-[2]céṣṭy-oḥ

[The substitute short vowel a(T) 95] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces the vowel [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] véṣṭ- 'wind or twist round' (I 274) and céṣṭ- 'move' (I 275) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ 93].

1. *veṣṭ+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = á-va-veṣṭ-a-t/á-vi-veṣṭ-a-t.* Similarly: 2. *áca-ceṣṭ-a-t/á-ci-ceṣṭ-a-t.*

7.4.97 ī ca gaṇ-aḥ

The substitute long vowel ī as well as (ca) [the short vowel a(T) 95 replace the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] gaṇa- 'count' (X 309) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker ṆíC co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáṄ 93].

gaṇa+ṆíC+CáṄ+t = gaṇ∅+í+CáṄ+t (6.4.48) = *á-jī-gaṇ-∅-a-t* (9.4.51) = *á-jī-gaṇ-a-t/á-ja-gaṇ-a-t.*

8.1.1 sárva-sya dv-é

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below, the operations introduced state) two expressions occur in the place of a whole (sárva-sya dv-é) sequence.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and the present heading recurs in the subsequent fourteen rules.

8.1.2 tá-sya pára-m ā́-mreḍ-i-ta-m

The technical term (t.t.) ā́mredita denotes the second (pára-m = following) expression of the doublet (doubled sequence).

As a t.t. occurs at 6.1.99,100; 8.1.57; 2.95,103; 3.12,49. *caúra* ***caura*** 'O thief, O thief!' and *bhuṅk-té* ***bhuṅk-te*** 'eats and eats'; items in bold are *ā́mreḍita-s*.

8.1.3 ánudattā-ṁ ca

[The ā́mreḍita 2] is low-pitched (ánudātta-m).

pác-a-ti ***pac-a-ti*** 'cooks and cooks' (i.e., goes on cooking).

8.1.4 [1]nít-ya-[2]vīpsá-y-oḥ

[Two expressions occur in the place of a whole sequence 1] to denote a repetition of an action (nítya-°) or pervasion of a thing by a property or action (°vīpsáy-oḥ).

1. repetition (nítya-°): *pác-a-ti* ***pac-a-ti*** (3); *jálp-a-ti* ***jalp-a-ti*** 'constantly prattling'; *bhój-am* ***bhoj-am*** *vráj-a-ti* 'each one goes out after eating'.
2. pervasion (vīpsā́): *grā́m-aḥ* ***grāma-ḥ*** *ram-aṇī́ya-ḥ* '(village after village =) each village is pleasant'; *púruṣa-ḥ* ***puruṣa-ḥ*** *ni-dhána-m úp-ai-ti* 'every person goes unto death'.

8.1.5 páre-r várj-an-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] of the particle pári to denote 'exclusion' (várj-an-e).

pári ***pari*** *trí-garte-bhyaḥ vr̥ṣ-ṭá-ḥ devá-ḥ* 'It rained all around Trígarta' (excluding it).

8.1.6 [1]prá-[2]sám=[3]úpa=[4]úd-aḥ pāda-pū́r-aṇ-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles prá-, sám-, úpa- and úd- to fill up a verse quarter line (pāda- pū́r-aṇ-e).

prá prāyám agní-r bharatá-sya śr̥ṇ-v-e (RV 7.8.4); *sám sam íd yuv-a-se vr̥ṣan* (RV 10.191.1); *úpopa me párā-mr̥ś-a* (RV 1.126.7); *kím nód-ud u harṣ-a-se dā́-tavā́ u* (RV 4.21.9).

8.1.7 [1]upári-[2]ádhi-[3]adhás-aḥ sā́m-ī-py-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles upári-, ádhi- and adhás- respectively denoting 'above/on, upon/below' to indicate proximity (sā́m-īp-y-e: in time or space).

upáry upari grā́ma-m 'very near the village'; *ádhy adhi grā́ma-m* 'in the vicinity of the village'; *adháh adhaḥ nágara-m* 'in the vicinity of the city'.

8.1.8 vāk-ya=ādé-r ā́-mantr-i-ta-sya [1]asūyā́-[2]sam-má-ti-[3]kóp-a-[4]kúts-ana-[5]bhárts-an-e-ṣu

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] a sentence initial (vāk-ya=āde-ḥ) vocative (ā́-mantr-i-ta-sya) to denote jealousy (asūyā́-°), honoring (°-sam-má-ti-°), anger (°-kópa-°), scorn (°-kúts-ana-°) or threatening (°-bhárts-ane-ṣu).

1. asūyā́: *súndara sundara! vŕ̥thā te saúndar-ya-m* 'O handsome one! your beauty is in vain'. 2. sam-má-ti: *déva deva! vand-yàḥ á-si* 'Lord, you are adorable'. 3. kópa: *dūr-vi-nī-ta dur-vi-nī-ta, idā́nīm jñā-syá-si* 'O ill-mannered wretch, you will soon learn'. 4. kúts-ana: *dhā́nuṣka dhānuṣka vŕ̥thā te dhánuḥ* 'O archer, your bow is useless'. 5. bhárts-ana: *córa cora ghāt-ay-i-ṣyā-mi tvā́* 'O thief, I will have you punished'.

8.1.9 éka-m bahuvrīhi-vát

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of] the number word éka- 'one' (and the resulting sequence) is treated like a Bahuvrīhí compound.

The object of this is to indicate that the sUP triplets introduced after the prior member are replaced by $\emptyset^1$ (2.4.71) and it is treated like a masculine (6.3.34) and is accented according to 6.2.1.

ékam ekam = *éka+$\emptyset^1$+eka-m akṣára-m páṭh-a-ti* 'recites each (and every syllable)'; *ékay-ā ekay-ā ā́-hu-ty-ā ju-hó-ti* = *ékaikay-ā* 'offers each (and every) oblation'. Though it functions like a Bahuvrīhí, it still retains its character as a pronominal stem: *ékaika-smai/ekaika-syai*, etc.

8.1.10 ā-bādh-é ca

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1] to denote torment (ā-bādh-é) [and the resulting sequence is treated like a Bahuvrīhi compound 9].

ga-tá-ḥ ga-ta-ḥ = *ga-tá-ga-ta-ḥ* 'Alas! he has gone'; similarly *ga-tā́ ga-tā* = *ga-tá-ga-tā* f.

8.1.11 karma-dhār-aya-vát úttare-ṣu

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below : úttare-ṣu) [two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1 and the sequence resulting] is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound.

This results in the $\emptyset^1$ replacement of sUP triplets introduced after the prior member (2.4.71) and the whole sequence is accented according to 6.2.223 on the final syllable of the compound.

8.1.12 pra-kār-é guṇa-vác-ana-sya

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] an expression denoting a property (guṇa-vác-ana-sya) to indicate that the thing possessed of that property has it only to a limited extent (pra-kār-é) [and the sequence resulting is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound 11].

paṭu-paṭú- 'kind of sharp or clever or intelligent'; *paṭu-paṭv-ī́* f. = *paṭu+$\emptyset^1$-paṭv-ī́*.

8.1.13 á-kr̥cchr-e [1]priy-á-[2]sukháy-or anya-tará-syām

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām) of priy-á- 'dear' and sukhá- 'happiness' to denote that something is done without difficulty or hardship (á-kr̥cchr-e).

priy-a-priy-éṇa/sukha-sukh-éna dá-dā-ti 'donates easily, gives without any hardship' = *priy-e-ṇa/sukh-e-na dadā-ti*.

8.1.14 ya-thā-sv-é ya-thā-ya-thá-m

The expression ya-thā-ya-thá-m is introduced to denote 'respectively' (ya-thā-svá-m = individually, properly).

yá-ḥ ya-ḥ ātmā́ yád yad atm-ī́ya-m = *ya-thā-svá-m* (2.1.7) = *yá-thā ya-thā* = *ya-thā-yathá-m*.

8.1.15 dvaṁ-dvá-m [1]rahas-yà-[2]maryādā-vacaná-[3]vy-ut-krám-aṇa-[4]yajña-pātra-pra-yog-á=[5]abhi-vyák-ti-ṣu

The expression dvaṁ-dvá- is introduced to denote 'a secret' (rahasyà-°), 'a limit' (°maryādā-vac-aná-°), 'a separation' (°vy-ut-krám-aṇa-°) 'an employment of a ritual vessel' (°-yajña-pātra-pra-yog-a-°) and 'manifestation' (°-abhi-vyák-ti-ṣu).

1. *dv-aú dv-au bhū-tvā́ mantr-áy-ante = dvaṁdvá-m mantr-áy-ante* 'they consult secretly (in pairs)'; 2. *ā-caturá-ṁ hí im-é paśáv-aḥ dvaṁ-dvá-m mithunā-y-ánte* 'up to the fourth generation animals co-habit'. 3. *dvaṁdvá-ṁ vy-ut-krān-tā́ḥ* 'they separated into two parties'. 4. *dvaṁ-dvá-ṁ ny-añc-i yajña-pātrā-ṇ-í prá-yu-na-k-ti* 'he employs the sacrificial vessels two by two, face downwards'. *dvaṁ-dvá-ṁ sam-karṣ-aṇa-vāsu-dev-áu* 'the pair S. and V.'

8.1.16 padá-sya

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 3.54 below, all operations introduced are) of the padá (1.4.14ff.).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and the expression 'of the padá' will recur in each subsequent rule of this section.

8.1.17 pad-ā́t

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 68 inclusive below all operations introduced are) after the padá (pad-ā́t 1.1.67).

This also a governing rule within the major governing rule above, and the word (pad-ā́t) 'after a padá' will recur in each rule of this sub-section.

8.1.18 ánudātta-ṁ sárva-m á-pada-ād-au

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 74 below) an entire (sárva-m) [padá 16] is low-pitched (ánudātta-m) [when it occurs after 1.1.67 another padá 17] unless it occurs at the beginning of a quarter verse (á-pada=ād-au).

The word [padá-] in the compound expression [a-pada=ād-au] is not used in its technical sense (1.4.14ff.) as in 16-17 above.

This is also a governing rule and will recur in all subsequent rules up to 74 below.

8.1.19 ā́-mantr-i-ta-sya ca

[The entire 18] vocative (ā́-mantr-i-ta- 2.3.48) [occurring after a padá 17 is low-pitched (ánudātta-m) unless it occurs at the head of a quarter verse 18].

ágne yám yajñá-m adhvarám viśvá-taḥ pari-bhū́-r asi (RV 1.1.3) but *úpa tv-ā-gne divé-dive* (RV 1.1.7); *pác-a-si deva-datta?* 'Devadattá, are you cooking', but *déva-datta pac-a-si?*.

8.1.20 [1]yuṣmád-[2]asmád-oḥ [1]ṣaṣṭhī́-[2]caturthī́-[3]dvi-tīyā-sthāy-or [1]vām-[2]nāv-au

The substitute morphemes vām and nau [respectively 1.3.10] replace the pronominal stems yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth or second sUP triplets [and are low-pitched 18 when occurring after a padá 17].

By inference these enclitics are replacements for the dual personal (first and second) pronominal stems, since in the following two sū́tras special substitutes are introduced for the plural and the singular.

grā́ma-ḥ vām/(yuvā́-bhyām) dī-yá-te 'a village is given to both of you'; *jana-padá-ḥ nau/(āvā́-bhyām) dī-yá-te* 'an inhabited region is given to both of us'.

8.1.21 bahu-vac-an-é [1]vas-[2]nas-su

The substitute morphemes vas and nas [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 of the second and first personal pronominal stems yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth and second sUP triplets 20, occurring after a padá 17 and are low-pitched 18] when denoting the plural (bahu-vac-an-é).

Exx. cited under 23 below.

8.1.22 te-may-au=eka-vac-aná-sya

The substitute morphemes te and me [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth or fourth triplets 20 and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padá 17] when denoting the singular.

Exx. cited under 23 below.

8.1.23 [1]tvā-[2]m-au dvi-tī́yā-y-āḥ

The substitute morphemes tvā and mā [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] co-occurring with the second sUP triplet [when denoting the singular 22, and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padá 17].

These four rules 20-23 introduce the enclitics [te], [me], [tvā], [mā] (sing.), [vām, nau] (dual) and [vas, nas] (plural), as replacements for the second and first personal pronominal padás respectively. The following verse illustrates this usage as quoted in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī:

1. *śrīśá-s tvā-v-a-tu mā=ápī-há* (acc. sing.) 'May Viṣṇu protect you and me'.
2. *dad-yā́-t te me=ápi sá hári-ḥ* (dat. sing.) 'May He grant umbrage to you and me'.
3. *svāmī te me=ápi sá hári-ḥ* (gen. sing.) 'Hari is your lord and mine'.
4. *pā́-tu vām ápi nau vi-bhú-ḥ* (acc. dual) 'May the mighty Lord protect the two of you and the two of us'.
5. *sukhá-ṁ vāṁ nau da-dā-tv īśá-ḥ* (dat. dual) 'May the Lord grant happiness to the two of you and the two of us'.
6. *pátir-vām ápi nau hári-ḥ* (gen. dual) 'Hari is the protector of you two and us two'.
7. *só-vyād vo naḥ* (acc. plur.) 'May He protect you and us'.
8. *śivá-ṁ vo no dad-yā-t* (dat. plur.) 'May He grant you and us happiness'.
9. *sev-yò-tra vaḥ sá naḥ* (gen. plur. 2.3.71) 'He is to be worshipped by all of you and us'.

8.1.24 ná [1]ca-[2]vā-[3]ha=[4]áha=[5]evá-yuk-t-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23] do not replace (ná) [the second and first personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66] the particles ca 'and', vā 'or', ha, áha 'indeed, certainly' and evá 'only'.

1. *hári-s tvā́m mā́m ca rakṣ-a-tu* 'May Hari protect you and me'.
2. *grā́ma-s táva vā svám máma vā svám* 'the village is either your property or mine'. Similarly with the other particles and with dual and plural forms of pronominal stems.

8.1.25 paśyá=arth-ais=ca=án-ā-loc-an-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23 do not replace 24 the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] also (ca) when co-occurring with verbal stems denoting the sense of 'perceive' (paśyá-arth-aiḥ) excluding those which indicate perception by sight (án-ā-loc-an-e).

cétas-ā tvā́ṁ sám-īkṣ-a-te 'perceives you with the mind'; *bhak-tá-s táva rūpá-m mánas-ā dhyā́y-a-ti* 'the devotee mentally visualizes your form', but *bhak-tá-s tvā paśy-a-ti cákṣuṣ-ā* 'the devotee sees you (sg.) with (his) eyes'.

8.1.26 sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ prathamā́-y-āḥ vibhāṣā

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23 do not 24] optionally (vibhāṣā) replace [the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20 after 1.1.67 a padá 17 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet, co-occurring after [another padá 17] (sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ).

bhak-tá-s tvám ápy ahám t-éna hári-s tvā́m trāy-a-te sá mā́m 'You and I are devotees of Hari; therefore He protects you and me'; alternately *t-éna hári-s tvā trāy-a-te sá mā.*

8.1.27 tiṄ-aḥ gotrá-ādī-n-i [1]kúts-ana=[2]ā́bhīkṣṇ-yay-oḥ

[After 1.1.67 a padá 17 ending in 1.1.72] l-substitutes tiṄ (3.4.78) the class of words beginning with go-trá- (is all low-pitched 18) when denoting a pejorative (kuts-ána- °) or frequentative (° ābhīkṣṇ-yay-oḥ) sense.

1. kúts-an-e: *pác-a-ti go-tra-m* 'makes a livelihood by announcing his gotrá (family name or descent)'; 2. ābhīkṣṇ-y-e: *pác-a-ti pac-a-ti go-tram* 'repeatedly proclaims (one's) go-trá'.

8.1.28 tiṄ á-tiṄ-aḥ

[After 17] a non-verbal [padá 17 (á-tiṄ-aḥ), a padá ending in 1.1.72] l-substitutes (tiṄ) [is all anudātta 18].

deva-dat-tá-ḥ pac-a-ti 'Devadattá is cooking', but *bhá́v-a-ti pác-a-ti* 'cooking is taking place'.

8.1.29 ná lUṬ

[After 1.1.67 a non-verbal 28 padá 17, a padá ending in 1.1.72] the l-substitutes of lUṬ (non-sigmatic Future) is not (na') [all anudātta 18].

śváḥ kar-tā́ 'will do tomorrow'/*kar-tā́-rau/kar-tā́-raḥ.*

8.1.30 ni-pāt-aír [1]yád-[2]yádi-[3]hánta-[4]kuvíd-[5]néd-[6]céd-[7]caṆ-[8]káccid-[9]yá-tra-yuk-ta-m

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] when co-occurring with the particles yád 'that', yádi 'if', hánta 'oh, well', kuvíd 'perhaps', néd 'not indeed', céd, caṆ 'if', kác-cid 'I hope that' and yá-tra 'where'.

1. *yát kar-ó-ti* 'that he does'; 2. *yádi kar-ó-ti* 'if he does'; 3. *hánta kar-ó-ti* 'well, he does'; 4. *kuvít kar-ó-ti* 'perhaps he does'; 5. *nét kar-ó-ti* 'does not indeed do'; 6. *sá céd bhuṅk-te* 'if he eats'; 7. *ayám ca (= céd) mar-i-ṣyá-ti* 'if he dies'; 8. *káccid adh-ī́-te* 'hope he studies'; 9. *yá-tra bhuṅk-té* 'where he eats'.

8.1.31 náha praty-ā-rambh-é

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle ná-ha 'not indeed' to denote prohibition (praty-ārambh-é).

ná-ha bhok-ṣyá-se 'certainly you will eat'. The prohibition is of the repeated denial by the responsee of the request to eat; but when prohibition is not implied: *ná ha vaí tásmin=ca deś-é dakṣiṇā́m icch-a-nti* 'not indeed in that country people desire a sacrificial fee'.

8.1.32 satyá-m praśn-é

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] satyá-m 'truly' to imply a question (praśn-é).

satyá-m bhok-ṣyá-se 'truly you will eat?'; but when a question is not implied: *satyá-ṁ vak-ṣyā-mi ná án-ṛta-m* 'I speak the truth, not untruth'.

8.1.33 aṅgá á-prāti-lom-y-e

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 18 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle aṅgá 'true, indeed' to denote an amicable assertion (á-prāti-lom-y-e).

aṅgá pác-a 'indeed you may cook', but *aṅgá kūj-a, idā́nīm jñā-sya-si* 'go on, cry, you will know now'.

8.1.34 hí ca

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 18 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hí 'for, because' also (ca) [to denote an amicable assertion 33].

sá hí páṭh-a 'for certainly, you may recite', but *sá hí kūj-a vṛṣala! idā́nīm jñā-sya-si* 'go on, O wretch, cry, you will know now'.

8.1.35 chándas-i án-eka-m ápi sá=ā-kāṅkṣ-am

In the domain of Chándas more than one (ánekam ápi) [padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiṄ 28 does not 29 all become ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 the particle hí 'for, because' 34] and are dependent (sā́kāṅkṣa-m) [on the first verbal padá].

The force of the indeclinable [ápi] is to indicate that there may be one or even more than one verbal padá.

án-ṛta-m hí mat-tá-ḥ vád-a-ti, pāpmā́ ena-m vi-pu-nā́-ti 'If the drunkard tells a lie, sin will make him impure'.

8.1.36 [1]yā́-vad-[2]yá-thā-bhyām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the indeclinables yā́-vat 'as much' and yá-thā 'in which manner'.

yā́-vad bhuṅk-té 'as long as he eats'; *yá-thā bhuṅk-té* 'in whatever manner he eats'.

This rule applies even when the indeclinables do not precede the verb: *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti yá-thā/yā́-vat* 'in whatever manner/so long as Devadattá cooks'.

8.1.37 pūjā́-y-āṁ ná=án-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28, co-occurring with 39 the indeclinables yā́-vat 'as much' and yá-thā 'in which manner'] immediately after them (án-antara-m) is [all ánudātta 18] to denote praise or honor.

The negative particle [ná] in this rule negatives the recurring [ná] from 29 above, restoring the position stated in 18 above.

yā́-vat pac-a-ti śóbh-ana-m 'as long as he cooks well'; similarly *yá-thā pac-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'in whatever manner he cooks well'; but *yā́-vad/yá-thā bhuṅk-té*; and with intervention: *yā́-vad deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'as long as Devadatta cooks well'.

8.1.38 upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-táṁ ca

[A verbal padá 28, co-occurring with 30 the particles yā́-vat 'as much' and yá-thā 'in which manner' 36, but] separated from them by a preverb (upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-tá-m) [is all ánudātta 18] also (ca) [to denote praise 37].

yā́-vat prá-pac-a-ti deva-dat-tá-ḥ śóbh-ana-m; but *yā́-vad deva-dat-tá-ḥ pra-pác-a-ti*.

8.1.39 [1]tú-[2]páśya-páśya-ta=[3]áh-aiḥ pūjā́-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] tú 'but', páśy-a/páśy-a-ta 'see' and áḥa 'surely, certainly' to indicate praise [pūjā́-y-ām].

1. *mā́ṇavaka-s tú bhuṅk-té śóbh-ana-m* 'but the lad eats well'.
2. *páśy-a/páśy-a-ta mā́ṇavaka-ḥ bhuṅk-té śóbh-ana-m.*
3. *áha mā́ṇavaka-ḥ bhuṅk-té śóbh-ana-m.*

8.1.40 aho ca

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] also (ca) [when co-occurring with 30] the particle aho 'bravo!, ah!' [to denote praise 39].

aho deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m 'bravo! D. cooks well'.

8.1.41 śeṣ-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particle aho 'ah! bravo!' 40] to denote senses other than (śeṣ-e) [praise, honor 39].

káṭa-m aho kar-i-ṣyá-si/kari-ṣya-si (said in envy).

8.1.42 purā́ ca par-ī-psā́-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 41 when co-occurring with 30] the particle purā́ 'before, prior to' to denote the sense of 'haste' (par-ī-p-sā́-y-ām).

ádh-ī-ṣva mā́ṇavaka purā́ vi-dyót-a-te/ví-dyot-a-te vi-dyút 'Study, O lad, before the lightning flashes' but *naḍ-ena sma purā́ ádh-ī-ya-te* 'formerly study was being done by Naḍa'. The urgency or haste in the first case is because of the tabu on conducting study during lightning.

8.1.43 nanú iti anu-jñā=eṣ-aṇá-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle na-nú 'certainly, surely' to denote the seeking of permission (anu-jñā=eṣa-aṇ-ā́-y-ām).

na-nú gácch-ā-mi bhoḥ 'May I go?', but in the expression *á-kār-ṣ-ī-ḥ káṭa-ṁ deva-datta? na-nú kar-o-mi bhoḥ* 'Devadatta! have you made the mat? I will certainly make it', it is all anudātta.

8.1.44 kíṁ kriyā-praś-n-é án-upa-sarg-am á-prati-ṣid-dha-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle kím used interrogatively (kriyā-praś-n-é) and the verbal padá is not preceded by a preverb (án-upa-sarg-a-m) or the negative particle (á-prati-ṣid-dha-m).

kíṁ deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti ā́ho-svit bhuṅk-te 'Is Devadattá cooking or eating?' According to some grammarians the second verb also is not all ánudātta (= *bhuṅk-té*).

kím deva-dat-tá-ḥ prá-pac-a-ti ā́ho-svit prá-kar-o-ti/na paṭh-a-ti ā́hosvit na kar-o-ti 'Is D. beginning to eat or beginning to make?' or 'Is D. not reading or making?'

8.1.45 lóp-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) when the substitute lópa (∅) [replaces the particle kím 45 co-occurring with it, used interrogatively and not preceded by a preverb or the negative particle 44].

The situation is identical with 44 above, without actually using the particle kím. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti?/pac-a-ti? ā́hosvit páṭh-a-ti/paṭh-a-ti.*

8.1.46 é-hi-mán-y-e pra-hās-é lṚṬ

[A verbal padá 28 ending in the l-substitutes of] l-member lṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) [is not all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the expression é-hi mán-y-e 'Come, I think' to denote irony (pra-hās-é).

é-hi mán-y-e odaná-m bhok-ṣyá-se 'Come, I believe you will be eating rice?' (implying: 'you will not, since it has already been eaten by guests'). Similarly *é-hi mán-y-e ráth-ena yā-syá-si? ná hí yās-ya-si, yā-tá-s t-éna pitā́* 'Come, I

believe you will be travelling by chariot?' (implying 'you will not, father has gone with it').

8.1.47 jā́tu á-pūrva-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle jā́tu 'ever, certainly, positively' when it is not preceded [by another padá] (á pūrva-m).

jā́tu bhok-ṣyá-se 'you will certainly eat'; *jā́tu kar-i-ṣyā́-mi* 'I will positively do', but *káṭa-ṁ jā́tu kar-i-ṣya-si* 'you will certainly make a mat'.

8.1.48 kim-vṛt-tá-ṁ ca cid-ut-tara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the interrogative pronoun kím 'who, what, which' followed by (° úttara-m) the particle cid [and not preceded by another padá 47].

káś-cid bhoj-áy-a-ti/bhuṅk-té 'someone feeds/eats'; *k-éna cid kar-ó-ti* 'makes with someone', *ká-smai cid dá-dā-ti* 'gives to someone', *ka-taráś cid kar-ó-ti, ka-tamáś cid bhuṅk-té* but *deva-dat-tá-ḥ kíṁ cid paṭh-a-ti* 'Devadattá recites something'.

8.1.49 [1]ā́ho=[2]utā́ho ca=án-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles ā́ho 'is it so?' or utā́ho 'is that so?' [not preceded by another padá 47] and without intervention (án-antaram).

ā́ho/utā́ho bhuṅk-té 'is he eating?' but *deva-dat-tá-ḥ ā́ho/utā́ho bhuṅk-te?* 'Is Devadattá eating?'

8.1.50 śéṣ-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 29 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particles ā́ho, utā́ho 'is it so?' 49] in the remaining (śéṣ-e) context (: when the verbal padá does not follow immediately, i.e., there is intervention).

ā́ho/utā́ho deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti/pac-a-ti 'Does D. cook?'

8.1.51 gaty-artha-lÓṬ-ā lṚṬ ná cét kā́r-aka-ṁ sarva=anyat

[A verbal padá 28 ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] lṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] (another) [verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] lOṬ (Imperative) of verbs of movement (gaty-ártha- °), provided the case relationship (kā́r-aka-m) is not wholly (sarvá- °) different (° -anyat).

The kā́r-aka-s involved here are the agent and object only.

ā́-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grā́ma-m, drak-ṣyá-si ena-m 'Come to the village, D., you will see him'; but *pác-a devadatta odaná-m, bhok-ṣya-se ena-m* 'Cook (some) rice, you will feed him' where the verb is not of movement. *ā́-gacch-eḥ devadatta grā́ma-m, drak-ṣya-si enam* where the verb is in the Optative Mood (lIṄ); *ā́-gacch-a devadatta grā́ma-m, pitā́ te odaná-m bhok-ṣya-te* 'Come to the village, D., your father will eat rice there' where the agents of the verbs are different.

8.1.52 lOṬ ca

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member] lOṬ (Imperative) also (ca) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lOṬ of verbs of movement, provided the case relationship is not all different 51].

á-gacch-a devadatta! grā́ma-m páśy-a 'Come, Devadatta! see the village', but *ā́-gacch-eḥ devadatta grā́ma-m, paśy-a ena-m* (optative); *pác-a devadatta odanám, bhuṅk-ṣva ena-m* 'Cook rice, Devadatta and eat it', the verb is not one of motion.

8.1.53 ví-bhāṣ-i-taṁ sá=upa-sarg-am án-uttama-m

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member lOṬ 52] optionally (ví-bhāṣ-t-tam) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lOṬ of verbs of motion, provided the case relationship is not wholly different 51] if it is co-occurring with a preverb (s-ó-pa-sargam) and is not in the first person (án-uttaman 1.4.107).

ā́-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grā́ma-m pra-víś-a/prá-viś-a 'Come, D., enter the village', but *ā́-gacch-ā-ni grā́ma-m pra-víś-āni* 'I will go and enter the village'.

8.1.54 hánta ca

[A verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member lOṬ 52 co-occurring with a preverb is optionally 53 not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hánta 'well'.

hánta prá-viś-a/pra-viś-á but *hánta kur-ú/pra-bhu-náj-āvahai* the first without a preverb and the second with a preverb and first person [constraints implied by *ca* from 53 above].

8.1.55 ām-aḥ éka=antara-m ā́-mantr-i-tam án-antik-e

A vocative (ā́-mantr-i-ta-m 2.3.48) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the interjection ām, but separated from it by a single [padá 17] (ék-ā-ntara-m) except when following it (án-antik-e).

ām pac-a-si déva-dat-tā́3 (6.1.198; 8.2.84 for accent) 'well, are you cooking, Devadatta?', but *ām prá-pac-a-si deva-dat-tā3* (2 padás)/*ām deva-dat-ta* (no padá).

8.1.56 [1]yád=[2]hí-[3]tú-para-ṁ chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [a verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles yád 'which (relative)', hí 'for' and tú 'but'.

1. *gáv-āṁ go-trám ud-á-sṛj-aḥ yád angira-ḥ* 'O Angiras! in that thou hast released the cattle shed' (RV 2.23.18).
2. *índav-aḥ vām uś-ánti hí* (RV 1.2.4) 'the Soma-drops like you'.
3. *ā-khyā-syā́-mi tu te* 'but I will tell you'. Normally the accent would have been on the preverb (28) but in this case the preverb loses its accent when the verb is accented (71 below).

8.1.57 [1]caná-[2]cid=[3]iva-[4]go-trá=ādi-[5]taddhitá=[6]ā́-mreḍ-i-te-ṣu=á-gate-ḥ

[A verbal padá 28 is not all ánudātta 19 when co-occurring with 30] the particles caná-, cid, iva, and the word-class beginning with go-trá-, a taddhitá affix (5.3.66-67) or an ā́-mreḍ-i-ta(2) and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. gáti (1.4.60).

1. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti caná* 'D. does not even cook'.
2. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti cid* 'D. also cooks'.
3. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti iva* 'D. cooks, as it were'.

4. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti gotrá-m* 'D. cooks badly/repeatedly'.
5. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti-kalpa-m/pác-a-ti-rūpa-m* 'D. has not finished cooking/is cooking well'.
6. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti pac-a-ti* 'D. cooks assiduously' but *deva-dat-tá-ḥ prá-pac-a-ti caná.*

8.1.58 ca=ādi-ṣu ca

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 before 1.1.66] the class of particles beginning with ca (24) 'and' [and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. gáti (1.4.60) 57].

This class consists of *ca, vā, ha, áha,* and *evá* (24).

1. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti khā́d-a-ti ca* 'D. is cooking and eating'; 2. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti vā khā́d-a-ti vā / páca-ty áha khād-a-ty áha / pác-a-ty evá khā́d-a-ty evá* 'Devadattá either cooks or eats / certainly cooks and eats / only cooks and eats' respectively, but *deva-dat-tá-ḥ prá-pac-a-ti/ca/vā/áha/evá prá-khād-a-ti/ca/vā/áha/evá.*

8.1.59 [1]ca-[2]vā́-yog-e prathamā́

The first [verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] when co-occurring with the particles ca 'and' and vā 'or'.

gardabhā́n=ca kāl-áy-a-ti vīṇā-ṁ ca vād-ay-a-ti 'drives the donkeys and plays on the Vīṇā also'; similarly with [vā].

8.1.60 ha=iti kṣi-yā́-y-ām

[The first verbal padá 28 is not 29 all anudātta 18] when co-occurring after the particle ha to denote an offence against customary behavior (kṣi-yā́-y-ām).

svayá-ṁ ráth-ena yā́-tī3 up-ā-dhy-āyá-m pad-éna gam-ay-a-ti (2.104) 'oneself goes by a chariot and makes the instructor walk (lit. go by foot)'.

8.1.61 áha iti vi-ni-yog-é ca

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18, co-occurring with 30] the particle áha when denoting various commissions (vi-ni-yog-é) as well as (ca) [an offence against customary behavior 60].

tvám áha grā́ma-ṁ gácch-a, tvám áha áraṇya-m gacch-a 'go to the village and also

go to the forest'; *svayá-m áha ráth-ena yā́-tIS, upādhyāyá-m padātí-m gam-ay-a-ti* (2.104).

8.1.62 [1]ca=[2]áha-lop-e evá iti ava-dhār-aṇa-m

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18, co-occurring with 30] a substitute lópa (∅) replacement of particles ca and áha, and the particle evá is employed (in their place) to denote restriction (ava-dhā́r-aṇ-e).

1. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ evá grā́ma-ṁ gácch-a-tu/d-° evá áraṇya-ṁ gacch-a-tu* 'D. alone should go to the village and also to the forest'; 2. *deva-dat-tá evá grā́ma-ṁ gácch-a-tu/yajña-dat-tá evá áraṇyda-m gacch-a-tu* 'D. alone should go to the village and Y. alone should go to the forest'.

8.1.63 ca=ādi-lop-e vibhāṣā

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [co-occurring with 30] a substitute ∅ replacement of the class of particles beginning with ca (= ca, vā, ha, áha and evá 24).

śuk-lā́-h vrīháy-aḥ bháv-a-nti, śvet-ā-ḥ gā́ḥ ā́jyā-ya duh-anti 'the grains of rice are white and they milk white cows for butter' alternating with *bhav-a-nti*. *vrīhí-bhir yáj-e-ta/yaj-e-ta, yáv-air yaj-e-ta* 'should sacrifice with rice or with barley'. And similarly for the other particles.

8.1.64 vaí-vā́vá iti ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30] the particles vaí and vā́vá.

áhar vaí devā́-n-ām ā́s-i-t/ās-īt, rā́tri-r á-surā-ṇ-ām 'The day was for the gods, the night for the Asura-s'.
ayáṁ vā́vá hásta ā́s-ī-t/ās-īt na=í-tara ās-ī-t 'This was the hand, not the other'.

8.1.65 [1]éka=[2]anyā́-bhyāṁ sám-arthā-bhyām

[The first 59 verbal padá 29 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30 the nominal stems 4.1.1] éka- 'one' and anyá- 'another, the other' when they have the same significance (sám-arthā-bhyām) [in the domain of Chándas 64].

prajā́-m ékā jínv-ati/jinv-ati ū́rj-am ékā 'one quickens the progeny, the other gains strength'. *táy-or anyá-ḥ píppala-m svā́du át-ti án-aśnan anyó abhí-cā-kas-ī-ti* (RV 1.164.20) 'Of those two one eats the sweet fruit of the Ficus Indica and the other, not eating, looks on intently'.

8.1.66 yád-vr̥t-t-āt nítya-m

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] necessarily (nítya-m) [when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the pronominal stem yád 'which (relative)'.

yá-ḥ/y-éna bhuṅk-té, yá-m bhoj-áy-a-ti, yá-smai dá-dā-ti 'who eats/with whom or what one eats/whom one feeds / to whom one gives'; *yát-kāmā-s te ju-hu-más* 'with which desire we sacrifice to thee' (RV 10.121.10).

8.1.67 pū́j-an-āt pūj-i-tá-m ánudāttam (kāṣṭha=ādi-bhyaḥ)

(The posterior member of a compound which is being) praised (pūj-i-tá-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member] belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with kāṣṭhá- 'excellent' denoting praise (pū́j-an-āt) becomes all ánudātta.

[The expression [kāṣṭha-ādi-bhyaḥ] has been interpolated from a vārttika in the original sūtra by Kāśikā and Siddhānta Kaumudī. This class denotes adverbs ending in °-m, and by another vārttika introduces a ∅ replacement of this in composition.]

There are two views regarding the interpretation of this rule. Most commentators take the rule as pointing to the formation of compounds and an exception to 6.1.223 for accentuation read with 2.1.72. On the other hand Kātyāyaná and Patañjali indicate that the adverbial forms [kāṣṭha-m] etc. have the sUP triplet [am] replaced by ∅ in this collocation.

kāṣṭha-m adhy-ā́y-aka-ḥ = kāṣṭh-ā́-dhy-āy-aka-ḥ 'an excellent scholar'; similarly *kāṣṭhá-m adhy-ā́p-aka-ḥ = kāṣṭh-ā́-dhy-āp-aka-ḥ* 'excellent teacher'.

The repetition of the expression (ánudātta-m) in this rule when it was already recurring from 18 above is to block out the privative particle [ná].

8.1.68 sá-ga-ti-r ápi tiṄ

A verbal padá (tiṄ), co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60: sá-ga-ti-r ápi) expressing excellence' [and after the class of words beginning with kāṣṭha-m denoting praise becomes anudātta 67].

yát kāṣṭhá-m pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti 'inasmuch as he cooks excellently'; *yád dāruṇá-m pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti* 'that he cooks assiduously'.

8.1.69 kúts-an-e ca sUPi=á-go-tra-ād-au

[A verbal padá, co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) 68 becomes all ánudātta 67 before 1.1.66 an expression ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet, excluding the group of words commencing with go-trá- (27) to denote reproach (kúts-ane).

pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti pū-tí 'cooks in a questionable manner' but *pác-a-ti/prá-pac-a-ti śóbh-ana-m/go-trá-m* etc.

8.1.70 gá-ti-r gá-t-au

An item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) [becomes ánudātta 67 before 1.1.66] (another) gá-ti.

abhí+úd+dhár-a-ti = abhy-úd-dhar-a-ti (28) 'lifts up'; similarly: *sám+úd+ā́+náy-a-ti = sam-ud-ā́-nay-a-ti* 'assembles';

abhí+sám+pári+ā́+hár-a-ti = abhi-sam-pary-ā́-har-a-ti 'turns out towards oneself'.

8.1.71 tiṄ-i ca udā́tta-vat-i

[A gáti 70 co-occurring with] a verbal padá (tiṄ-i) containing an accent [becomes ánudātta 67].

yát pra-pác-a-ti (66) 'that he begins to cook'.

8.1.72 ā́-mantr-ita-m pū́rva-m á-vid-ya-māna-vat

A preceding vocative (pū́rva-m ā́-mantr-i-ta-m) is considered as though non-existent (á-vid-ya-māna-vat).

This has an application pertaining to: 1. the accentuation of the following padá (19,28) and 2. enclitic replacements of [yuṣmád-, asmád-] (20-23).

1. *déva-dat-ta yájña-dat-ta-* (contra 19), *déva-dat-ta! pác-a-si?* 'D., are you cooking?' (contra 28).
2. *déva-dat-ta! táva grā́ma-ḥ svám* 'D., the village is your property' where the enclitics cannot appear.

Other applications are: *yā́-vad deva-dat-ta pác-a-si*; (contra 37); *déva-dat-ta jā́tu pác-a-si* (contra 47); *ā́ho/utā́ho deva-dat-ta pác-a-si* (contra 49). In all these instances the vocative is considered as non-existent.

8.1.73 ná ā́-mantr-it-e sa-mānā́=adhi-kar-aṇ-e (sā-mān-ya-vac-anā́-m)

[Before 1.1.66] a vocative which is in apposition with it [the preceding vocative 72] conveying a general idea (sāmānya-vacana-m) is not (ná) [treated as though it were non-existent 72].

ágne gṛha-pate 'O Agni, lord of the mansion!', but *déva-dat-ta, páṇḍita yajña-dat-ta* where *páṇḍita* 'wise one' is in apposition with Yajñadattá and not Devadatta'.

8.1.74 (sāmānya-vac-anā́-ṁ) ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-ṁ vi-śeṣ-a-vac-an-é (bahu-vac-an-e)

[The preceding vocative 72] (in the plural number) is optionally (víbhāṣitam) [considered as non-existent 72 before 1.1.66 another vocative in apposition with it 72] denoting a specific quality (viśeṣ-vac-an-é).

The bracketed words (in the plural number: bahu-vac-an-é) are provided by Patañjali who divides the rules 73-74 as given in the Kāśikā version which includes Patañjali's insertion of [bahu-vac-ana-m] in the rule. The original reading appears to be: 73: [ná=ā́mantrite samānā́dhikar-aṇe] and 74: [sāmānya-vacanám víbhāṣitam viśeṣa-vacané] whence Kāśikā reads 74 as [vibhāṣitaṁ viśeṣa-vacane bahu-vac-aná-m]. Patañjali implies that the optionality applies only to the plural, while in the singular this rule does not apply.

dév-ā-ḥ śáraṇy-ā-ḥ/śaraṇy-ā-ḥ 'O Gods, who afford shelter'; *bráhmaṇ-ā-ḥ vaíy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-ḥ/vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-ḥ* 'O brahmins, who are grammarians'.

8.2.1 pūrvá-tra=á-sid-dha-m

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter) a rule introduced is considered inoperative with respect to an earlier rule (pūrvá-tra á-sid-dha-m) (and a rule of this section is also considered inoperative with respect to the rules introduced in the section preceding this, i.e., 1.1.1-8.1.74).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] with regard to all operations taught in the Aṣṭ. In the phrase *a-smaí úd-dhar-a* = *asmsáy úd-dhar-a* (6.1.78) = *asmā́∅ úd-dhar-a* (3.19 below) = *a-smā́ úd-dhar-a* further modification by saṁdhi rule 6.1.87 does not take place, because by this metarule which restores the position *a-smā́y úd-dhara* 3.19 below is deemed not to have taken place at all with respect to 6.1.87.

8.2.2 na-lopá-ḥ [1]sUP-[2]svára-[3]saṁ-jñā́-[4]tuK=vi-dhi-ṣu kṛ́t-i

Substitute lópa (∅) replacement of [stem-final 1.1.52] dental phoneme n (7 below) is [considered inoperative 1] pertaining to (a) sUP triplets, (b) accentuation (°svára-°), (c) technical terms (°saṁ-jñā́°) and (d) insertion of [final increment 1.1.46] tuK (before 1.1.66) a kṛ́t (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1].

1. *rā́jan+bhis* = *rā́ja∅+bhis* (1.4.17; 8.2.7) = *rā́ja+bhis*, but 7.1.9 which provides an allomorph [ais] after stems ending in short [a] cannot apply because the preceding operation is considered not to have taken place at the time this becomes operative. Similarly *rā́jan+bhyām* = *rā́ja∅+bhyām* = *rā́ja-bhyām* 7.3.102 does not apply and in *rā́jan+su* = *rā́ja∅+su* = *rā́ja-su* 7.3.103 cannot apply.
2. *rā́jan+matUP+ṄīP* = *rā́ja∅-vat-ī* (9) but 6.1.220 cannot apply, even though the surface form ends in °*-a-vat-ī* since the preceding operation generating this form is considered not to have taken place for the purpose of this operation.
3. *páñca brāhmaṇy-aḥ* 'five brahmin ladies' where *páñca* = *páñcan+Jas* = *páñcan+∅*[1] (7.1.22) = *páñca∅* (7), the feminine affix [ṬāP 4.1.4] cannot apply since [pánca∅] is regarded as belonging to the class of number words denoted by the t.t. ṣaṣ (1.1.24; 4.1.10).
4. *vṛ-trá-ṁ ha-távān* = *vṛ-trá+∅+han+KviP* (3.2.87)+*bhyām* = *vṛ-tra-hán+bhyām* = *vṛ-tra-há+bhyām* (7) the ∅ replacement of stem-final [n 7] is considered not to have taken place with respect to the insertion of final increment tuK by 6.1.71.

This rule restricts the operation of 1: *āt-mán-aḥ rā́j-ān-am icch-á-ti* = *rā́j-an+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *rā́ja∅-yá-a-ti* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājī-yá-a-ti* (7.4.33) = *rājī-yá-ti* (6.1.97) which is not blocked contrary to 1. Similarly *rā́j-an+KyáṄ+ŚaP+te* (3.1.11) = *rā́j-a∅+yá-a-te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.85) is not blocked. *rā́j-ñ-aḥ áśva-ḥ* = *rā́-jan+Ṅas áśva+sU* = *rā́j-an+∅*[1]*+áśva+sU* (2.4.71) = *rā́j-a∅+áśva+sU* (7) = *rāj-ā-śvá-ḥ* (6.1.223) where 6.1.101 is not blocked.

8.2.3 ná mu n-e

The substitute morpheme mu (replacing °daa of adas- 'that' 80) is not (ná) [considered as inoperative 1 with respect to] the substitute morpheme nā [replacing suP triplet Ṭā introduced after 3.1.2 it 7.3.120].

> *adás+Ṭā* = *adáa+ā* (7.2.102) = *adá+ā* (6.1.97) = *amú+ā* (80) = *amú-nā* which is not blocked, contrary to the governing rule 1. This also restricts the range of the governing rule 1 above partially.

8.2.4 [1]udā́tta-[2]svar-itáy-or ya̲Ṇ-aḥ svar-i-tá-ḥ ánudātta-sya

A substitute svaritá accent replaces the ánudātta which occurs (immediately) after a semivowel (ya̲Ṇ-aḥ) [replacement of] an udā́tta or svaritá (vowel).

> *abhí abhí hi* (8.1.4) = *abhí abhi hi* (8.1.3) = *abhy-àbhi hi; khala-pū́+ṄīP+ā́śā* = *khalapv-ī̀+āśā́* (6.4.83) = *khalapv-ỳ+āśā́* = *khalapvy-àśā*. Cf. 6.1.174 for a prior exception. But *bida+aÑ+ṄīN* (4.1.73; 104)+*āśā* = *baída+ṄīN+āśā́* = *baíd∅-ī+āśā́* (6.4.148) = *baidy-āśā́* as the semivowel replaces an ánudātta vowel.

8.2.5 eka=ā-deś-á-ḥ udā́tt-ena udā́tta-ḥ

A single replacement (ekādeśa-ḥ) [of an ánudātta vowel 4] with an udā́tta (vowel) becomes udā́tta.

> *agní+au* = *agn-ī́* (6.1.102); *vr̥kṣá+ais* = *vr̥kṣ-aís*. But *pác+ŚaP+anti* = *pác-a-nti* (6.1.97).

8.2.6 svar-i-tá-ḥ vā ánudātt-e pada=ād-aú

[The single replacement 5] of a padá-initial (padādaú) ánudātta [and the preceding udā́tta vowel 5] optionally (vā) becomes svaritá.

> In the compound *sú+ut-thi-tá-* (2.2.18) = *s-ū́-t-thi-ta-/s-ū̀-t-thi-ta-; ví+īkṣ-a-te* = *v-ī́-kṣ-ate/v-ī̀-kṣa-te*. *guḍa/tila+udaka-* = *guḍá/tilá+udaka* (6.2.96) = *guḍ-ó-daka-/guḍ-ò-daka-; til-ó-daka-/til-ò-daka-* 'water mixed with molasses or sesamum seeds'.

8.2.7 na̱-lop-á-ḥ prāti-pad-ika=antá-sya

The substitute lópa (∅) replaces the final phoneme n of a nominal stem (prāti-pad-ika-antá-sya) [which functions at the same time as a padá 1.16].

rā́j-an+sU = *rā́j-ān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rā́j-ān+∅* (6.1.68) = *rā́j-ā∅* (1.4.17); and similarly *rā́ja∅+bhyām/bhyas/su; rā́j-an+taL* = *rājá-tā* (5.1.119) 'kingship'.

8.2.8 ná [1]Ṅi-[2]sam-bud-dhy-oḥ

[The substitute lópa (∅) 7] does not (ná) replace [the final phoneme n of a nominal stem 7 which at the same time functions as a padá 1.16 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets] Ṅi and sU of the vocative (°-sam-búd-dhy-oḥ).

vyó-man+Ṅi = *vyó-man+luK* (7.1.39) = *para-m-é vyó-man* (RV 1.62.7) 'in the highest heaven'; *rā́j-an+sU* (voc.) = *rā́j-an+∅* (6.1.68) = *he rā́j-an* 'O king!'.

8.2.9 [1]m-[2]āt=upa-dhā́-y-āś ca mat-Or va̱-ḥ a-yava= ādi-bhyaḥ

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP (5.2.94) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] or containing the phonemes m or a as penultimate, excluding the word-class beginning with yáva- 'barley'.

1. *°-m: kím+matUP* = *kíṁ-vat*. 2. penultimate *m: kā́ma+matUP* = *kā́ma-vat-* 'enamored'. 3. *°-a: vr̥kṣá+matUP* = *vr̥kṣa-vát-* (6.1.176) 'sylvan'. 4. penultimate *a: páyas+matUP* = *páyas-vat-* 'milky, watery'.

But *yáva-mat-, dalmi-mát-, ūrmi-mát-* etc.

8.2.10 jha̱Y-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] non-nasal stops (jha̱Y-aḥ).

marút+matUP = *marút-vat-* (1.4.19); *śarád+matuP* = *śarád-vat-*.

8.2.11 saṁ-jñā́-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to derive a name (saṁ-jñā́-y-ām).

ahi+matUP+ṄīP = *ahī-vat-ī́* (6.1.220; 3.120); *kapī-vat-ī́*, *munī-vat-ī́* 'names of rivers' (4.2.85).

8.2.12 [1]āsandī́-vat=[2]aṣṭhī́-vat-[3]cakrī́-vat-[4]kakṣī́-vat=[5]ruman̩-vat=[6]cárman̩-vatī

The irregular expressions āsandī́-vat- 'n.pr. of a village', aṣṭhī́-vat- 'knee', cakrī́-vat- 'furnished with wheels', kakṣī́-vat- 'n.pr. of a sage', ruman̩-vat- 'n.pr. of a mountain', and carman̩-vat-ī́ 'n.pr. of a river' are introduced [with irregular replacement by phoneme v of the initial phoneme of matUP 9 introduced after the respective nominal stems].

1. *āsandī́-vat (= ā́sana-vat)*; if properly derived from *āsandī́* 'chair'; 2. *aṣṭhī́-vat (= ásthi-mat-)* 'vertebrate'; 3. *cakrī́-vat- (= cakra-vát-)*; 4. *kakṣī́-vat- (= kákṣyā-vat-)*; 5. *ruman̩-vát- (= lavaṇa-vát-)*; 6. *carman̩-vatī (= cárma-vat-)*.

8.2.13 udan-vā́n uda-dh-aú ca

[The irregular expression] udan-vát- is introduced to denote an ocean (uda-dh-aú) and also (ca) [a name 11] [with phoneme v replacement of the initial of the taddhitá affix matUP 9].

udan-vát- = *udaka-vát-* (with irregular retention of stem-final n contra 7 above in these two significances).

8.2.14 rā́jan-vān saú-rāj-y-e

The irregular expression rā́jan-vat- is introduced [with phoneme v replacing the initial of the taddhitá affix matUP 9] to denote 'good government' (saú-rājy-e).

Contrary to 7 above in this sense; elsewhere *rā́ja-vat-*.

8.2.15 chándas-i i-r-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9, introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the phonemes] i or r.

1. °-i: *trí+matUP+ṄīP = trí-vat-ī* 'consisting of three'; *hári-vat-, agni-vát-.*
2. ° r: *gír+matUP = gī́r-vat-* 'possessing speech'; *dhur+matUP = dhū́r-vat-, āśī́r-vat-* etc.

8.2.16 an-aḥ nuṬ

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46] nuṬ is inserted at the head [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an-.

ásthi+matUP = ásthi+vat (15) = *asth-án+vat* (7.1.76) = *asthaØ+vát-* (6.1.176) = *astha-nuṬ+vát-* 'consisting of bones'.

8.2.17 n-āt GHA-sya

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46 nuṬ 16 is inserted at the head of affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (= taraP, tamaP 1.1.22) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme n.

su-pathín+taraP/tamaP = su-pathíØ+taraP/tamaP (7) = *supathí+nuṬ+taraP/tamaP = supathí-ntara-/ntama-; dasyu-hán+tamaP/taraP = dasyu-há-ntama/ntara-.*

8.2.18 kr̥p-aḥ r-aḥ la-ḥ

The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r of the verbal stem kr̥p- 'be able or fit' (I 799).

The phonemes [r, l] referred to here represent both sonant vowels and the semivowels. Thus in the morpho-phonemic structures the semivowel /l/ replaces the corresponding semivowel [r] while the vowel phoneme [l̥] replaces the vowel phoneme [r̥]: this is indicated by 1.3.93 where this verbal stem is introduced as [kl̥p-] instead of [kr̥p-].

kr̥p+Ktá = kl̥p-tá-; kr̥p+lUṬ = kl̥p+tā́s+Ḍā (2.4.85) = *kalp-tā́.*

8.2.19 upa-sarg-á-sya ay-á-t-au

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of a pre-verb (upa-sarg-á-sya) [before 1.1.66] the verbal stem ay- 'go' (I 503).

prá/párā+ay-a-te = pl-ā́-y-a-te/pál-ā-y-a-te 'goes away/flees, escapes'.

8.2.20 gr-aḥ yáṄ-i

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of the verbal stem gr̥̄- 'swallow' (VI 117) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yáṄ (3.1.22).

ní+gr̥̄+yáṄ+ŚaP+te = ní-gir+yaṄ-a-te (7.1.100) = *ní-je-gil-ya-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.60,62,82).

8.2.21 aC-i vibhāṣā

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the verbal stem gr̥̄- 'swallow' (VI 117) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

ní+gr̥̄+ŚaP+tiP = ní-gir-a-ti/ní-gil-a-ti; °+LyuṬ = ni-gár-aṇa-/ni-gál-ana-; °+ṆvuL = ni-gā́r-aka-/ni-gā́l-aka-.

8.2.22 páre-ś ca [1]ghá=[2]aṅkáy-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of the pre-verb pári-° [before 1.1.66] ghá- (3.3.84 from han-) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṅká- 'curve' [optionally 21].

pári-han-ya-te an-éna = pari+han+aP (3.3.84) = *pari-ghá-ḥ/pali-ghá-ḥ* 'iron bar'. *pari-ga-tá-ḥ áṅká-ḥ = páry-aṅka-ḥ/pály-aṅka-ḥ* 'bed, couch, sofa'.

8.2.23 saṁ-yog-a=antá-sya lópa-ḥ

The substitute lópa (∅) replaces the final phoneme of a conjunct (saṁ-yog-a=antá-sya) [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of a padá 1.16].

gó+matUP+sU = gó-ma-n-t+sU (7.1.70) = *gó-mānt+sU* (6.4.14) = *gó-mānt+∅* (6.1.68) = *gó-mān∅* 'owning cattle'. Similarly *śréyas/bhū́-yas+sU = śréyān/bhū́-yān* 'more splendid/more'.

8.2.24 r-aāt sa̱-sya

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23] replaces phoneme s [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of a padá 1.16 as final member of a conjunct 23 after 1.1.67] phoneme r.

> *pitŕ̥+Ṅas(I)* = *pitúr+s* (6.1.111; 1.1.51) = *pitúr+∅* = *pitúḥ* (3.15) but *ū́rj+sU* = *ū́rj+∅* (6.1.68) = *ū́rk* (30) in spite of 23 above.

8.2.25 dh-i ca

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme s 24 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with dh-°.

> *lū+luṄ* = *lū+Cli̱* (3.1.43) = *lū+si̱C+dhvam* (3.1.44) = *áṬ-lū+iṬ+si̱C+dhvam* (7.2.35) = *á-lo-i-s-dhvam* (7.3.84) = *á-lav-i-∅-dhvam* (6.1.78) = *á-lav-i-dhvam/á-lav-i-ḍhvam* (4.41) since [s] preceded by [i] is retroflexed by 3.59 and by 3.79 retroflexes [dh] following it.

8.2.26 jha̱L-aḥ jha̱L-i

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67 and before 1.1.66] a non-nasal consonant (jha̱L-o jha̱L-i).

> *bhid+lUṄ* = *á-bhid+si̱C+ta* = *á-bhid-∅+ta* = *á-bhit-ta* (4.45) but *man+lUṄ* = *á+man+si̱C+ta* = *á-maṁ-s-ta* (3.24).

8.2.27 hrasv-ā́d áṅg-āt

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67] an áṅga 'pre-affixal' stem [ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel: 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

> *kr̥N+lUṄ* = *á-kr̥+si̱C+ta* = *á-kr̥+∅+ta* = *á-kr̥-ta/thāḥ* (1.2.12) but *á-kr̥-ṣ-ata*; similarly *cyu+lUṄ* = *á-cyo-ṣ-ṭa* (3.59; 4.41), *á-lāv-i-ṣ-ṭām* (= lū+lUṄ).

8.2.28 iṬ-aḥ īṬ-i

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23 replaces phoneme s after 1.1.67] the initial increment iṬ and before the initial increment īṬ (of a single phoneme affix following it 7.3.96).

> *div+lUṄ* = *á-div+iṬ+si̱C+īṬ+t* (7.3.96) = *á-dev-i-∅-ī-t* = *á-dev-ī-t* (7.3.84; 6.1.101). The operation of 6.1.101 here is normally blocked by the governing rule 1 of this

section, but a várttika [siC-lop-é=ekādeśa-ḥ siddhá-ḥ] under 6 above blocks out this metarule in this particular regard.

8.2.29 [1]s-[2]k-oḥ saṁ-yog-á=ādy-oḥ ánt-e ca

[The substitute lópa (∅) 23 replaces] initial phonemes (°-ādy-oḥ) s or k of a conjunct group (saṁ-yog-á-°) [occurring at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

1. *lasj+Ktá* = *lasj+ná-* (45) = *la∅j+ná-* = *lag-ná-* (30) 'attached, adhered'. 2. *takṣ+Ktá* = *ta∅ṣ+tá-* = *taṣ-ṭá-* 'pared, chisled'. 3. *sādhu-lasj+sU→∅* = *sadhu-laj* = *°-lak* (30).

8.2.30 cO-ḥ kU-ḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces a palatal stop (cU) [at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.67 a non-nasal consonant 16].

vā́c+sU = *vā́c+∅* (6.1.68) = *vā́k* 'speech'; similarly *vac+lAṬ* = *vac(+ŚaP→∅[1])+tiP* = *vák-ti* 'speaks'. *bhaj+Ktá* = *bhak-tá-* 'devoted'; *bhaj+KtiN* = *bhák-ti-* 'devotion'. *prá+añc-a-ti* = *prá+añc+KviN* (3.2.50) = *prā́ñc+∅+sU* = *prā́ñc+∅* (6.1.68) = *prā́ñ∅* (7) = *prā́ṅ*.

8.2.31 h-aḥ ḍha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme ḍh replaces phoneme h [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

sáh+tumuN = *sáḍh+tum* = *sáḍh+thum* (40) - *sáḍh-ḍhum* (4.41) = *só∅-ḍhum* (6.3.112; 8.3.13). Here 8.3.13 is not blocked by the governing rule 1 above on account of 6.3.112 which specifically refers to this context. *lih+lAṬ* = *lih(+Śap→∅[1])+tiP* (2.4.72) = *léḍh+ti* (7.3.86) = *léḍh+dhi* (40) = *léḍ+ḍhi* (4.41) = *le∅-ḍhi* (6.3.111); *mádhu lé-ḍhi* = *mádhu+lih[KviP+sU]* = *madhu+líḍh+∅* (6.1.68) = *madhu-líṭ* (4.56) 'honey-licker, a bee'.

8.2.32 d-āde-r dhā́to-r gha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme gh replaces [the phoneme h at the end of 1.1.72] a verbal stem (dhā́to-ḥ) beginning with the phoneme d-° [when it is padá 1.16 final 1.1.72 or occurs before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

kāṣṭhá-ṁ dáh-a-ti = *kāṣṭha+∅[1]+dah+KviP+sU* = *kāṣṭha-dáh+sU* = *kāṣṭha-dágh+∅* (6.1.68) = *kāṣṭha-dhdágh* (37) = *kāṣṭha-dhak* (4.53) 'wood burner'. *duh+Ktá* = *dugh+tá* = *dugh-dhá-* (40) = *dug-dhá* (4.53) 'milk'.

8.2.33 vā [1]drúhÁ-[2]múhÁ-[3]ṣṇúhÁ-[4]ṣṇíh-ām

[The substitute phoneme gh 32] optionally replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stems] drúh- 'injure' (IV 88), múh- 'be confounded' (IV 89), snúh- 'vomit' (IV 90) and sníh- 'love' (IV 91) [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *drúh+tumuN* = *drógh/dróḍh+tum* (7.3.86) = *dróg-dhum/dró-ḍhum*. 2. *muh+Ktá* = *mug-dhá-/mū-ḍhá-* 'confounded'. 3. *snug-dhá-/snū-ḍhá-*. 4. *snig-dhá-/snī-ḍhá-*. *mi-trá-ṁ drúh-ya-ti* = *mitra+∅¹+druh+KviP+sU* = *mitra-drúh+sU* = *mitra+drúh+∅* (6.1.68) = *mitra-drúgh/°druḍh-* = *mitra-dhrúgh/°-dhrúḍh* = *mitra-dhrúk/°dhrúṭ* (4.53).

8.2.34 nah-aḥ dha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme dh replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] nah- 'bind' (IV 59) [at the end of a padá 1.1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

úpa=nah-ya-te = *upa-nah+KviP+sU* = *upā-náh+∅* (6.3.116; 6.1.68) = *upā-nádh* = *upā-nát* (4.56); *nah+Ktá* = *nadh+tá* = *nadh+dhá* (40) = *nad-dhá-* (4.53).

8.2.35 āh-as tha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme th replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] āh- (substitute for brū- 3.4.84) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

āh+thaL = *ā́th+tha* = *ā́t-tha* (4.53).

8.2.36 [1]vraśca-[2]bhrasjA-[3]sṛjÁ-[4]mṛ́jÁ-[5]yajA-[6]rā́ja-[7]bhrā́ja=[8]cha-[9]ś-ām ṣa-ḥ

The substitute retroflex phoneme ṣ replaces [the stem final 1.1.72 phoneme of verbal stems] vraśc- 'cut' (VI 12). bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), sṛj- 'project' (VI 121), mṛj- 'wash, wipe, cleanse' (II 57), yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051), rā́j- 'shine, rule' (I 874), bhrā́j- 'shine' (I 875) and the phonemes ch and ś [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *vrásc+tumuN* = *vrá∅ṣ+tum* (29) = *vráṣ-ṭum* (4.41); *mū́lā-n-i vraśc-a-ti* = *mūla+∅¹+vráśc+KviP+sU* = *mūla-vráśc+∅* (6.1.68) = *mūla-vrá∅-ṣ* (29) = *mūla-vráṭ* (4.56). 2. *bhráṣ-ṭum, dhānā-bhráṭ*. 3. *sráṣ-ṭum* (6.1.58), *rajju-sráṭ*. 4. *mā́rṣ-ṭum* (7.2.114), *kaṁsa-pari-mṛ́ṭ*. 5. *yáṣ-ṭum, upa-yáṭ*. 6. *sam-rā́ṭ,*

rāṣ-ṭrá-. 7. *vi-bhrā́ṭ*. 8. *prach+tumuN = práṣ-ṭum*. 9. *liś+tum = léṣ-ṭum, kliś+Ktá = kliṣ-ṭá-*.

8.2.37 éka=aC-aḥ baŚ-aḥ bhaṢ jháṢ-anta-sya [1]s-[2]dhv-oḥ

The substitute phonemes denoted by the siglum bhaṢ (bh, gh, ḍh and dh) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes denoted by the siglum baŚ (b, g, ḍ, d) constituting a part of a mono-syllabic verbal stem (ékāC-aḥ) ending in the siglum jhaṢ (-° anta-sya: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh: voiced aspirate stops) [before 1.1.66 the non-nasal consonants 26] °s and °dhv-° [and also at the end of 29 a padá 1.16].

1. *budh+syá+te = bodh+syá-te* (7.3.86) = *bhodh-syá-te = bhot-syá-te* (4.53); *ártha-m bodh-a-ti = artha+búdh+KviP+sU artha-búdh+sU = artha-búdh+∅* (6.1.68) = *artha-bhúd = artha-bhút; budh+lUṄ = á-budh+siC+dhvam = á-budh-∅+dhvam* (25) = *á-bhudh+dhvam = á-bhud-dhvam* (4.53).
2. *ní-guh+sya+te = ní-goh-sya-te* (7.3.86) = *ní-goḍh-sya-te* (31) = *ní-ghok-sya-te* (41) = *ní-ghok-ṣya-te* (3.59); *ní-guh+siC+dhvam = ny-á-ghū-ḍhvam* (3.13; 6.3.111); *parṇā́-n-i gūh-a-ti = parṇa+guh+KviP+sU = parṇa-ghúṭ*.
3. *duh+sya+te = dhogh+ṣya+te* (3.59) = *dhok-ṣya-te* (4.53). *duh+lAṄ = á-duh+(Śap-∅[1])+dhvam = á-dhugh+dhvam = á-dhug-dhvam* (4.53); *kāmá-m dog-dhi = kāmá+duh+KviP+sU = kāma-dhúk*.
4. *gr̥dh+yáṄ-luK+lAṄ = á+gr̥dh+yaṄ-luK+∅[1]+s(iP) = á-jar-gr̥dh+∅[1]+s* (7.4.91) = *á-jar-gardh+∅* (6.1.68; 7.3.86) = *á-jar-ghardh = á-jar-ghard* (4.53) = *á-jar-ghar-r* (75) = *á-jar-ghā∅r* (3.14; 6.3.111) *á-jar-ghāḥ* (3.15).

8.2.38 dadh-as [1]ta-[2]th-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme d 37 of the verbal stem] da-dh (= dhā- III 10) 'bear, support' (= weak reduplicated theme) [before 1.1.66] the phoneme t-° or th-° [of an affix and also the non-nasal consonants 26 s-° or dhv-° 37].

dhā+∅[2]+tás = da-dhā+tás = da-dh∅+tás (6.4.112) = *dha-dh+tás = dha-d+tás = dhat-táḥ* (66; 3.15). *dadh+sé = dhat-sé* (4.53); *dadh+dhvám = dhad-dhvám*.

8.2.39 jhaL-ām jaŚ-aḥ ánt-e

Substitute voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ-aḥ = j, b, g, ḍ, d) replace non-nasal consonants (jhaL-ām) at the end [of a padá 1.16].

vā́c+sU = vā́c+∅ (6.1.68) = *vā́k = vā́g atra*, cf. 4.56.

8.2.40 jhaṢ-as ¹ta-²th-or dha-ḥ á-dh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme t or th [after 1.1.67] voiced aspirated stops (jhaṢ-aḥ = jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh) excluding that (-dh) of the verbal stem dhā- 'bear, support' (III 10).

labh+Kta/tumuN/távya- = *labh+dhá/dhum/dhavya-* = *lab-dhá-, láb-dhum/ lab-dhávya-; duh-: dug-dhá-, dó-g-dhum, dog-dhávya-; lih+tumuN* = *lé-ḍhum* (7.3.86; 8.2.31; 3.13; 4.41); *budh+tumuM* = *bód+dhum.*

labh+lUṄ = *á-labh+siC+thās* = *á-labh+Ø-thās* (26) = *á-labh+dhās* = *á-lab-dhāḥ* (66; 3.15)/*á-dug-dhāḥ/á-lī-ḍhāḥ/á-bud-dhāḥ.* Cf. 38 for dhā-.

8.2.41 ¹ṣa-²ḍh-oḥ ka-ḥ s-i

The substitute phoneme k replaces phonemes /ṣ, ḍh/ [before 1.1.66] phoneme s.

piṣ+lṚT = *piṣ+syá+tiP* = *pek-ṣyá-ti* (7.3.86; 8.3.59) 'will grind'. *lih+syá+ti* = *leḍh-syá-ti* (31) = *lek-ṣyá-ti* (3.59).

8.2.42 ¹ra-²dā-bhyāṁ niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-ḥ pū́rva-sya tu d-aḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ [affix 3.1.1] (Ktá-, KtávatU 1.2.26) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem final 1.1.72] phoneme r or d, as well as of the preceding d.

1. °-r: *á-stṝ+Kta(vatU)* = *á-stir+Kta(vatU)* (7.1.100) = *á-stīr-ṇa(vat)-* (76; 4.1).
2. °-d: *bhid+Ktá(vatU)* = *bhin-ná(vat)-.*

8.2.43 saṁ-yog-á=āde-r āT-aḥ dhā́to-r yáṆ-vat-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T) with an initial conjunct (saṁ-yog-ā́-deḥ) containing a semivowel (yáṆ-vat-aḥ).

styai+Ktá(vatU) = *styā+Ktá(vatU)* (6.1.45) = *styā-ná(vat)-* 'coagulated'; *pra-drā+Kta(vatU)* = *pra-drā-ṇá(vat)-* 'distressed'; *glai+Ktá* = *glā-ná-* 'tired, faded'.

8.2.44 lū=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix (Ktá-, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13).

This class consists of items listed under IX 13-32 of the Dhp. *lu+Ktá(vatU)* = *lū-ná-(vat)-; dhū́-na(vat)-* 'trembled', etc.

8.2.45 oT=IT-aś ca

[The substitute phoneme n 42] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ (affix Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem] with marker O as IT.

O-lásj-Ī vrīḍā́-y-ām (VI 10)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *la∅j+Ktá(vatU)* (29) = *lag-ná(vat)* 'attached, adhered'; *O-pyā́y-Ī vr̥d-dh-au* (I 517)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *pī́-na(vat)* (6.1.28) 'swollen'.

Verbal stem-class beginning with *sū-* 'give birth to' (IV 24-40) are deemed to have marker O as IT: *sū+Ktá(vatU)* = *sū-ná(vat)-*.

8.2.46 kṣíy-aḥ dīrgh-ā́t

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ (affix Ktá/KtávatU) introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] kṣí- 'perish, lose weight' (I 225) [when it ends in 1.1.72] a long (vowel: dīrgh-ā́t 1.2.28).

The Dhp. records three stems: *kṣí kṣay-é* (I 225), *kṣi hiṁsā́-y-ām* (*jighāṁsā́-y-ām* V 30), *kṣi ni-vās-á-gá-ty-oḥ* (VI 114); Kāśikā commentaries regard (I 225) and (VI 114) as involved in this operation while Renou singles out (V 30) as the one involved'.

kṣi+Ktá(vatU) = *kṣī-ṇá(vat)-* (active) (6.4.60) 'perished'; but *kṣi-tá(vat-)* (6.4.61).

8.2.47 śy-aḥ á-sparś-e

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ (affix Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] śyā (= śyaiṄ I 1012) 'congeal' when not denoting touch (a-sparś-e).

śyai+Ktá(vatU) = *śyā+Ktá(vatU)* (6.1.45) = *śī-ná(vat)-* (6.1.24; 4.2) 'congealed', but when actual touch is denoted: *śī-tá-(vat)-* 'become cold'. Constraint on 43 above.

8.2.48 anc-aḥ án-ap-ā-dā-n-e

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] anc(Ú) 'bend, curve' (I 203) when the notion of ablation is not denoted (án-ap-ā-dā-n-e).

sam+anc+Ktá(vatU) = *am-a(∅)c-tá(vat)-* (6.4.24) = *sam-ak-tá(vat)-* (3) = *sam-ak-ná(vat)-* 'bent together', but *úd-ak-ta-m udaká-m kū́p-āt* 'water was lifted from the well'.

8.2.49 dív-aḥ á-v-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix (Ktá-, KtávatU-) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] dív- 'sport' (IV 1), except when denoting the sense of 'desire to conquer' (á-vi-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām).

div+Ktá(vatU) = *di-ūṬH-tá(vatU)* (6.4.19) = *dyū-ná(vat)-* 'sported' etc., but *dyū-tá(vat)-* 'gambled (expressing a desire to win').

8.2.50 nir-vā-ṇáḥ á-vā-t-e

The expression nir-vā-ṇá- is introduced [with irregular substitute phoneme n replacing phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix Ktá] except when denoting 'wind'.

nir+vā+Ktá- = *nir-vā-ṇá-* (8.4.2) 'extinguished', but *nir-vā-tá-* 'sheltered, free from wind'.

8.2.51 śuṣ-aḥ ka-ḥ

The substitute phoneme k replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] śuṣ- 'dry' (IV 74).

śuṣ+Ktá(vatU) = *śúṣ-ka(vat)-*. (6.1.206 for accent).

8.2.52 pac-aḥ va-ḥ

The substitute phoneme v [replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā́ affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] pac- 'cook' (I 1045).

pac+Ktá(vatU) = *pak-vá(vat)-*.

8.2.53 kṣāy-aḥ ma-ḥ

The substitute phoneme m replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] kṣai- 'bruise, scorch, dry up' (I 961).

kṣai+Ktá(vatU) = kṣā+tá(vat) (6.1.45) = *kṣā-má(vat)-*.

8.2.54 prá-sty-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme m 53] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] prá+styai- 'crowd together, coagulate' (I 959).

pra+styai+Ktá(vatU) = pra-stī+Ktá(vatU) (6.1.23; 4.2) = *pra-stī-má(vat)/tá(vat)-*. But *styā-ná(vat)-* (43). By 2.1 above, 43 is considered as non-operative for the operation of 6.1.23.

8.2.55 án-upa-sarg-āt [1]phul-lá-[2]kṣīb-á-[3]kr̥ś-á-[4]ul-lāgh-ā́-ḥ

The expressions phul-lá- 'blossomed, bloomed', kṣīb-á 'drunk, intoxicated', kr̥ś-á- 'emaciated' and ul-lāgh-á- 'clever, adroit' are introduced [as irregular formations with niṣṭhā affix (Ktá) 42] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa-sarg-āt).

1. *phul+Ktá = phul-lá-*, but *pra-phul-tá-*.
2-4. In the remaining three expressions phoneme [t] of [Ktá] is replaced by ∅ with no initial increment [iṬ] but with preverbs respectively: *pra-kṣīb-i-tá-, pra-kr̥ś-i-tá-, pr-o-l-lagh-i-tá-*.

8.2.56 [1]nudÁ-[2]vidA=[3]únda-[4]trā-[5]ghrā-[6]hrī-bhyaḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] nud- 'impel' (VI 2,132), vid- 'consider (VII 13), und- 'wet' (VII 20), trā (= trai-Ṅ I 1014) 'protect,' ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3).

1. *nud+Ktá(vatU) = nun-ná(vat)/nut-tá(vat)-*; 2. *vin-ná-/vit-tá*; 3. *sam+und+Ktá = sam-u∅-d+Ktá* (6.4.24) = *sam-un-ná-/sam-ut-tá-* 'thoroughly wet'; 4. *trā-ṇá-/trā-tá-*; 5. *ghrā-ṇá-/ghrā-tá-*; 6. *hrī-ṇá-/hrī-tá-*.

8.2.57 ná [1]dhyā-[2]khyā-[3]pr̥̄-[4]mūrchi̱-[5]mád-ām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] does not (ná) replace [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] dhyā- (= dhyai- I 957) 'meditate, concentrate', khyā- 'proclaim' (II 5), pr̥̄- 'fill' (III 4, IX 19), mūrch- 'solidify, congeal' (I 227) and mád- 'be exhilerated' (IV 99).

Exceptions to 42 and 43 above. 1. *dhyā-tá-(vat)-*, 2. *khyā-tá(vat)-*; 3. *pūr-tá(vat)-* (7.1.102); 4. *murch+Ktá = mur∅+tá* (6.4.21) = *mūr-tá-* (76); 5. *mat-tá-*.

8.2.58 vit-tá-ḥ [1]bhóg-a-[2]praty-ayáy-oḥ

The irregular expression vit-tá- is introduced to denote possessions (bhóga-°) or renown (°-praty-ayáy-oḥ).

Exception to 42 above. *vid-* (VI 138)+*Ktá* = *vit-tá-* 'riches, assets/renown'; in other senses *vin-ná-* (42).

8.2.59 bhit-tá-ṁ śákala-m

The irregular expression bhit-tá- is introduced to denote the sense of 'chip, fragment' (śákala-m).

Exception to 42 above. In other meanings *bhin-ná-* (42).

8.2.60 r̥-ṇá-m ā́dhamarṇ-y-e

The irregular expression r̥-ṇá- is introduced to denote 'debt'.

In other senses *r̥-tá*. The irregularity lies in phoneme [n] replacing phoneme [t] of [Ktá].

8.2.61 [1]na-sat-tá-[2]ni-ṣat-tá=[3]á-nut-ta-[4]prá-tūr-ta-[5]sūr-tá-[6]gūrtā́-n-i chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the irregular expressions na-sat-tá- 'not seated', ni-ṣat-tá- 'seated', á-nut-ta- 'not cast down, invincible', prá-tūr-tá- 'rapid, swift', sūr-tá- 'trodden' and gūr-tá- 'approved' are introduced with [niṣṭhā affix Ktá 42].

1. *náÑ+sad+Ktá = na-sat-tá-* (exception to 42 above) = *na-san-ná-*. 2. *ni-ṣat-tá-* (= *ni-ṣaṇ-ṇa*). 3. *náÑ+nud+Kta = á-nut-ta-* (= *á-nun-na-*). 4. *prá+tvar+Kta = prá-tūar-ta* (6.4.20) = *prá-tūr-ta-* (6.1.108)/*prá+turv+Kta = prá-tur∅+ta*

(6.4.21) = *prá-tūr-ta-* (76) (= *prá-tūr-ṇa-* 43). 5. *sṛ+Ktá* = *sur+tá* = *sūr-tá-* (irregular /u/ replacement, for *sṛ-tá-*). 6. *gur+Ktá* = *gūr-tá-* (76) [exception to 42 for *gūr-ṇá-*].

8.2.62 KvíN-praty-aya-sya kU-ḥ

A substitute velar phoneme (kU) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] KviN (3.2.58-60).

ghṛ-tá-m spṛś-á-ti = *ghṛ-ta+∅¹+spṛś+KviN+sU* (3.2.58) = *ghṛ-ta-spṛ́kh+∅* (6.1.68) = *ghṛ-ta-spṛ́k* (39; 4.56) 'touching ghee'; *ṛ-tú-m/ṛ-t-aú vā yaj-a-ti* = *ṛtu+∅¹+yaj+KviN+sU* (3.2.59) = *ṛtu+ij+sU* (6.1.15) = *ṛtv-íj+∅* (6.1.68) = *ṛtv-ík* 'n. of a sacrificial priest'. *sá iva dṛś-ya-te* = *tad+∅¹+dṛś+KviN* (3.2.60) = *taā+dṛś+KviN+sU* (6.3.61) = *tā-dṛ́ś+∅* (6.1.68) = *tā-dṛ́k* 'like him'.

8.2.63 naśe-r vā

[A substitute velar phoneme (kU) 62] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of °-naś.

jīv-á-sya nāś-á-ḥ/jīv-á-ḥ naś-ya-ti = *jīva+∅¹+naś+KviP+sU* (3.2.76) = *jīva+náś+∅+sU* (6.1.67) = *jīva-nák/náṣ* (36) = *jīva-nák/°-náṭ* (39; 4.56).

8.2.64 m-aḥ na-ḥ dhā́to-ḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces [a padá 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m of a verbal stem (dhā́to-ḥ).

prá-śām-ya-ti = *pra+śam+KviP* (3.2.76) = *pra-śā́m* (6.4.15)+*sU* = *pra-śā́m+∅* (6.1.68) = *pra-śā́n*.

8.2.65 ¹m-²v-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme n replaces a stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme m of a verbal stem 64 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] m-° or v-°.

gam+lAṄ = *áṬ+gam+ŚaP-luK* (2.4.73)+*va/ma* = *á-gam+∅¹+va/ma* = *á-gan-va/ma; gam+KvásU* = *ja-gam+vás-* (6.1.8) = *ja-gan-vás-*.

8.2.66 ¹sa-²sajúṣ-oḥ rU-ḥ

The substitute phoneme rU replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72] phoneme °-s and also of the expression sajús 'with'.

1. *agní+sU* = *agní-s* = *agní-rU á-tra* = *agní-r á-tra* 'fire (is) here'. 2. *sa-jús+devé-bhiḥ* = *sa-júrU+devé-bhiḥ* = *sa-júr devé-bhiḥ* (RV 7.34.15) 'with the gods'.

8.2.67 ava-yā́ḥ=śveta-vā́ḥ=puro-ḍā́ś ca

The expressions ava-yāḥ 'sharer in the sacrificial oblation', śveta-vā́ḥ 'borne by white horses' and puro-ḍā́ḥ 'offered as a homage before' are introduced [with substitute phoneme rU replacing the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme 66].

1. *ava+yaj+ṆviN* (3.2.72) = *ava-yā́j+sU* = *ava-yā́j+∅* (6.1.68) = *ava-yā́j+Ḍas* (3.7.71 *vārttika*) = *ava-yā́s* = *ava-yā́rU* = *ava-yā́ḥ* (3.15). According to exegetical literature the introduction of affix [Ḍas] in the place of [ṆviN] is for the purpose of justifying these forms in the vocative singular also as irregular expressions.
2. *śvet-ā-ḥ ena-ṁ váh-a-nti* = *śveta+vah+ṆviN+sU* = *śveta-vā́h+∅ śveta-vā́rU* = *śveta-vā́ḥ* (3.15). The introduction of [Ḍas] in the place of [ṆviN] is to generate forms like *śveta-vo-bhiḥ/bhyaḥ* in opposition to *śveta-vā́h-au, as/am.*
3. *pur-ás dā́ś-a-nte ena-m* = *pur-ás+dā́ś+ṆviN+sU* (3.2.71) = *puro-ḍā́ś+sU* = *puro-ḍārU+∅* (6.1.68) = *puro-ḍā́ḥ* (3.15).

8.2.68 áhan

[The substitute phoneme rU **66** replaces the **padá 1.16 final 1.1.52** phoneme (n)] of áhan- 'day'.

áhan+bhyām/bhis = *áharU+bhyām/bhis* = *áha-u+bhyām/bhis* (6.1.113) = *áho-bhyām/bhis.*

8.2.69 ra-ḥ a-sUP-i

The substitute phoneme r replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (n) of áhan- 'day' 68] when not preceding sUP triplets (a-sUP-i).

áhan+sU da-dā-ti = *áhan+∅*[1] (7.1.23) *da-dā-ti* = *áhan da-dā-ti* = *áhar da-dā-ti* 'gives during the day'; if [rU] were substituted 6.1.113 would have operated to generate forms like **aho da-dā-ti*; since the replacement of sU is by luK (∅[1]) metarule 1.1.63 does not apply here, but before other sUP triplets: *áho-bhyām/bhis/bhyas.*

8.2.70 [1]amnás=[2]ū́dhas=[3]avás=ity ubhayáthā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas either (ubhayáthā) [substitute phoneme rU 66 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme s 66 of] amnás- 'secretly, unawares', ū́dhas- 'udder' and av-ás 'downwards'.

> *amnás + eva = amnárU eva = amnáy eva* (3.17) = *amnáØ eva* (3.19)/*amnár eva.* Similarly: *ū́dha eva/ū́dhar eva; av-á eva/av-ár eva.*

8.2.71 bhúvas=ca mahā-vy-ā-hr̥-té-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 70 either substitute phoneme rU 66 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (s) of] bhúv-as used as a great mystical symbol (mahā-vy-ā-hr̥-té-ḥ).

> *bhúv-as iti = bhuv-arU iti = bhúv-ay iti = bhúv-a iti/bhúv-ar iti*; but *bhū́+Ṅas(I) = bhúv-as víśve-ṣu = bhúv-arU víśve-ṣu = bhuv-a-u víśve-ṣu = bhúv-o víśve-ṣu sáv-ane-ṣu yajn-íya-ḥ* (RV 10.50.4).

8.2.72 [1]vásU-[2]srámsU-[3]dhvámsU=[4]anaḍúh-ām da-ḥ

The substitute phoneme d replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of stems ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] (K)vásU (3.2.107) and of stems °-sráṁs 'fall' (I 790), °-dhvaṁs 'destroy' (I 791) and anaḍ-úh- 'beast of burden'.

> 1. *vid+KvásU = vid-vás+bhyám/bhis/bhyas = vid-vád-bhyām/bhis/bhyas*; 2. *ukhā-sráṁs+bhyām/bhis = ukhāsrád-bhyām/bhis.* 3. *parṇa+dhváṁs+bhyām = parṇa-dhváØs+bhyām* (6.4.24) = *parṇa-dhvád-bhyām.* In both these illustrations, before affix [KviP] the penultimate nasal of the verbal stems is replaced by Ø (6.4.24) giving the nominal stems as *ukhā-srás-* and *parṇa-dhvás-* before sUP triplets.
>
> 4. *anaḍ-úh+bhyām/bhis/bhyas = anaḍ-úd-bhyām/bhis/bhyas.*

8.2.73 tiP-i án-as-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme d 72 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72 s 66] except that of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before the l-substitute] tiP.

> *cakās+lAṄ = át+cakās+Ø^1+t(iP) = á-cakās+t = á-cakās+Ø* (6.1.68) = *ácakād = á-cakāt* (4.56) but *as+lAṄ = ā́T+as+Ø^1+t = ā́s+t = ās+Ø* (6.1.68) = *ārU* (66) = *ā́ḥ* (3.15): *ā́p-a evá=idáṁ salilá-ṁ sárva-m āḥ.* This form is restricted to the domain of Chándas where by 7.3.97 initial increment [īT] is not inserted at the head of the single phoneme l-substitute.

8.2.74 siP-i dhā́to-r=rU-ḥ=vā

The substitute phoneme rU optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme s 66 before 1.1.66 the l-substitute] siP.

When [rU] is not the substitute, the alternative substitute is phoneme [d 72]. *cakās+lAṄ* = *áṬ+cakās+∅*[1]*+s(iP)* = *á-cakās+∅* (6.1.68)+*tvám* = *á-cakārU/á-cakād+tvám* = *(a) á-cakāḥ+tvam* (3.15) = *á-cakās tvám* (3.34)/ (b) *á-cakāt tvám* (4.55).

8.2.75 d-as=ca

[The substitute phoneme d 72 or rU 74 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-d [before 1.1.66 the l-substitute siP 74].

bhid+lAṄ = *áṬ+bhid+ŚnaM+s(IP)* = *á-bhi-na-d+∅* (6.1.68) = *á-bhi-na-rU/á-bhi-na-d* + *tvám* = *á-bhinarU/á-bhi-na-d* + *tvám* = *ábhi-na-h+tvám* (3.15) = *á-bhi-na-s tvám* (3.34)/*á-bhi-nat tvám* (4.55).

8.2.76 [1]r-[2]v-oḥ upa-dhā́-y-āḥ dīrghá-ḥ iK-aḥ

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā́-y-āḥ) [of a padá 1.16] denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) [of a verbal 74 padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme r or v.

gr̥̄́+KviP (3.2.76) = *gír+∅* (7.1.67,100)+*sU* = *gír+∅* (6.1.68) = *gī́r* = *gī́ḥ* (3.15). *púr+sU* = *púr+∅* (6.1.68) = *pū́r=pū́ḥ*.

8.2.77 haL-i ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces the penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 r or v before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant also (haL-i ca).

á-str̥̄+Kta = *á-stir+na* (42, 7.1.100) = *á-stīr-ṇa-* (4.1) 'strewn, scattered'; *dív+ŚyaN+tiP* = *dī́v-ya-ti* 'plays, gambles'.

8.2.78 upa-dhā́-y-āṁ ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) 76 of a verbal stem 74 before 1.1.66] the penultimate [phoneme r or v of that stem 76 followed by consonants 77].

murch+Ktá = *mūrch-iṬ-tá-* (7.2.35) 'fainted', but *ciri-ṇó-ti* 'hurts, kills'. In the case of penultimate [v] no examples occur since by 6.1.66 it is replaced by [∅] before all consonants other than [y], and the present rule is blocked out in the case of forms like *vī+lIṬ* = *vi-vī+átus/ús* = *vi-vy-átus/ús* since [y]-replacement of the vowel is not considered as a consonant by 1.1.56.

8.2.79 ná [1]BHA-[2]kur-[3]chur-ām

[A substitute long vowel 76] does not (ná) replace [a penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, r̥, l̥) 74 of] a BHA theme [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme r or v 76] and of kur- and chur- [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 77].

1. By definition a BHA stem is one which precedes an affix beginning with a vowel or [y-° 1.4.18] and to that extent modifies the operation of 77 above to which this is an exception. *dhúr-am vah-a-ti* = *dhur+yàT* (4.4.77) = *dhúr-ya-* 'fit to be harnessed'. 2. *kr̥+lIṄ* = *kr̥+u+yā́s+s+t* (3.4.104,107) = *kur-∅-yā́∅-∅-t* (6.4.109-110; 7.2.79) = *kur-yā́-t*. 3. *chur+lIṄ (āśiṣ-i)* = *chur+yā́s+s+t* = *chur-yā́∅-∅-t* (29).

8.2.80 adás-aḥ=á-se-r d-āt=u d-aḥ=ma-ḥ

The substitute phoneme u replaces the phoneme [occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme d of the pronominal stem adás- 'that' when it does not [end in 1.1.72] °-s, and the substitute phoneme m replaces phoneme d.

adás+am/auṬ/Ṭā/bhyām = *adáa+am/auṬ/Ṭā/bhyām* (7.2.102) = *adá+am/au/ā/bhyām* (6.1.97) = *amú+am/au/ā/bhyām* = *amú-m* (6.1.107)/*amū́* (6.1.102)/*amú-nā* (7.3.120; 8.2.3)/*amū́-bhyām* (7.3.102). But *adáḥ icch-a-ti* = *adas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *adas-yá-ti* 'desires that'.

8.2.81 eT-aḥ=īT bahu-vac-an-é

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces phoneme e(T) [following phoneme d of the pronominal stem adás- 'that' 80] when denoting 'many' (bahu-vac-an-é) [and phoneme m replaces phoneme d 80].

adás+Jas = *adáa+Śī* (7.1.17) = *adá+ī* (6.1.97) = *ad-e* (6.1.87) = *am-ī́*; *adás+bhis* = *adáa+bhis* (7.2.102) = *adá+bhis* = *adé-bhis* (7.3.103) = *amī́-bhis/bhyas/ṣ-ām/ṣu*.

8.2.82 vāk-yà-sya ṬE-ḥ plu-tá-ḥ=udā́tta-ḥ

A prolated (plu-tá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) which is high-pitched (ud-ā́tta-ḥ) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (ṬE-ḥ) of an utterance (vāk-yà-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] heading this section and extending up to the end of this pāda and will recur in each rule of this section as applicable.

8.2.83 praty-abhi-vād-é=á-śūdr-e

[A prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] when responding to (praty-abhi-vād-é) a respectful greeting, except in the case of a Śūdra.

abhí-vād-ay-e deva-dattó-hám̐ : bho ā́yuṣmān e-dhi deva-dat-tá3 **but** ***ā́yuṣ-mān edhi tuṣajaka !*** **when Tuṣajaka is a śūdra.**

8.2.84 dūr-ā́t=hū-t-é ca

[A prolated vowel with a high-pitched accent replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] also, in a call from afar (dūr-ā́t=hū-té ca).

ā́-gacch-a bho māṇavaka deva-dat-tá3 **'Come, my lad, Devadatta!'.**

8.2.85 [1]hai-[2]he-pra-yog-é [1]hai-[2]hay-oḥ

When the particle /hai/ or /he/ is used [in a call from afar 84, a prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] haí or hé.

haí3/hé3 deva-dat-ta/déva-datta haí3/hé3.

8.2.86 guró-r án-ṛT-aḥ án-anty-ya-sya=ápi ékaika-sya prā́c-ām

According to Eastern Grammarians [either in response to a respectful salutation of a non-śūdra 83 or in a call from afar 84, a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] one by one (ékaika-sya) a metrically heavy (guró-ḥ) syllable whether or not (ápi) occurring at the end (án-ant-ya-sya), excluding the vowel short ṛ(T).

dé3va-dat-ta/deva-dá3t-ta/deva-dat-tá3 **but** ***kṛṣṇa-mít3ra/kṛṣṇa-mitrá3.***

8.2.87 om abhy-ā-dā́-n-e

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched] replaces the vowel of om at the beginning (abhy-ā-dā́-n-e) [of an utterance 82].

ó3m agní-m īḷ-e puró-hi-ta-m (RV 1.1.1).

8.2.88 y-é yaj-ña-kar-maṇ-i

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the vowel 82 of the pronominal padá 1.16] y-é in a sacrificial action (yajña-kar-maṇ-i).

yé3 yaj-ā-mahe 'we who sacrifice' (MS 1.4.11) but not in *yé devāso divy ékādaśa sthá* or in *ye yáj-ā-maha íti páñc-ā-kṣara-m* (TS 1.6.11.1) while studying the text and not performing a sacrifice.

8.2.89 pra-ṇav-á-ṣ ṬE-ḥ

[In a sacrificial action 88] the substitute pra-ṇav-á (= the particle ó3m) [prolated and high-pitched 82] replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel [of the utterance 82].

ap-ā́ṁ rétā-ṁ-s-i ji-nv-ató3M (= jinv-a-ti+ó3M) 'he quickens the germs of waters'.

8.2.90 yāj-yā=antá-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] the final vowel of a sacrificial formula (yāj-yā-antá-ḥ) [in a sacrificial action 88].

stóm-air vidh-em-ā-gnáy-e = stóm-air vidh-em-āgnayā́3i (107) (RV 8.43.11) 'may we serve Agni with praise'.

jihvā́-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vā́h-am (RV 10.8.6) = *jihvā́-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vāhá3m.*

8.2.91 [1]brū-hí-[2]pr-é-sya-[3]śraúṣaṭ-[4]vaúṣaṭ-[5]ā́-vahā-nām ādé-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces] the first syllable (ādé-ḥ) of the expressions brū-hí 'speak', pr-é-ṣya 'send forth', śraúṣaṭ 'may he hear us', vaúṣaṭ 'may he lead us' and ā́-vah-a 'lead' [in a sacrificial action 88].

1. *agnáy-é-nu brū́3-hi*; 2. *agnáy-e go-máyā-n-i pr-é3-ṣya*; 3. *ás-tu śraú3ṣaṭ*; 4. *sóma-sy-ā-gne vīhī3 vaú3ṣaṭ*; 5. *agní-m ā́3-vah-da.*

8.2.92 agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇé pára-sya ca

In an order given to the priest to kindle the sacrificial fire (agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇ-é) [a substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched 82 replaces the first syllable 91] as well as the one following it [pára-sya ca] [in a sacrificial action 88].

á3-śrā́3v-ay-a/ó3 śrā́3v-ay-a 'announce!'.

8.2.93 vibhāṣā pr̥ṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é he-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces the syllabic of particle hi occurring at the end of a response to a question (pr̥ṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é).

á-kar-ṣ-ī-ḥ káṭa-ṁ deva-dat-ta? á-kār-ṣ-aṁ hí3/hi 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have made (it) indeed!'.

8.2.94 ni-gr̥h-ya=anu-yog-é ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 optionally 93 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which repeats something which has been refuted (ni-gr̥h-ya=anu-yog-é: i.e., in a manner of reproach, after it has been refuted).

á-ni-tya-ḥ śábda-ḥ itý āttʰá3/āttha 'thus you pretend that the word is not eternal!'.

8.2.95 ā́-mreḍ-i-ta-m bhárts-an-e

[A substitute prolated vowel with high pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of an ā́mreḍita (1.2) to denote a threat (bhárts-an-e).

caúra caurá3! vŕ̥ṣala vr̥ṣalá3! dásyo dasyó3! ghāt-áy-i-ṣyā-mi tvā 'I will have you punished, O thief/O vagrant/O slave!'.

8.2.96 aṅgá-yuk-ta-ṁ tiṄ ā-kāṅkṣ-á-m

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal (tiṄ) [padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] an l-substitute (tiṄ), co-occurring with th particle aṅgá [to denote a threat 95] which is dependent on another to complete the sense (ā-kāṅkṣ-á-m).

aṅgá kūj-á3/vy-ā-har-á3 idā́nīṁ jñā-sya-si jālma 'well, go on crying. O wretch, you will soon know'; cf. 8.1.33.

8.2.97 vi-cār-yá-m-āṇā-n-ām

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] denoting a deliberation of choice (vi-cār-yá-m-āṇā-n-ām).

ho-tavya-ṁ dīkṣ-itá-sya gṛhā́3i (107) *na ho-tavyá3-m?* 'should one offer an oblation at the house of the consecrated person or not?' In the form *gṛh-é (= gṛh-á+Ṅi)*, by 107 below the first half of the diphthong is replaced by the pluta and the second half by short vowel *i*.

8.2.98 pū́rva-ṁ tu bhāṣā́-y-ām

In current speech (bhāṣā́-y-ām) [a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 replaces the syllable beginning with the last syllable 82] of the first (pū́rva-ṁ alternative only) [when denoting a choice of deliberation 97].

áhi-r nú3 rájju-r nu? '(is this) a snake or a rope?'

8.2.99 prati-śráv-aṇ-e ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which is a response to a promise (prati-śráv-aṇ-e) or agreement.

gā́-m me de-hi bhoḥ: ahám te da-dā-mí3 'give me the promised cow; I am giving it to you'. The word [prati-śrav-aṇa-] also means 'hearkening': *déva-dat-ta bhoḥ!: kím āt-thá3?* 'O Devadatta, what have you been saying?'

8.2.100 án-udāttam [1]praś-na=antá=[2]abhí-pūj-i-tay-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] which is low-pitched (ánudāttam) replaces [the final syllable of an utterance 82] denoting a question (praśnāntá-°) or a praise (°-abhí-pūj-i-tay-oḥ).

a-gam-à3ḥ pūrvà3n grāmà3n agni-bhūtā3i/paṭā3u 'Have you gone to the eastern villages, O Agnibhūta? / O wise one?' Cf. 105 below for the svaritá accent and 107 for the accentuation on diphthongs.

8.2.101 cid iti ca upa-mā=arth-é pra-yuj-yá-m-ān-e

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 which is low-pitched 100 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] co-occurring with the particle cit, denoting comparison (upamā=arth-é).

> *agni-cit bhā-yā3t* 'may he shine like Agni' but *katham-cid āh-uḥ* 'they seldom speak'.

8.2.102 upári-svid ās-ī3-t=iti ca

The expression *upárisvid āsī3t* is introduced [with a substitute prolated vowel 82 with low-pitch 100 replacing the syllable beginning with the last of this utterance 82].

> *adhaḥ svid ās-ī́3t upári svid ās-ī3t* (RV 10.129.5) 'was perhaps below, was perhaps above'.

8.2.103 svar-i-tám ā́-mreḍ-i-t-e [1]asūyā́=[2]sam-má-ti-[3]kópa-[4]kúts-ane-ṣu

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] with svaritá accent replaces [the syllable beginning with the last vowel of a reduplicated 1.1 vocative occurring at the beginning of an utterance 1.8 before 1.1.66] the āmreḍita (= the following 1.2 vocative 1.8) to denote envy (asūyā́), praise (sam-má-ti), anger (kópa) or blame (kútsana).

1. *asūyā́: abhi-rūpa-kà3 abhi-rūpa-ka, rik-tá-m te ā́bhi-rūp-ya-m* 'O handsome one! vain is your handsome appearance'.
2. *sam-má-ti: māṇavakà3 māṇavaka śóbh-ana-ḥ khálv as-i* 'O lad, you are distinguished'.
3. *kópa: a-vi-nī-ta-kà3 a-vi-nī-ta-ka idā́nīṁ jnā-sya-si jālma* 'O wretch, you will soon know'.
4. *kútsana: śāktī-kà3 śāktīka rik-tā́ te śák-ti-ḥ* 'O missile-bearer, worthless is your missile'.

8.2.104 [1]kṣiyā́=[2]āśís-[3]praiṣé-ṣu tiṄ ā-kāṅkṣ-á-m

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal [padá 1.16] which is dependent (on another finite verb to complete the sense: tiṄ ā-kāṅkṣá-m) to denote an offence against established custom (kṣiyā́- °), a benediction (° -āśís- °) or a command (° -praiṣé-ṣu).

1. *svayáṁ ráth-ena yā-tì3 upādhyāyá-m padáti-ṁ gam-ay-a-ti* (1.60).
2. *sut-ā́-ṁ-ś ca lap-sī̱-tà3 dhána-ṁ ca tāta* 'may you win sons as well as wealth'.
3. *káṭa-ṁ ku-rù3 grā́ma-ṁ ca gacch-a* 'make a mat and go to the village'.

8.2.105 án-ant-ya-sya=ápi [1]praśná=[2]ā-khyā́nay-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of the non-final as well as (ápi) [the final padás of an utterance 82] when denoting a question (praśná- °) or a narration (° -ā-khyā́-nay-oḥ).

a-gam-à3-ḥ pūrvā́3n grāmà3n agni-bhūtà3i? (cf. 100 above).
a-gam-à3-ḥ pūrvà3n grāmsā́3n bhò3ḥ.

8.2.106 plu-t-aú aiC-aḥ iT=uT-au

A substitute prolated vowel [introduced by 84ff.] replaces the phonemes i(T) or u(T) of the diphthongs denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au) [respectively 1.3.10].

aí3tikāyana! aú3pagava! (207) where the diphthongs are considered to be four mātrā-s duration.

8.2.107 eC-aḥ á-pra-gr̥h-ya-sya=á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e pū́rva-sya ardhá-sya=āT=úttara-sya [1]iT=[2]uT-au

[In the operations introduced by 83ff. above] except 'a call from afar' (á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e 84) relating to the non-pragr̥h-ya diphthongs denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [a substitute prolated vowel 82] ā(T) replaces their first half (pū́rva-sya) and i(T), u(T) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the second half (of e/ai and o/au).

This results in [ā3i] for e/ai or [ā3u] for o/au with high or low pitch, and [ā3i] for e/ai and [ā3u] for o/au with svaritá accent (106).

By a vā́rttika the operation, however, is restricted to 83,90,97 and 100. Exception: *mālā+au* = *mālā+Śī* (7.1.18) = *māl-e3* (1.1.11).

8.2.108 tay-or [1]y-[2]v-au aC-i sáṁ-hi-tā-y-ām

In continuous utterance (sáṁ-hi-tā-y-ām) the substitute phonemes y and v [respectively 1.3.10] replace them (tay-oḥ = iT, uT 107) [before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i).

When *agne+āśā́* occur together under the context of 97 or 100 above: *agnā́3i āśā́/agnā3i āśā = agnā́3y āśā́/agnā3y āśā* etc.

The word [sáṁ-hitā-y-ām] 'in continuous utterance' forms a governing rule till the end of this chapter in the next two pādá-s.

8.3.1 ¹matU-²vásO-ḥ rU sam-búd-dh-au chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the substitute phoneme rU replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] matU(P) and (K)vásU [before 1.1.66] the vocative singular sUP triplet [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *índra marutvaḥ i-há pā-hi sóma-m* 'O Indra, accompanied by Maruts, drink Soma here': *marút+matuP+sU* = *marut+vant+s* (7.1.71) *marut-vant+∅* (6.1.68) = *marut-van∅* (2.23) = *marut-varU* = *marut-vaḥ* (15) (RV 3.51.7).
2. *mī́ḍh-vas tokā́-ya tánayā-ya mr̥̥l-a* 'O bountiful one, be gracious to our children': *mih+KvásU* = *miḍh+vás* (2.31) = *mīḍh-vas* (6.1.12)+*sU* (voc.) = *mī́ḍh-vans+s* (7.1.70 +*sU*) = *mī́ḍh-vans+∅* (6.1.68) = *mī́ḍh-van∅* (2.23) = *mī́ḍh-varU* = *mī́ḍh-vaḥ* (15)+*tokā́ya* = *mī́ḍh-vas tokā́-ya* (34).

8.3.2 á-tra ánu-nāsika-ḥ pū́rva-sya tu vā

Here (á-tra = in the sub-section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 12 below, the following governing rule recurs:) But (tu) a nasalised (vowel: ánu-nāsika-ḥ) optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme preceding (pū́rva-sya) [the phoneme which is the substituendum of rU 1, in continuous utterance 2.108].

Thus, in continuous utterance *sam+kr̥Ñ* = *sam+suṯ+kr̥-* (6.1.137) = *sarU+s-kr̥-* (5) *sã̄ḥ-s-kr̥-* (15) = *sã̄s-s-kr̥-* (34).

8.3.3 āT-aḥ=aṬ-i nítya-m

[A substitute nasalized vowel 2] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [preceding rU 2 before 1.1.66] the phonemes denoted by the siglum aṬ (vowels and h, y, v and r) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Rule 9 below introduces the substitute [rU] for padá-final [°-n]: *mahā́n as-i* = *mahā́rU as-i* = *mahā́y as-i* (17) *mahā̃ as-i* (19).

8.3.4 ánu-nāsik-āt pára-ḥ anu-svār-á-ḥ

The increment ṁ (anu-svārá-ḥ) is inserted after (pára-ḥ) [the vowel preceding 2 rU 1 when the substitute nasalized vowel does not optionally replace the vowel before rU 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

sám+kr̥-N = *sám+suṯ+kr̥* = *sárU-s-kr̥* = *saṁrU+s-kr̥-* = *sáṁ-ḥ-s-kr̥-* (15) = *sáṁ-s-s-kr̥-* (36) = *sáṁ-s-s-kr̥-*.

8.3.5 sám-aḥ su̱Ṭ-i

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the preverb] sám-° [before 1.1.66] the initial increment su̱Ṭ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Ex. cited under 2-4 above.

8.3.6 púm-aḥ kha̱Y-i=aM-par-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púm- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops (kha̱Y-i) followed by phonemes denoted by the siglum aM (= vowels, semivowels or nasal stops).

[púm-] here represents a part of the full stem [púṁs-] when it is padá-final, since padá-final [s] following [m] is replaced by ∅ (2.23). *puṁs-í kām-á-ḥ a-syā́ḥ* = *puṁs*+$\emptyset^1$+*kām-a*+*ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *púm∅*+*kām-ā* = *púrU*+*kāmā* = *púṁrU-kāmā* (4) = *púṁs-kāmā* (34)/*pū́s-kāmā* (2) 'desiring the male' (by a vārttika 37 is blocked).

8.3.7 n-as=cha̱V-i á-pra-śān

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] n [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum chaV (= ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, and t) [followed by a vowel, semivowel or nasal stops 6] excluding that of the expression pra-śān [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bháv-ān ci-no-ti = *bhávārU ci-no-ti* = *bhávāṁrU ci-no-ti* (2, 4) = *bhávāṁs ci-no-ti* (34) = *bhávāṁś ci-no-ti* (4.41)/*bhávā̃ś ci-no-ti; bhávāṁś/bhávā̃ś chād-ay-a-ti; bhávāṁṣ/bhávā̃ṣ ṭīk-a-te; bhávāṁs/bhávā̃s tar-a-ti.* But *praśān chād-ay-a-ti* etc.

8.3.8 ubha-yá-thā ṛk-ṣú

In the domain of Ṛgveda both (ubha-yá-thā) [n 7 or its replacement rU 1] occur [in continuous utterance 2.108 before 1.1.66 the phonemes ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, or t followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal stop 7].

tá-smin/tá-smīs/tá-smiṁ-s tvā da-dhā-ti. 7 above is made optional in the domain of RV.

8.3.9 dīrgh-ā́t aṬ-i sa-mānā́-pad-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 occurring after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28 : dīrgh-ā́t) [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum aṬ (vowels and h, y, v or r) within the same quarter [of a r̥k 8].

The word [ubhayá-thā 8] recurs in this rule, so that the alternate form retains the original padá-final [n]: *ādit-yā́n yāc-i-ṣā-mahe* (RV 8.67.1); *mahā́n índro yá ójas-ā* (RV 8.6.1) 'Indra, majestic in power': *(mahā́rU índra-ḥ = mahā́y índra-ḥ = mahā́/mahā́ṁ índra-ḥ): mahā̃ índro yá ój-as-ā*.

8.3.10 nr̥̄́-n p-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal 4.1.1 padá 1.16] nr̥̄́n [before 1.1.66] initial phoneme p-° (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nr̥̄́n pā-hi/prī-ṇī-hi = nr̥̄́rU → nr̥̄́ḥ = nr̥̄́ṁḥ pā-hi/prī-ṇī-hi 'protect/love men'.

8.3.11 svátavān pāy-au

[The substitute phoneme rU replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal padá 1.16] svátavān [before 1.1.66] the expression pāy-ú- 'protector' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

svátavāḥ pāy-ú-r agne (RV 4.2.6) 'a powerful protector, O Agni': *svátavārU pāy-úr agne = svátavā̃ḥ pāy-ú-r agne*.

8.3.12 kā́n ā́mreḍit-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the padá final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal padá 1.16] kā́n [before 1.1.66], its ā́mreḍita, [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kā́n+kān = kā́rU+kān = kā́ṁḥ+kān (4;15) = *kā́ṁs-kān/kā̃s-kān* (2).

8.3.13 ḍh-aḥ ḍh-e lóp-a-ḥ

Substitute lópa (∅) replaces the phoneme ḍh (before 1.1.66) phoneme ḍh [in continuous utterance 2.108].

In spite of the governing rule 1.16, since phoneme [ḍh] occurring as padá-final is covered by 2.39, the present rule applies only to a non-padá-final context.

lih+Ktá = *liḍh+tá* (2.31) = *liḍh+dhá-* (2.40) = *liḍh+ḍhá-* (4.41) = *li∅-ḍhá-* = *līḍhá-* 'licked'. The governing meta-rule 2.1 does not apply here, since this particular situation is specificially made explicit by 6.3.11 whereby the preceding member denoted by the siglum [aṆ = a, i, u] is replaced by the corresponding long vowel.

8.3.14 r-aḥ r-i

[Substitute lópa (∅) replaces padá 1.16 final phoneme 13] r [before 1.1.66] (another phoneme) r (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *r+r: nír+rak-tá-* = *nī́∅-rak-ta-* (6.3.111) 'colorless, faded'; *dúr+rak-ta-* = *dū́∅-rak-ta-* 'badly dyed'; 2. *rU+r: agni+sU+ratha+sU* = *agnirU+ratharU* = *agnī-ratha-ḥ* (15). 3. Also operates within a padá: *spardh+yaṄ-luK* = *pā-spardh+yaṄ-luK* (7.4.83)+*lAṄ* = *áT+pā-spardh+∅*[1]*+siP* = *á-pā-spardh+∅* (6.1.68) = *á-pā-spard* (2.39) = *á-pā-sparrU* (2.75) = *á-pā-spā∅ḥ* (15).

8.3.15 [1]khaR=[2]ava-sā́-nayo-r vi-sarj-anī́ya-ḥ

The substitute visarjanī́ya (= ḥ) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.51 phoneme r 14 before 1.1.66] unvoiced consonants (khaR-°) or at pausa (°-ava-sā́-nay-oḥ).

vṛkṣá+sU+chid+yaK+te = *vṛkṣá+rU+chid-ya-te* (2.66) = *vṛ́kṣaḥ chid-ya-te* = *vṛ́kṣas chid-ya-te* (34) = *vṛ́kṣaś chid-ya-te* (4.40) 'the tree is being cut'. In pausa: *rāmá+sU* = *rāmá+rU* = *rāmá-ḥ; gir+sU* = *gir+∅* = *gī-ḥ* (2.76).

8.3.16 rO-ḥ suP-i

[The substitute visarjanī́ya 15 replaces] the substitute phoneme rU [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] suP [locative plural].

páyas+suP = *páyarU+su* = *páyaḥ-su* 'in/on milk/water' but *gir+su* = *gīr-ṣu* (2.76; 3.59).

8.3.17 [1]bho=[2]bhago=[3]agho=[4]a-pūrva-sya ya-ḥ aŚ-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [substitute phoneme rU 16] co-occurring with bhos 'an interjection', bhagos 'illustrious', aghos 'sinner' or phoneme-class /a/ [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum aŚ (= voiced phonemes) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhos á-tra = bhorU á-tra (2.66) *= bhoy á-tra = bhoØ á-tra* (19); *bhago a-tra/agho á-tra. ká+sU ās-te = kárU ās-te = káy ās-te = ká ās-te* 'who is sitting?'; *brāhmaṇá+Jas ās-ate = brāhmaṇā́rU ās-ate = brāmaṇā́y ās-ate = brāhmaṇā́ ās-ate* 'brahmins are sitting'.

8.3.18 ¹v-²y-or laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-ḥ śākaṭāyaná-sya

The substitute glide phonemes v and y [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the padá 1.1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes v (resulting from 6.1.78) and y (resulting from 6.1.78 as well as from 17 above) before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17]d according to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná.

[laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-] 'more lightly pronounced, requiring lax articulation = a glide sound'. *bho^y/bhago^y/agho^y á-tra; ká^y ās-te; asā́^{v} ādityá-ḥ.*

8.3.19 lóp-a-ḥ śā́kalya-sya

The substitute lópa (Ø) replaces [padá 2.26 final 1.1.52 phonemes v and y (resulting from 17 above as well as from 6.1.78) 18 before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to Śā́kalya.

bho/bhago/agho á-tra; ká ās-te; asā́ aditya-ḥ; a-smā́ ud-dhar-a.

8.3.20 oT-aḥ gā́rg-ya-sya

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme y 18 after 1.1.67 the phoneme] o(T) [before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Gā́rgya.

Examples as in 19 above.

8.3.21 uÑ-i ca pad-é

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes v and y (resulting from 17 above and 6.1.78) 18] also [before 1.1.66] the padá uÑ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

tád+sU = táa+sU (7.2.102) *= tá+sU* (6.1.97) *= sá+s* (7.2.106)+*u ek-ā-gni-ḥ/eka-viṁśati-ḥ = sárU u = sáy u = sáØ u = sá u ék-ā-gni-ḥ/éka-viṁśati-ḥ/eka-viṁśá-vart-ani-ḥ* (MS 2.7.20).

8.3.22 haL-i sárve-ṣām

[The substitute lópa (∅) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme y 18 (resulting from 17 above) before 1.1.66] a consonant (haL-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108] according to all grammarians.

bho/bhago/agho/kó has-a-ti; brāhmaṇā́ has-anti.

8.3.23 m-aḥ anu-svār-á-ḥ

The substitute ṁ (anu-svār-á-ḥ) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m [before 1.1.66 consonants 22 in continuous utterance 2.108].

vána+am+gacch-a-ti = *ván-a-ṁ gacch-a-ti* (6.1.107) 'goes to the forest'; *pums+suP* = *pum∅+sú* (2.23) = *puṁ-sú* but *gam+yáK+te* = *gam-yá-te* (non-padá-final).

8.3.24 n-aś ca á-pada=anta-sya jhaL-i

[The substitute anu-svār-á ṁ 23] also replaces a non-padá-final (á-pad-ā-nta-sya) phoneme n as well as (ca) [m 23 before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum jhaL (= a non-nasal consonant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. n: *páyas+Śi* (7.1.20) = *páya-nuM-s+i* (7.1.72) = *páyāns-i* (6.4.8) = *páyāṁs-i* 'milks/waters'.
2. m: *ā́+kram+sya+te* = *ā́-kraṁ-sya-te* 'will be overcome', but *han-yá-te/gam-yá-te*.

8.3.25 ma-ḥ rāj-i sám-aḥ Kv-au

The substitute phoneme m replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 of the particle] sám-° [before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] rā́j- 'rule, govern', co-occurring with [the affix 3.1.1] Kvi(P) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exception to 23. *sám+rā́j+KviP* (4.3.61)+*sU* = *sam-rā́j+∅* (6.1.68) = *sam-rā́ṣ* (2.36) = *sam-rā́ṭ* (2.39; 4.56).

8.3.26 h-e má-par-e vā

[The substitute phoneme m 25] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 before 1.1.66] phoneme h- co-occurring before m [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kím/kíṁ mhal-ay-a-ti 'what is he shaking?'

8.3.27 ná̲-par-e na̲-ḥ

The substitute phoneme n [optionally 26 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 before 1.1.66 phoneme h 26] co-occurring before phoneme n [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kíṁ/kín hnu-te 'what is he taking away?'

8.3.28 [1]ṅ-[2]ṇ-oḥ [1]ku̲K-[2]ṭu̲K śa̲R-i

[Final increments 1.1.46] ku̲K and ṭu̲K [respectively 1.3.10] are [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes °-ṅ and °-ṇ [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum śa̲R (= sibilant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. °-ṅ: *prā́ñc+sU = prā́ñc+∅* (6.1.68) = *prā́ñ∅* (2.23) = *prā́ṅ + śe-te = prā́ṅ+ku̲K śe-te = prā́ṅk śe-te* 'lies down facing east'. 2. °-ṇ: *vaṇ śe-te = vaṇṭ śe-te*.

8.3.29 ḍ-aḥ s-i dhu̲Ṭ

[An initial increment 1.1.46] dhu̲Ṭ is [optionally 26 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 phoneme] s-° [after 1.1.67 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-ḍ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mádhu le-ḍhi = madhu+líh+Kvi̲P (3.2.76)+*sU = madhu-líh+∅* (6.1.68) = *mudhu-líḍh* (2.31) = *madhu-líḍ* (2.39) *sīd-a-ti = madhu-líḍ+dhu̲Ṭ-sīd-da-ti = madhu-líṭ+tsīd-a-ti/sīd-a-ti* (4.42,55).

8.3.30 n-aś ca

[An initial increment 1.1.46 dhu̲Ṭ 29 is optionally 26 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 the phoneme s-° 29 after 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme °-n also (ca) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mahát+sU = mahá-n-t+sU (7.1.20) = *mahā́nt+∅* (6.1.68; 4.10) = *mahā́n∅* (2.23)+*sarp-á-ḥ = mahā́n dhsarpá-ḥ/sarp-á-ḥ = mahā́n tsarpá-ḥ/sarpá-ḥ* (4.55).

8.3.31 ś-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a padá 1.16 terminating in 1.1.72 phoneme n 30 before 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] phoneme ś- ° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhávān śe-te/bhávān+tuK śe-te = *bhávāñ-c se-te* (4.40) = *bhávāñc che-te* (4.63) 'your honor is lying down'.

8.3.32 ṅaM-aḥ=hrasv-ā́t aC-i ṅaMuṬ nítya-m

[An initial increment 1.1.46] denoted by the siglum ṅaM (= ṅ, ṇ, n) is [respectively 1.3.10 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) [after 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum ṅaM(= ṅ, ṇ, n) [occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-ā́t: vowel 1.2.28) necessarily (nítya-m).

1. *praty-áṅ ās-te* = *praty-áṅ+ṅās-te* 'sits facing east'.
2. *sugáṇ ās-te* = *sugáṇ-ṇās-te* 'the accountant is sitting'.
3. *kur-v-án ās-te* = *kur-v-án-nās-te* 'sits while performing'.

8.3.33 maY-aḥ uÑ-aḥ va-ḥ vā

The substitute phoneme v optionally (vā) replaces the particle uÑ [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant denoted by the siglum maY (= other than a semivowel, palatal nasal or aspirant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

śám u as-tu védi-ḥ/śam v as-tu védi-ḥ 'may the sacrificial altar be propitious'. *tád u/v á-sya rétaḥ* 'that indeed is his/its seed'.

8.3.34 vi-sarj-anī́ya-sya sa-ḥ

The substitute phoneme s replaces the vi-sarj-anī́ya [before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants (khaR-i) 15 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *vr̥kṣá-ḥ chid-yda-te* (15) = *vr̥kṣá-s chid-ya-te* = *vr̥kṣá-ś chid-ya-te* (4.40) 'the tree is being cut'.
2. *vípra-ḥ* (2.66; 3.15) *tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *vípra-s tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'the sage stands'.
3. *vr̥kṣá-ḥ ṭīk-a-te* = *vr̥kṣá-s ṭīk-a-te* = *vr̥kṣá-ṣ ṭīk-a-te* (4.41) 'the tree moves'.

8.3.35 śa̱R-par-e vi-sarj-anī́ya-ḥ

A substitute ḥ (vi-sarj-anī́ya-h) replaces [a visarjanī́ya before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants 15] co-occurring before sibilants (śa̱R-par-e) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

púruṣa-ḥ kṣīrá-m pib-a-ti 'man drinks milk/water'; *śóbh-ana-ḥ tsáru-ḥ* 'beautiful hilt'; *ghanāghaná-ḥ kṣóbh-aṇa-ś carṣaṇī-nā́m* (RV 10.103.1) 'striking down and agitating people'.

By stipulating a visarjanīja as the substitute, its allomorphs jihvā-mūlī́ya and upa-dhmā-nī́ya are blocked out, cf. 37 below.

8.3.36 vā śa̱R-i

[A substitute visarjanī́ya (ḥ) 35] optionally (vā) replaces [a visarjanī́ya 34 before 1.1.66] sibilants (śa̱R-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vr̥kṣá-ḥ/vr̥kṣá-ś śe-te (4.40); *plakṣá-ḥ/plakṣá-ṣ ṣaṇḍ-e* (4.41); *sáraḥ/sáras sar-a-ti* 'the tree sleeps/the Plakṣa tree in the forest/the stream flows'.

8.3.37 [1]kU-[2]pV-oḥ [1]Xk-[2]Xp-au ca

The substitute phonemes Xk (= jihva-mūl-ī́ya-) and Xp (upa-dhmā-nī́ya-) [in addition to a visarjanī́ya (ḥ) 35 respectively 1.3.10 replace a visarjanī́ya 34 before 1.1.66] velar and labial stops (kU-pV-oh).

The t.t. jihvā-mūlī́ya is derived by 4.3.62. *nára-ḥ/nára-Xk kar-o-ti* 'the man makes'; *nára-ḥ/nára-Xp pac-a-ti* 'the man cooks'.

8.3.38 sa̱-ḥ á-pada-ād-au

The substitute phoneme s replaces [a visarjanī́ya (ḥ) before 1.1.66 velar and palatal stops 37] which do not occur as initials of padá-s (á-pada=ād-au) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Only affixes are intended by this restriction (á-padādau), and they are: *pāśaP* (5.3.47), *kalpaP* (5.3.67), *ká* (5.3.70) and *kāmyáC* (3.1.9).

páyas+kalpaP = *páyaḥ-kalpaP* (2.66; 3.15) = *páyas-kalpa-* 'like or resembling milk'; similarly *payas-kām-yá-ti* 'desires milk'; *páyas-pāśa-* 'inferior or adulterated milk'; *payas-ká-* 'milk'. But *páya-Xk kām-ay-a-te/páya-Xp pib-a-ti* (37).

8.3.39 iṆ²-aḥ ṣa-ḥ

The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ replaces [a visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a phoneme denoted by the siglum iṆ² [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 which are not initial of a padá 38, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The siglum iṆ² is derived with the second IT marker Ṇ² of SS 6 [lAṆ²] and includes all vowels other than the phoneme class a, the voiced aspirant h and the semivowels. But the phonemes really involved are the vowels other than phoneme-class a, and the semivowel r with which alone s occurs as a posterior member of a cluster or conjunct. *sarpis+pāśa-/kalpa-/ká/kām-yá-ti* = *sarpiṣ-pāśa/kalpa-/ká-/kām-yá-ti*, but *hári-ḥ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti=hari-Xk kar-o-ti/hari-Xp pac-a-ti*.

8.3.40 ¹námas-²purás-or gáty-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 of] the gati (1.4.60) particles nám-as 'homage' and pur-ás- 'in front' (i.e., functioning as gáti 1.4.67,74) [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

In the section beginning here the expressions "the substitute phoneme dental sibilant s" (38) and "the substitute phoneme retroflex sibilant ṣ preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iṆ²" (39) recur as governing rules. A visarjanīya following iṆ² will be replaced by retroflex ṣ while the dental s will replace the phoneme s.

nám-as+kar-tum = *nám-arU+kár-tum* (2.66) = *namaḥ-kártum* (15) = *nam-as-kár-tum* 'to salute, bow down'; similarly *puras-kṛ+tumuN* = *pur-as-kár-tum* 'to place before or in front'. But *púr+Śas+kar-o-ti* = *púr-aḥ/púr-aXk kar-o-ti* (37) 'builds cities'.

8.3.41 ¹iT=²úT=upa-dha-sya ca á-praty-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s] other than affixes, containing phonemes short i(T) or u(T) as penultimate [before 1.1.66 velar or labial stops 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule pertains to [gáti- 40] particles *nís-, dús-, dúr-, bahís-, āvís-, catús-* and *prādús-*.

1. *nis+kṛ-ta-* = *nírU+kṛ-ta-* = *níḥ-kṛ-ta-* = *níṣ-kṛ-ta-* 'expelled'; similarly *níṣ-pī-ta-* 'drunk up'. In like manner:
2. *dúṣ-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'badly done/drunk'; 3. *bahíṣ-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'expelled/drunk outside the house'; 4. *āvíṣ-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'manifested/quietly drunk'; 5. *cátuṣ-kaparda-* 'having four tufts' (RV 10.114.3); *cátuṣ-pañcāśat* 'fifty-four'; 6. *prādúṣ-kṛ-ta-* 'made visible' but *hari-ḥ kar-o-ti/pib-a-ti*.

8.3.42 tirás-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute dental sibilant s 38] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ of the gáti 40 particle] tirás 'across' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

tirah-kṛ́-t-ya/kár-tum : *tiras-kṛ́-t-ya/kár-tum* 'having despised/to despise', but *tiráḥ kṛ-tvā́ kā́ṇḍa-m ga-tá-h* 'placing the log along he went'.

8.3.43 [1]dvís-[2]trís-[3]catúr iti kṛtvás=arth-e

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 38 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of] dvís 'twice', trís 'thrice' and catúr 'four times' when denoting the sense of [the affix 3.1.1] kṛtvás (5.4.17,20) 'times' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

dvíḥ/dvíṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti; tríḥ/tríṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti; catúḥ (15)/*catúṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti* but *cátuṣ-kaparda-/cátuṣ-pad-* 'quadruped'.

8.3.44 [1]is=[2]us-oḥ sā́marth-y-e

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 39 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] °-is or °-us [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.1.108] standing in correlation with each other (sā́marth-y-e).

sarpíḥ (15; 2.66)/*sarpíṣ kar-o-ti* 'makes clarified butter'. But *tíṣṭh-a-tu sarpíḥ, píb-a tvám udaká-m* 'let the clarified butter stand; drink thou water'. *yájuḥ/yájuṣ kar-o-ti* 'performs a sacrifice'.

8.3.45 nítya-ṁ sam-ās-é án-uttara-pada-stha-sya

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 39] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 °-is or °-us 44] in a compound (sam-ās-é), provided it is not (itself) a posterior member (án-uttara-pada-stha-sya) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

sarpiṣ-kuṇḍ-ik-ā́ 'butter jar', but *parama-sarpiḥ-kuṇḍ-ik-ā́; dhánuṣ-pāṇi-* 'archer, wielder of a bow' but *parama-dhanuḥ-kapālá-*.

8.3.46 aT-aḥ ¹kṛ-²kámi̱-³kaṁsá-⁴kumbhá-⁵pā́tra-⁶kuśā́-⁷kárṇī-ṣu án-a-vy-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 necessarily 45 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of a padá 1.16] other than an indeclinable (án-avyaya-sya), containing short vowel a(T) [as penultimate 41, before 1.1.66 the verbal stems] kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10) and kám- 'love' (I 470) [and nominal stems 4.1.1] kaṁsá- 'goblet', kumbhá- 'goblet, jar', pā́tra- 'vessel', kuśā́ 'small piece of wood' and karṇī́ 'a kind of shaft, rudder' [in a compound, provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

áyaḥ kar-o-ti = *áyas+∅¹+kṛ+áN* (3.2.1) = *ayas+kār-á-* = *ayarU-kār-á-* (2.66) = *ayaḥ-kār-á-* (15) = *ayas-kār-á-* 'blacksmith'; similarly: *ayas-kām-á-* 'iron-smith'; *ayas-kaṁsá-* 'a kind of iron weapon or an iron goblet'; *ayas-kumbhá-* 'iron pitcher'; *ayas-pātrá-* 'iron vessel'; *ayas-kuśā́* 'iron peg' and *áyas-karṇī* '(a vessel) having an iron handle' , but *púnar kar-o-ti* = *punaḥ-kār-á-* (3.2.1) 'repetition', *yaśaḥ kar-o-ti* (un-compounded) and *param-ā-yaḥ-kār-á-* 'a great black-smith'.

8.3.47 ¹adhás=²śíras-ī pad-é

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ of the padá-s 1.16] adhás 'below' and śíras- 'head [in composition with 45 the nominal stem 4.1.1] padá- 'place' [provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

adhas-padá-m 'the lower place or part'; *śiras-padá-m* 'the upper place or part'; but *param-ā-dhaḥ-padá-m/parama-śiraḥ-pada-m*.

8.3.48 kas-ka=ādi-ṣu ca

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 or retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s 1.16 in composition 45] of the class of compounds beginning with kas-ka- 'which of them?' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

kím+sU+kím+sU = *ká-s+ká-s* = *ká-ḥ-ká-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *ká-s-ka-ḥ* 'which of them?'; similarly *kú-tas-ku-taḥ* 'from which place or direction?'; *bhrā́tṛ+Ṅas+putra+sU* = *bhrātur* (6.1.111) *-putra-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *bhrātuṣ-putrá-ḥ* 'brother's son, nephew'.

8.3.49 chándas-i vā á[1]pra=[2]āmreḍitay-oḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 of another padá 1.16 in continuous utterance 2.108] excluding the preverb particle prá- ° or an ā́mreḍita.

ayas-pātrá-/ayaḥ-pātrá- 'iron vessel', but *agní-ḥ pra-vidvā́n* 'Agni, the wise one' (AV 5.26.1); *ágne trātar r̥-tá-s/r̥-tá-ḥ kaví-ḥ* (RV 6.60.5) 'O protector Agni, thou art respected and wise'. *páruṣaḥ paruṣas pári* (MS 2.7.15.214).

8.3.50 [1]ká-ḥ-[2]kár-a-t-[3]kár-a-ti-[4]kr̥-dhí-[5]kr̥-té-ṣu án-adite-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 before 1.1.66 the padá-s 1.16] káḥ, kár-a-t, kár-a-ti, kr̥-dhí and kr̥-tá- excluding that of [the padá 1.16] of áditi- [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *kaḥ = kr̥+lUṄ = kr̥+Cli+t = kŕ̥+∅*[1] (2.4.80)+*t = kár-t = kar∅* (2.23) = *kaḥ* (15) : *viśvá-tas+kaḥ = viśvá-taḥ kaḥ = viśvá-tas kaḥ* 'performed all around'.
2. *kár-a-t = kr̥+lUṄ = kr̥+aṄ+t = kár-a-t : viśvá-taḥ+kár-a-t viśvá-tas kar-a-t* 'ibid'. In both these examples the initial augment [áT] is replaced by ∅ (6.4.75).
3. *kár-a-ti = kr̥+ŚaP+tiP = kár-a-ti : viśvá-tas kar-a-ti.*
4. *kr̥-dhí = kr+lOT+siP = kr̥-hí* (3.4.87) = *kr̥-dhí* (6.4.102) : *urú ṇas kr̥-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'make us great'.
5. *sádas-i kr̥-tá-m = sádas+∅*[1]*+kr̥-ta-m = sádaḥ-kr̥-ta-m = sád-as-kr̥-ta-m* 'made at the sacrifice', but *yá-thā no áditiḥ kár-a-t* (RV 1.43.2).

8.3.51 pañcamy-āḥ pár-au adhy-arth-é

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ resulting from] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-ā́ḥ = ṄasI) [before 1.1.66] the particle pári denoting the sense of ádhi (adhy-arth-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

div-ás pári prathamá-ṁ ja-jñ-e (RV 10.45.1) 'was born first above the heaven'; *agní-r himá-vat-as pári* 'fire above the snow-clad mountain' (AV 4.9.9); but *áhi-r iva bhog-aíḥ páry-e-ti bāhú-m* (RV 6.75.14) 'like a snake, coils around the arm' (instr. plur.); when not having the meaning of *ádhi: div-ás pr̥thivy-ā́ḥ páry ója úd=bhr̥-ta-m* (RV 6.47.27) 'power was raised up all around heaven and earth'.

8.3.52 pā́-t-au ca bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the fifth sUP triplet (ṄasI) 52] variously (bahulá-m) [before 1.1.66 the verbal padá 1.16] pā́-tu 'may he protect' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *div-ás pā-tu* 'may he protect from heaven' (RV 10.158.1) but *pari-ṣád-aḥ pā-tu* (15.266) 'may he protect from the assembly'.

8.3.53 ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ḥ [1]páti-[2]putrá-[3]pṛṣṭhá-[4]pārá-[5]padá-[6]páyas-[7]póṣe-ṣu

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-ā́ḥ = Ṅas) [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] páti- 'master, lord, husband', putrá- 'son', pṛṣṭhá- 'back', pārá- 'beyond, across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk', and póṣa- 'prosperity' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *vāc-ás-pá-ti-ṁ viśvá-karmān-am ū-táy-e* (RV 10.81.7) 'to the lord of speech, Viśvá-karman, for protection'; *div-ás-putrā́-ya sū́ryā-ya* (RV 10.37.1) 'to Sūrya, son of heaven'; *div-ás pṛṣṭh-é dhā́v-a-m-āna-ṁ su-parṇá-m* (AV 13.2.37) 'Suparṇa, soaring up on the back of Heaven'; *á-gan-ma támas-as pārá-m* 'we have gone beyond darkness' (VS 12.73); *iḷ-ás pad-é sám-idh-ya-se* 'thou art kindled at the sacrificial altar'; *sū́rya-ṁ cákṣu-r div-ás páyaḥ* 'to Sūrya, the eye and milk of Heaven'; *rāy-ás póṣa-ṁ yáj-a-m-āne-ṣu dhār-a-ya* (RV 10.122.8) 'bestow on the sacrificers increasing wealth'; but *mánu-ḥ putré-bhyo dāy-á-ṁ vy-à-bhaj-a-t* 'Manu divided (his) inheritance among (his) sons' (nom. sing.).

8.3.54 íḍā-y-āḥ vā

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the sixth sUP triplet (Ṅas) 53 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] íḍā 'oblation' [before 1.1.66 the nominal stema páti- 'lord, master, husband', putrá- 'son', pṛṣṭhá- 'back', pārá- 'across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk' and póṣa- 'prosperity' 53 in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *íḍā-y-ās/íḍā-y-āḥ+páti-ḥ/pad-é* (RV 3.23.4)/*putrá-ḥ* (RV 3.29.2), etc.

8.3.55 á-pada=anta-sya mūrdhan-yà-ḥ

The substitute retroflex (mūrdhan-yà-ḥ) [sibilant ṣ 39 replaces a phoneme] not occurring as padá-final (á-pada=anta-sya) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a governing rule beginning this section and extending up to the end of this pādá and will recur in each of the subsequent rules. By 56 below the substituendum is indicated as the dental sibilant s.

8.3.56 sáhe̱-ḥ sāḍ-aḥ s-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ 55 replaces the dental sibilant] s of the verbal stem sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) when it acquires the form sāḍ(h) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

jalá-ṁ sah-a-te = *jala+∅*[1]*+sáh+Ṇvi̱* (3.2.63) = *jalā-sáh* (6.3.137; 7.2.116)+*sU* = *jalā-sā́h+∅* (6.1.68) = *jalā-sā́ḍh* (2.31) = *jalà-ṣā́ḍ* (2.39) but *jalā-sā́h-au/as/am*.

8.3.57 [1]iṆ[2]-[2]kO-ḥ

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this Pādá, the words) [the substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ 55 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes denoted by the sigla iṆ[2] (= vowels other than a-class, semivowel r) and kU (=velar stops) [will recur in the subsequent rules].

This is also a governing rule, co-occurring with 55 above in the rest of this Pādá.

8.3.58 [1]nu̱M-[2]vi-sarj-anī́ya-[3]śa̱R-vy-av-āy-e=ápi

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant 38 s, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phonemes denoted by the sigla iṆ[2] (= vowels other than a-class and semivowel r) and kU (velar stops) 57] even when there is intervention by [the infixed increment 1.1.47] nu̱M or ḥ (°-vi-sarj-anī́ya-°) or sibilants (°-śa̱R-vy-av-āy-e api) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. nu̱M-vy-av-āy-e: *sárpis+Śi* = *sárpi-nu̱M-s+i* (7.1.72) = *sárpī-ṁ-ṣ-i* (24; 6.4.10); 2. ḥ-vy-av-āy-e: *sárpis+suP* = *sárpirU+su* (2.66) = *sárpiḥ-ṣu* (15; 4.41); 3. śa̱R-vy-av-āy-e: *sárpis+suP* = *sarpiṣ-ṣu* (36; 4.41).

This rule operates only when there is a single intervention: thus from the verbal stem *nis-I cumb-an-e* (II 15) *nis+lAṬ* = *ni-nu̱M-s+∅*[1]*+se* (7.1.58; 3.4.80) = *ni-ṁ-s-se* (24) there is double intervention [nu̱M+śa̱R] so that initial dental

sibilant s of the l-substitute [se for thās 3.4.80] is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant ṣ; similarly in the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. *ni-ṁ-s-sva*.

8.3.59 [1]ā-deś-á-[2]praty-ayáy-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56] of a replacement element (ā-deś-á-°) or of an affix (°-praty-ayáy-oḥ) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 vowels other than /a/, and semivowel r and velar stops 57 even when there is intervention by nuM, ḥ or sibilants 58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. s of a replacement element: *ṣiv-U tan-tu-sam-tā́n-e* (IV 2)+*lIṬ* = *siv+lIṬ* (6.1.64) = *si-siv+ṆaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *si-ṣév-a* (7.3.86); 2. s of an affix: *agní+suP* = *agní-ṣu*. 3. intervention by kU: *lih+lUṄ* = *áṬ+lih+Ksa+t* (3.1.45; 6.4.71) = *á-liḍh+Ksa+t* (2.31) = *á-lik-ṣa-t* (2.41). Cf. 58 above for example with intervention of nuM, ḥ and sibilants.

8.3.60 [1]śāsi-[2]vasi-[3]ghásī-n-āṁ ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stema] śās- 'rule, reach, instruct' (II 66), vas- 'abide, reside' (I 1054) and ghás- 'eat' (I 747) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel r and velar stops 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *śās+lUṄ* =*śās+Cli→aṄ* (3.1.43,56)+*t* = *áṬ+śis-a-t* (6.4.34) = *á-śiṣ-a-t* 'instructed', where the dental sibilant is neither a substitute nor an affix. 2. *vas+Ktá* = *uas+tá-* = *uas+iṬ-tá* (6.1.15; 7.2.52) = *uṣ-i-tá-* (6.1.108); 3. *ghas+lIṬ* = *ja-ghas+átus* (6.1.8; 7.34.60, 62; 8.4.54) = *ja-ghØs+átus* (6.4.98) = *jakṣ-átuḥ* (4.55).

8.3.61 [1]staú-ti-[2]Ṇy-ór evá ṣaṆ-i abhy-ās-ā́t

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57] of the reduplicated syllable [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] ṣaṆ [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] stu- 'praise' (II 34) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] Ṇí(C) only (evá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣṭuÑ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *tú-stū-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9,64; 4.16; 7.4.60; 8.3.59) = *tú-stū-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *tú-ṣṭū-ṣa-ti* (4.41) 'desires to praise'; 2. ṆíC-anta-: *ṣiv+ṆíC+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sev+i+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.1.64; 7.3.86) =

sí-sev-i+i-ṣa-a-ti (59) = *sí-sev-i+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *sí-sev-e+i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.84) = *sí-sev-ay+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78) = *sí-ṣev-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'desires to make (someone) to sew'. But *ṣic+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sí-sic+sa+a+ti* (6.1.9,64) = *sí-sik-ṣa-ti* (1.2.9; 8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to sprinkle'.

8.3.62 sa-ḥ [1]svidi̱-[2]svádi̱-[3]sáhī̱-n-āṁ ca

The substitute dental sibilant s replaces [the dental sibilant s of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57 of the reduplicated syllable 61 before 1.1.66 the retroflexed desderative marker (ṣaN-i) 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] svid- 'perspire, sweat' (II 789, IV 79), svád- 'taste' (I 18) and sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905) [ending 1.1.72 in the causative marker Ṇí(C) 61, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *svid+ṆíC+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sved+í+iṬ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (7.3.86) = *sí-sved-i-i-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.59-60; 1.1.48) = *sí-sved-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.86; 6.1.78; 97) 'makes (someone) desire to perspire'; similarly: 2. *sí-svād-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'causes (someone) to desire to taste'; 3. *sí-sāh-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'makes (someone) desire to endure'.

Exception to 61 above.

8.3.63 prā́k sit-ā́t aṬ=vy-ā́v-āy-é ápi

[In the sub-section beginning here and] prior to (prā́k) to sitá- 'bound' (70 below) [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 sibilant s 56] even (ápi) with the intervention of [the initial increment 1.1.46] áṬ (6.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 65 below, *abhí+su+Śnu+tiP* = *abhí-ṣu-ṇo-ti* (59; 4.2); *abhí+su+lAṄ* = *abhi+áṬ-su+Śnu+t* = *abhy-á-ṣu-ṇo-t*.

8.3.64 sthā=ādi-ṣu abhy-ās-éna ca abhy-ās-á-sya

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ replaces non-padá-final 55 sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with sthā- [65, in this sub-section 63-70 prior to sitá-, even with the intervention 63] of the reduplicated syllable, as well as (ca) [the dental sibilant s 56] of the reduplicated syllable.

1. *abhí+sthā+lIṬ* = *abbi+ta-sthā+au* (6.1.8; 7.1.34; 4.61) = *abhí-ta-ṣṭhØ-au* (6.4.64) = *abhí-ta-ṣṭh-au* (4.41).

2. *abhí+senā+ṆiC+saN+ŚaP+tiP = abhi-si-senØ-i+iṬ-saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.4.64) = *abhí-ṣi-ṣeṇ-ay-i-ṣa-ti*.

3. *pári+ṣic+saN+ŚaP+tiP = pári-ṣi-ṣik-ṣa-ti* (cf. 61 above). But *abhí-su-sū-ṣa-ti, abhí-si-ṣā-sa-ti* since these stems are not included in the group beginning with [sthā-].

8.3.65 upa-sarg-ā́t [1]su-nó-ti-[2]suv-á-ti-[3]s-yá-ti-[4]staú-ti-[5]stóbh-a-ti-[6]sthā-[7]sen-áy-a-[8]sédha-[9]sicA-[10]sanjA-[11]svanj-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] su- 'press, extract' (IV 1), sū- 'impel' (VI 115), so- 'terminate' (IV 39), stu- 'praise' (II 34), stúbh- 'chant, utter' (I 421), sthā- 'remain' (I 975), sen-áy-a- 'attack', sídh- 'move, order, instruct' (I 48), sic- 'sprinkle' (VI 140), sanj- 'attach, cling' (I 1036), svanj- 'embrace, clasp' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (upa-sarg-ā́t) [ending 1.1.72 in phonemes i or u (iṆ[2]) 57, even with the intervention of initial increment 1.1.46 áṬ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *abhí/pári+su+lAṬ = abhí/pári+su+nu+tiP = abhí/pári-ṣu-ṇo-ti* (4.2)+*lAṄ = abhí/pári+a-ṣu-ṇo-t*. 2. *abhí/pári+ṣuv-a-ti/a-ṣuv-a-t*; 3. *abhí/pári+ṣya-ti/a-ṣya-t*; 4. *abhí/pári+ṣṭau-ti/a-ṣṭau-t*; 5. *abhí/pári+ṣṭobh-a-ti/aṣṭobh-a-t*; 6. *abhí/pári+ṣṭhā-sya-ti/a-ṣṭhā-t/ta-ṣṭh-au* (respectively lṚṬ, lUṄ and lIṬ); 7. *abhí/pári+ṣeṇ-ay-a-ti/a-ṣeṇ-ay-a-t/ṣi-ṣeṇ-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (64); 8. *abhí/pári+ṣedh-a-ti/a-ṣedh-a-t*; 9. *abhí/pári+ṣiñc-a-ti/a-ṣiñc-a-t/ṣi-ṣik-ṣa-ti* (64); 10. *abhí/pári+ṣaj-a-ti/a-ṣaj-a-t/ṣi-ṣaṅk-ṣa-ti* (64); 11. *abhí/pári+ṣvaj-a-ti/a-ṣvaj-a-t/ṣi-ṣvaṅk-ṣa-ti* (64). In the case of 10-11, cf. 6.4.25 for Ø replacement of the nasal before class marker [ŚaP].

8.3.66 sadi-r á-prate-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sad- 'sit down' (VI 133) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 45 ending in 1.1.72 phoneme i or u 57, even with the intervention of áṬ 63] excluding preverb práti-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ní/ví+sīd-a-t/a-sīd-a-t = ní/ví+ṣīd-a-ti/a-ṣīd-a-t but *práti-sīd-a-ti/a-sīd-a-t*.

8.3.67 stanbhe-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 29 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stanbh(U) 'prop up' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 65 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme i or u 57, even with the intervention of áṬ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhí/pári+ṣṭabh-nā-ti/a-ṣṭabh-nā-t/ta-ṣṭambh-a; *prati-ṣṭabh-nā-ti/ praty-a-ṣṭabh-nā-t.*

8.3.68 áv-āt ca [1]ā-lámb-ana-[2]ā́-vi-dūr-yaya-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replacs non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem stanbh- 'prop up, support' (IX 7) 67, co-occurring after 1.1.67] the preverb áva-° to denote the sense of 'support' (ā-lámb-ana-°) or contiguity (°ā́-vi-dūr-yay-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *áva+stanbh+Ktvā* = *ava+stanbh+LyaP* (6.4.24) = *ava-ṣṭánbh-ya ās-te/tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'sits down/remains (supporting oneself with something)'; 2. *ava-ṣṭab-dhā́ sénā* (= *ava+stanbh+Ktá+ṬāP* = *ava-sta∅bh+dhá+ā* 2.40 = *ava-stab-dhā́* 4.53). but *ava-stab-dhá-* 'affected, stiff'.

8.3.69 vé-ś ca sván-aḥ bhój-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sván- 'sound' (I 879) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-° to denote the sense of 'smacking' while eating' (bhój-an-e) and also [after preverb áva-° 68 in continuous utterance 2.108].

ví/áva+ṣvaṇ-a-ti/a-ṣvaṇ-a-t/ṣa-ṣvāṇ-a (64).

8.3.70 pári-ní-ví-bhyah [1]séva̱[2]si-tá-[3]say-á-[4]sívÚ-[5]sáhA-[6]su̱Ṭ-[7]stu-[8]sanj-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal items] sév- 'serve' (I 530), si-tá- 'bound', say-á- 'binding', siv- 'sew' (IV 2), sáh- 'bear, endure (I 905), the initial increment su̱Ṭ, stu- 'praise' (II 34) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] pári-°, ní-° or ví-° [even with the intervention of the initial increment áṬ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pári/ní/ví+ṣev-a-te/a-ṣev-a-ta/ṣi-ṣev-i-ṣa-te*; 2. *pari/ni/vi+ṣi-tá-ḥ*; 3. *pari/ni/vi+ṣay-á-ḥ*; 4. *pári/ní/ví+ṣīv-ya-ti/a-ṣīv-ya-t/a-sīv-ya-t* (71); 5. *pári/ní/ví+ṣah-a-te/a-ṣah-a-ta/a-sah-a-ta* (71); 6. *pari+suṬ+kar-o-ti* (6.1.137) = *pari-ṣ-kar-o-ti/a-ṣ-kar-o-t/a-s-kar-o-t* (71); 7. *pári/ní/ví+ṣṭau-ti/a-ṣṭau-t/a-stau-t*; 8. *pári/ní/ví+ṣvaj-a-te/a-ṣvaj-a-ta/a-svaj-a-ta* (71).

8.3.71 siv-ādī-n-āṁ vā áṬ=vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (vā) replaces [non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with siv- 'sew' (IV 2) [70] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs pári-°, ní-° or ví-° 70] even with the intervention of the [initial increment 1.1.46] áṬ (6.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exx. cited under 70 above.

8.3.72 [1]ánu-[2]ví-[3]pári-[4]abhí-[5]ní-bhyaḥ syánd-a-te-r á-prāṇi-ṣu

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] syánd- 'glide, flow, run' (I 798) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] ánu-°, ví-°, pári-°, abhí-° or ní-° when the agent of the verb is not animate (á-prāṇi-ṣu) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ánu/ví/pári/abhí/ní+ṣyand-a-te/syand-a-te 'flows after/overflows/flows all around/runs towards/trickles down'.

When the agent is animate replacement by the retroflex sibilant does not take place.

8.3.73 vé-ḥ skande-r á-niṣṭhā-y-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-° except [before 1.1.66] niṣṭhā (Ktá-, KtávatU affixes 1.1.26) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi-skand+tumuN = *vi-ṣkánt-tum/skánt-tum* (4.65), but *vi-skand+Ktá-* = *vi-skann+ná-* (2.42) = *vi-skan-ná-*.

8.3.74 páre-ś ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem skand- 'leap' (I 1028) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] pári-° also (ca) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

pari+ṣkán-tum/skán-tum; pari+ṣkan-ṇá-/skan-ná- A separate rule has been framed to block out the constraint [á-niṣṭhā-y-ām 73].

8.3.75 pari-skand-á-ḥ prāc-ya-bharaté-ṣu

The expression pari-skand-á- 'a servant who runs by the side of a carriage' is introduced as current among the Eastern Bharata-s.

Elsewhere *pari+skand+áC* (3.1.134) = *pari-ṣkand-á-*.

8.3.76 [1]sphur-á-ti-[2]sphul-á-ty-or [1]nír-[2]ní-[3]ví-bhyaḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sphur-/sphul- (VI 95-6) 'throb, quiver, flash' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 65] nís-°, ní-° or ví-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nís/ní/ví+ṣphur-a-ti/sphur-a-ti; nís/ní/ví+ṣphul-a-ti/sphul-a-ti.

8.3.77 vé-ḥ skabh-nā́-te-r nítya-m

[The retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 necessarily (nítya-m) replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] skabh- (= skanbhU IX 8) 'prop up, support' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ví-ṣkabh-nā-ti/vi-ṣkámbh-i-tum/ví-ṣkabh-i-ta-/vi-ṣkambh-á-.

8.3.78 iṆ[2]-aḥ [1]ṣī-dhvam-[2]lUṄ-[3]lIṬ-ām̐ dh-aḥ áṅg-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme (ḍh)] replaces the phoneme dh of (the lIṄ) l-substitute ṣī-dhvam and the l-substitute (dhvam) of iUṄ and lIṬ [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal] áṅga (= pre-affixal stem) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ (iṆ[2]) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣī-dhvam* (optative) : *cyu+lIṄ(āśíṣ-i)* = *cyu+sīyuṬ+dhvám* = *cyo-sīy+dhvám* (7.3.84) = *cyo-sī∅-dhvám* (6.1.66) = *cyo-ṣī-dhvám* (59). 2. *cyu+lUṄ* = *áṬ+cyu+siC* (3.1.44)+*dhvam* = *á-cyo-∅-dhvam* (2.25) = *á-cyo-ḍhvam*. 3. *cyu+lIṬ* = *cyu+dhvé* (3.4.79) = *cu-cyu+dhvé* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *cu-cyu-ḍhvé*.

The repetition of iṆ[2] in this rule, when the governing rule 57 is recurring, is for the purpose of blocking out [kU] from this rule: *pac+sī-dhvám* = *pak-ṣī-dhvám*.

Except for *ṣī-dhvám* (of lIṄ āśiṣi: Precative) and *dhvám* (of lUṄ Aorist) and *dhvé* (of lIṬ Perfect), retroflexion does not take place: *ṣṭuÑ+lAṬ* = *stu+∅[1]+dhvé*; *+lAṄ* = *a-stu-∅[1]+dhvám*; *+lOṬ* = *stu+∅[1]+dhvám*. The constraint "after a pre-affixal stem" is to block the operation of this rule when *ṣī-dhvám* is the result of áṅga-final *-s* with *sīyuṬ+dhvám* when *s* of *sīyuṬ* is replaced by ∅ in the Optative by 7.2.79: *pári+viṣ* 'pervade' (III 13)+*lIṄ* = *pári-viṣ+Ślu+sīyuṬ+dhvam* = *pári-ve-viṣ+∅īy+dhvam* (7.2.79; 4.75) = *pári-ve-viṣ-ī∅-dhvam* (6.1.66).

8.3.79 vibhāṣā iṬ-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme ḍh] optionally replaces [the phoneme dh (of the lIṄ) substitute ṣī-dhvám and the l-substitute dhvám (of lUṄ and lIṬ)] preceded by the initial increment i(Ṭ) [when introduced after 3.1.2 a pre-affixal stem 78 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pū+lIṄ (āśíṣ-i)* = *pū+sīyuṬ+dhvám* = *pū+iṬ+sīyuṬ+dhvám* = *po+i-ṣīy+dhvam* (7.3.84; 8.3.59) = *pav-i-sī∅-dhvám* (6.1.66; 78) = *pav-i-ṣī-ḍhvám*/ *°ṣī-dhvám*. 2. *pū+lUṄ* = *áṬ+pū+iṬ-siC+dhvam* = *á-pav-i-ḍhvam*/ *°-dhvam*. 3. *pū+lIṬ* = *pu-pū+iṬ+dhvé* = *pu-puv-i-ḍhvé*/ *°dhvé* (6.1.77).

8.3.80 sam-ās-é aṅgúle-ḥ sáṅga-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] saṅg-á- 'attachement' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṅgúli- 'finger' (in a compound) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

aṅgúle-ḥ sáṅg-a-ḥ = *aṅgúli+∅[1]+sáṅga-ḥ* = *aṅguli-ṣaṅgá-ḥ* 'contact with a finger'; *aṅgúli-ṣu saṅga-ḥ a-syā́ḥ* = *aṅguli+∅[1]+saṅga+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *aṅgúli-ṣaṅg-ā yavāgū́-ḥ* 'rice meal sticking to the fingers'.

8.3.81 bhīró-ḥ sthā́na-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stem 4.1.4] sthā́-na- 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.4] bhī-rú- 'timid, cowardly' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhī-ró-ḥ sthā́-na-m = bhī-rú+∅[1]*+sthā-ná-m = bhī-ru-ṣṭhāná-m* 'dreadful place'.

8.3.82 agné-ḥ ¹stú-t-²stóma-³sóm-ā-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stems 4.1.1] stú-t- 'who praises, eulogizer', stó-ma- 'praise' and sóma- 'n.pr. of a liquor/divinity' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] agní- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

agní-m̐ staú-ti = agni+∅+stu+KviP = agni-ṣṭú-t (6.1.71) 'laudatory of Agni, the first day of Agni-ṣṭomá'.

agné-ḥ stóma-ḥ = agni+∅[1] *= stoma- = agni-ṣṭomá-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a sacrifice'.

agní-ś ca sóma-ś ca = agní+∅+sóma+au = agnī́-ṣóm-au (6.3.27) 'the divinities Agni and Soma', but *agni-som-aú (māṇavak-aú)* 'name of pupils/fire and the soma creeper'. Retroflexion does not take place here since it is restricted to a compound consisting of names of divinities, with final [ī] replacement of Agní (6.3.27).

8.3.83 ¹jyótis=²ā́yus-aḥ stóma-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] stóma- 'praise' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] jyót-is- 'light' or ā́y-us- 'life-span' [in composition 90, in continuous utterance 2.108].

jyót-iṣ-as stó-ma-ḥ = jyotiḥ-ṣṭo-má-ḥ; ā́yuṣ-as stó-ma-ḥ = ayuḥ-ṣṭo-má-ḥ (4.41) 'names of sacrifices'.

8.3.84 ¹mātṛ́-²pitṛ́-bhyām̐ svásuḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] svásṛ- 'sister' [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] mātṛ́- 'mother' and pitṛ́- 'father' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mātúḥ/pitúḥ+svásā = mātṛ/pitṛ+ṣvasā́ 'maternal/paternal aunt'.

8.3.85 [1]mātúr=[2]pitúr-bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 svásr̥- 'sister' 84, co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the nominal padá-s] mātúr and pitúr 'mother's/father's' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

mātuḥ-ṣvasā́/°-svasā́ 'mother's sister, maternal aunt'; similarly *pitúḥ-ṣvasā́/svasā́* 'father's sister' (15).

8.3.86 abhí+nís-aḥ stán-aḥ śabda-saṁjñā́-y-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stán- 'sound' (I 489) [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the preverb] abhi+nis [optionally 85 in continuous utterance 2.108] to denote a t.t. in grammar (śabda-samjñā́-y-ām).

abhi-nís+stan-ya-te = *abhi-niḥ+stan+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *abhi-niḥ-stāná-/°ṣṭāná-ḥ* (15; 4.41) *várṇa-ḥ* 'a phoneme that dies away / visarjanīya (ḥ)' but *abhi-níḥ-stan-a-ti mr̥ḍ-aṅga-ḥ* 'the drum sounds heavily'.

8.3.87 [1]upa-sarg-á-[2]prādúr-bhyām ás-ti-r [1]y-[2]áC-para-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) followed by the semivowel y or by a vowel (y-áC=para-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108, when co-occurring after 1.1.67] preverbs (upa-sarga-°) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78] or the particle prādús-° 'manifestly'.

abhí+as+lAṬ = *abhí+as+∅+jhi* = *abhí+∅s+anti* (6.4.111; 7.1.3) = *abhí-ṣ-anti* 'they surpass'; similarly *prādúḥ-ṣ-anti* 'they appear/become manifest'; *abhí-/pradús+as+lIṄ* = *abhí-/prādús+as+∅[1]+yāsuṬ+suṬ+t* (3.4.103, 107) = *abhí-/prādús+∅s-yā∅+∅+t* (7.2.79) = *abhí-/prādúḥ-ṣ-yā-t*.

8.3.88 [1]sú-[2]ví-[3]nís-[4]dúr-bhyaḥ [1]supi-[2]sū-tí-[3]sam-ā́-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sup- (= svap- II 59) 'lie down' (with vocalization 6.1.15) and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] sū-ti- 'parturition' and

samá- 'equal' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 87] sú-°, ví-°, nís-° or dús-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

su/vi/niḥ/duḥ+ṣup-tá-; su-/vi-/niḥ-/duḥ+ṣú-tí-/samá- but *dúḥ-svap-na-m* 'bad dream'.

8.3.89 [1]ní-[2]nadī́-bhyāṁ snā́-te-ḥ kauśal-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] snā- 'take a bath' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87] ní-° or [the nominal stem 4.1.1] nadī́ 'river' to denote 'expert in' (kauśal-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ní-snā+Ktá- = *ni-ṣṇā-tá-* 'expert'; *nadý-ā́m snā-ti* = *nadī+∅[1]+snā+Ká* (3.2.4) = *nadī-sn∅+á* (6.4.64) = *nadī-ṣṇ-á-ḥ* 'expert, specialist'.

8.3.90 sū́tra-m prati-ṣṇā-tá-m

The expression prati-ṣṇā-tá- is introduced [with the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 of non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem snā́- 'take a bath' (II 43) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87 práti-° in continuous utterance 2.108] to indicate an aphorism (sū́tra-m).

The basic meaning is 'purified' without retroflexion. When not indicating an aphorism: *prati-snā-tá-*.

8.3.91 kapi-ṣṭhalá-ḥ gotr-é

The expression kapi-ṣṭhalá- is introduced to denote a lineage (go-tr-é) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other senses: *kapī́-n-āṁ sthála-m* = *kapi-sthalá-m* 'place abounding in monkeys'.

8.3.92 pra-ṣṭhá-ḥ agra-gām-ín-i

The expression pra-ṣṭhá- is introduced to denote 'who goes in the van' [with retroflex sibilant replacing the dental one, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other meanings: *prá-tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *pra+sthā+Ká* (3.2.4) = *pra-sth∅+á-ḥ* = *pra-sth-á-ḥ* 'summit (of a hill)/ a measure of grain'.

8.3.93 [1]vṛkṣá=[2]ā́s-anay-or vi-ṣṭar-á-ḥ

The expression vi-ṣṭar-á- is introduced to denote a tree (vṛk-ṣá-°) or a seat (°-ā́s-anay-oḥ) [with a retroflex replacing a dental sibilant in continuous utterance 2.108].

ví+stṝ+aP (3.3.57) = *vi-star-á-* 'extension' elsewhere.

8.3.94 chandaḥ-nāmn-i ca

The expression vi-ṣṭār-á- is also introduced to denote the name of a meter (chandaḥ-nāmn-i) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 3.3.34 the affix [GHaÑ] is introduced after *vi+stṝ* in this significance; elsewhere *vi-stār-á-* 'extension, width'.

8.3.95 [1]gav-í-[2]yudh-í-bhyāṁ sthi-rá-ḥ

[The substitute retoflex 95 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthi-rá- 'firm', [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal padá-s] gav-í-° and yudh-í-° [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

gav-í-/yudh-í-ṣṭhira- 'proper names'.

8.3.96 [1]ví-[2]kú-[3]śámi-[4]pári-bhyaḥ sthál-a-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthál-a- 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] ví-°, kú-° or pári-° and [the nomianl stem 4.1.1] śámī 'name of a tree' [as a prior member in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

vi-ṣṭhal-á-m 'remote place'; *ku-ṣṭhal-á-m* 'bad place'; *śami-ṣṭhal-á-m* (6.3.63), *śámī : śámi-ṣṭhala-m* (6.3.63) 'place abounding in Śamī trees'; *pári-ṣṭhal-a-m* 'surrounding place/area'.

8.3.97 [1]ámba-[2]āmbá-[3]gó-[4]bhū́mi-[5]savyá-[6]ápa-[7]dví-[8]trí-[9]kuśé-[10]kú-[11]śaṅkú-[12]aṅgú-[13]mañji-[14]puñjí-[15]param-é-[16]barhís=[17]div-í=[18]agní-bhyaḥ stá-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55

dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthā́- 'remaining in' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems or padá-s] ámba-, āmbá-, gó- 'cow/bull', bhū́mi- 'earth', savyá- 'left', ápa-° 'away'; dví- 'two', tri- 'three', kuśé 'on the kuśa grass', kú- 'bad', śaṅkú- 'peg', aṅgú- 'finger?', mañji- 'cluster of blossoms', puñjí- 'heap, mass', param-é 'in the highest', barhís- 'kuśa grass', div-í 'in heaven' and agní- 'fire' [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1-2. *amba-ṣthá/āmba-ṣthá-* 'names of countries and their inhabitants'; 3. *go-ṣthá-* 'cow-pen'; 4. *bhūmi-ṣthá-* 'situated on the earth'; 5. *savyé tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *savy-e+ṣṭh-á* (3.2.4; 6.3.9) 'standing on the left'; 6. *apa-ṣthá-* 'end of the elephant goad or hook'; 7. *dvi-ṣthá-* 'staying in two places'; 8. *tri-ṣthá-* 'staying at three places'; 9. *kuśe-ṣthá-* 'standing on the sacrificial grass'; 10. *ku-ṣthá-* 'n.pr. of a plant'; 11. *śaṅku-ṣthá-* 'placed on the peg or spike'; 12. *aṅgu-ṣthá-* 'big toe'; 13. *mañji-ṣthá-* 'Indian madder'; 14. *puñji-ṣthá-* 'heaped, gathered, accumulated'; 15. *parame-ṣthá-* 'supreme'; 16. *barhiḥ-ṣthá-* 'placed on the sacrificial grass'; 17. *div-i-ṣthá-* 'abiding in heaven'; 18. *agni-ṣthá-* 'placed in/on/over the fire'.

8.3.98 su-ṣāmá(n)=ādi-ṣu ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of posterior members in composition 80 in continuous utterance 2.108] of expressions beginning with su-ṣāmán- 'n. beautiful song'.

su-ṣā́man- m. 'n.pr. of a person'. *duḥ-ṣāmán-* n.'bad chant' etc.

8.3.99 eT-i saṁjñā́-y-ām á-g-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental s 56 before 1.1.66] the vowel e(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.66 a prior member in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57] excluding the phoneme g [in continuous utterance 2.108] when designating a name (saṁ-jñā́-y-ām).

hári-ṣeṇa-, jā́nu-ṣeṇ-ī 'proper names', but when a qualifying noun: *pṛthvī́ sénā yá-sya sa-ḥ* = *pṛthú-sena-ḥ rā́jā* 'a king with a large army'; when [s] is not followed by [eT]: *hári-saktha-* 'having thighs like those of a horse'; when preceded by [g]: *śatá-bhiṣaj+sena-* = *śatá-bhiṣag+sena-* (2.30) = *śatá-bhiṣak-sena-* (100; 4.55).

8.3.100 nákṣatr-āt vā

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (vā) replaces [non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 followed by the vowel eT 90] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 in composition 80] denoting constellations (nák-ṣatr-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57 other than phoneme g 99, in continuous utterance 2.108, when deriving a proper name 99].

róhiṇi-ṣeṇa/sena-, bháraṇi-ṣeṇa/sena- (6.3.63) but *śatá-bhiṣak-sena-* (99).

8.3.101 hrasv-ā́t t-ā́d-au taddhit-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-ā́t: vowel 1.2.18) [iṆ 57 before 1.1.66] a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] t-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

The taddhita affixes involved are: *tamaP, tayaP, taraP, taL, tas, tyaP, tvá.*

1. tamaP: *sarpíṣ-ṭama* (4.41) 'most buttery'; 2. tayaP: *catúṣ-ṭaya-* 'four fold'; 3. taraP: *sarpíṣ-ṭara-* 'more buttery'; 4. taL: *sarpíṣ-ṭā* 'the state of being buttery'; 5. tas(iL): *sarpíṣ-ṭaḥ* (2.66; 3.15) 'from butter'; 6. tyaP: *āvíṣ-ṭya-* 'apparent, manifest'; 7. tvá: *sarpíṣ-ṭvá-* 'butteriness'; but *uccaís-tara-* 'higher'; *sarpís tar-a-ti* (36).

8.3.102 nís-as táp-a-t-au án-ā-sev-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the preverb] nís-° [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] tap- 'heat up, burn' (I 1034) when not denoting a repetition (án-ā-sev-an-e) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

níṣ-ṭap-a-ti su-várṇa-m (4.41) 'heats up/melts gold (once)' *nís-tap-a-ti su-várṇa-m* 'melts gold repeatedly'.

8.3.103 [1]yuṣmád=[2]tád=[3]tatakṣúḥ-ṣu antaḥ-pādá-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a quarter verse (antaḥ-pādá-m) [before 1.1.66 (substitutes of) the prominal stem] of yuṣmád- 'you' [beginning with t-° 102], tad- 'that' and ta-takṣ-úḥ [co-occurring after a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *agní-ṣ tvám nā́ma ās-ī-t* 'you were Agni by name'; *agní-ṣ tvā vardh-ay-ā-masi* 'we increase you, Fire'; *agní-ṣ te víśva-m ā́-nay-a*; *apsv-àgne sádhi-ṣ-ṭáva* (RV 8.43.9).
2. *agníṣ tád víśva-m ā́-pṛ-ṇā-ti* (RV 10.2.4).
3. *dyā́vā-pṛthivī́ niṣ-ṭa-takṣ-úḥ* (RV 10.31.7); when not within a pādá: *yán ma ātmán-o mindā́bhūd agní-s tát púnar ā́ha jātá-vedā ví-carṣaṇi-ḥ* (TS 3.2.5.4).

8.3.104 yájuṣ-i éke-ṣām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a pādá [= quarter verse 103, when preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57 before substitutes of yusmád- 'you' 103 beginning with the phoneme t-° 101, and tád and ta-takṣ-úḥ 103, in continuous utterance 2.108] according to some (grammarians: éke-ṣām).

The reference to "some grammarians" is for the purpose of indicating that this operation is optional.

1. *arcí-bhiṣ tvám/arcí-bhis tvám ; agní-ṣ té-gram/agní-s té-gram* (TS 3.5.6.2); 2. *agní-ṣ tat/agní-s tát* (TS 1.1.14.5); 3. *arcí-bhiṣ ṭa-takṣ-uḥ/arcí-bhis ta-takṣ-uḥ*.

8.3.105 [1]stu-tá-[2]stómay-oś chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [according to some grammarians 104 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, before 1.1.66 nominal padá-s of] stu-tá- 'praised' and stóma- 'praise' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

tri-bhíṣ ṣṭu-tá-sya/tri-bhís stu-tá-sya 'of thrice praised'; *gó-ṣ ṣṭó-ma-m/gó-s stó-ma-m* 'praise of a cow/bull'.

8.3.106 pūrva-pad-ā́t

[In the domain of Chándas 105, according to some grammarians 104, the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, after 1.1.67] a prior member (pūrva-pad-ā́t) [in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

dvi-ṣandhí-/°-sandhí- 'juncture of two'; similarly *tri-ṣandhí/sandhí-; madhu-ṣṭhāná/°-sthāná-* 'bee hive'; *dvi-ṣāhasrá-/°-sāhasrá = dvay-oḥ sahasray-or bhava-ḥ* (4.3.53; 7.3.15) 'being or obtaining in 2000'; etc.

This rule is extended to include those cases also where the prior padá is not a prior

member in composition: *tríḥ ṣamṛddhatvá-ya/ ˚-samṛddhatvá-ya* 'thrice for success'.

8.3.107 súÑ-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the particle] súÑ [occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padá 106 ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhí ṣú sákhī-n-ām (RV 4.31.3) (6.3.134). *ūrdhvá ū ṣú ṇaḥ* (RV 1.36.13).

8.3.108 san-ó-te-r á-n-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] san- 'gain' (VIII 2), without phoneme n (á-n-aḥ: by ā replacement 6.4.41), [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padá 106 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

gā́-ḥ san-o-ti = gó+∅[1]+san+viṬ (3.2.67) = *go-sáā+∅* (6.4.41) = *go-ṣā́-* 'winning cattle', but *go+san+iN* (3.2.27) = *go-sán-i-* 'ibid'.

8.3.109 sáhe-ḥ [1]pṛ́tanā=[2]ṛ-tā́-bhyāṁ ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members 106 in composition 80] pṛ́tanā 'opposing army' and ṛ-tá- 'universal order' [in continuous utterance 2.108, in the domain of Chándas 105].

pṛ́tanā-ṁ sáh-a-te = pṛtanā+∅[1]+sah+Ṇvi (3.2.63)+*am* = *pṛtanā-ṣā́h-am*. This extends the scope of 56 above in the domain of Chándas. *ṛ-tá-m sah-a-te* = *ṛ-tā-ṣā́h-am* (6.3.137); the particle [ca] extends this rule to generate the form *ṛ-ti-ṁ sah-a-te = ṛ́-ti+sah+KviP+am* (3.3.13) = *ṛ́-tī-ṣah-am* (6.3.137).

8.3.110 ná [1]rá-para-[2]sṛpi-[3]sṛji-[4]spṛsi-[5]spṛhi-[6]sáv-ana=ādī-n-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] does not (ná) replace [the dental sibilant s 56] preceded by phoneme r (ra-para-˚) or of the verbal stems sṛp- 'crawl, slide' (I 1032), sṛj- 'project' (VI 121), spṛś- 'touch' (VI

128), spṛh- 'envy' (X 325) and the word-class beginning with sáv-ana- 'extraction' [when preceded by a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *vi+srans+NvuL+TāP* = *vi-sráṁs-ik-ā* (7.3.44); *vi-srambh+Ktá vi-sra∅bh+dhá* (6.4.24; 8.2.40) = *vi-srab-dhá-* (4.53). 2. *vi+sṛp+KasuN* = *vi-sṛ́p-aḥ* 'to crawl/glide'; 3. *vi+sṛj+LyuT vi-sárj-ana-* 'dissolution, cessation, end'; 4. *div-í+spṛś+KviN* (3.2.58) = *div-i-spṛ́ś-* 'touching heaven'; 5. *spṛh-i-áC* (3.3.56) = *spṛh-∅-á* (6.4.51); *nir-ga-tá-ḥ spṛh-á-ḥ* = *niḥ=spṛh-á-ḥ*; 6. *sáv-ane sav-an-e* 'at each or every extraction'.

8.3.111 [1]sāt-[2]pada=ādy-óḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the adverbial affix sā́t (5.4.42) or a padá-initial (°pada-ādy-óḥ) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, semivowel r or a velar stop 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

agni-sā́t, dadhi-sā́t; exception to 59 above. *dádhi siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles curds'.

8.3.112 sic-aḥ yaṄ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the verbal stem sic- 'sprinkle' (VI 140) [preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iṆ[2] 57, before 1.1.66 the Intensive marker] yaṄ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

sic+yaṄ+SaP+te = *se-sic-yá-te* (6.1.9; 7.4.60, 82) 'sprinkles repeatedly or intensively'.

8.3.113 sédh-a-ter ga-t-aú

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sídh- 'move, rule' (I 48) when denoting movement [after an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iṆ[2] 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhí/pári+sedh-ay-a-ti gā-ḥ 'drives the cattle', exception to 65 above; but *śíṣ-ya-m á-kāry-āt práti-ṣedh-ay-a-ti* 'prevents the pupil from (committing) a bad action'.

8.3.114 práti-stab-dha- ní-stab-dh-au ca

The expressions prátistab-dha- 'obstructed' and ní-stab-dha- 'obstructed' are introduced [without a retroflex sibilant replacing the dental, contrary to 57 above].

8.3.115 soḍh-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal allomorph] soḍh- (of sáh- 'bear, endure' I 905) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iṆ[2] or kU 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *pári+sah+Kta* = *pári+sadh+Kta* (2.31) = *pari-saḍh+ḍha* (2.40; 4.41) = *pári-so∅-ḍha-* (13; 6.3.112); similarly *pari-sóḍh-um/soḍhávya-* etc.

8.3.116 [1]stanbhU-[2]sívÚ-[3]sáh-āṁ CaṄ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] stanbh- 'prop up, support' (IX 7), siv- 'sew' (IV 2) and sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 iṆ[2] or kU 57 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] CaṄ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

> 1. *pári+stanbh+ṆíC+CaṄ+t* = *pári+áṬ+stambh+∅+a+t* (6.4.51) = *páry-a-ta-stambh-a-t* (6.1.11; 7.4.61); exception to 67 above. Similarly: 2. *páry-a-sī-ṣiv-a-t* (7.4.1,59,60,83). By a vārttika retroflexion is blocked only for the reduplicated syllable. *páry-a-sī-ṣah-at*.

8.3.117 su-nó-te-ḥ [1]syá-[2]saN-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] su- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) [co-occurring after an expression ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes denoted by iṆ[2] or kU 57 before 1.1.66 the sigmatic future marker] syá [and the desiderative marker] saN [in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *abhí/pári+su+sya+tiP* = *abhí/pári-so-ṣya-ti/a-so-ṣya-t*. *abhí/pári+su+saN+KviP* = *abhi-su-sū-sa+∅* (6.4.16; 1.2.9) = *abhí-su-sū-s∅* (6.4.48) = *abhí-su-sū-ḥ* (2.66; 3.15). Exception to 65 above.

8.3.118 ¹sadi̱-²svanj-oḥ pára-sya lIṬ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sad- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 iṆ² or kU 57, occurring] after (pára-sya) [the phoneme s 56 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] lIṬ 'Perfect Tense' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

abhí/pári/ní+sad+lIṬ = *abhí/pári/ní+sa-sad+ṆaL* (6.1.8) = *abhí-pári-ní-ṣa-sād-a;*
pári+svanj+lIṬ = *pari-sv∅j+eŚ* (6.4.24) = *pári-ṣa-svaj-e/āte/ire.*

8.3.119 ¹ní-²ví=³abhí-bhyaḥ aṬ=vy-āv-ay-é vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110] optionally (vā) replace [dental sibilant s 56] with the intervention of [the initial increment] áṬ of a verbal theme, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverbs ní-°, ví-°, or abhí-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ní/ví/abhí+stu+lAṄ = *ní/ví/abhí+aṬ+stu+∅¹+t* = *ní-ví-abhí+a+ṣṭau-t/staut* (7.3.89; 8.4.41).

8.4.1 [1]ra-[2]ṣā-bhyām n-aḥ ṇa-ḥ samāna-pad-é

The substitute retroflex nasal ṇ replaces dental nasal n [occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes r or ṣ within the same padá (1.4.14ff.) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r+n: *kṝ+Ktá-* = *kir-ná* (7.1.100; 8.2.44) = *kīr-ṇá-* (2.76) 'scattered'. 2. ṣ+n: *kuṣ+lAṬ* = *kuṣ+nā́+tiP* (3.1.81) = *kuṣ-ṇā́-ti* 'examines, tests'. The inclusion of retroflex sibilant [ṣ] in this rule is for operations which follow; here, the same result is effected by 41 below. When the two phonemes belong to two different padás this rule is inoperative: *agni-r nay-a-ti*.

The sonant vowel r̥ contains the element r: *tisŕ̥+n-ām* = *tisr̥-ṇ-ā́m* 'of three'.

8.4.2 [1]aṬ-[2]kU-[3]pU=[4]āṄ-[5]nuM-vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop, occurring in the same padá after phonemes r or ṣ 1] even (ápi) when separated by the intervention of vowels, semivowels and h (aṬ), a velar stop (kU) or a labial stop (pU), the particle ā́Ṅ or [the infixed increment 1.1.47] nuM [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r/ṣ+aṬ+n: *kr̥+LyuṬ* = *kár-aṇa-*; *girí+Ṭā* = *girí+ṇā*; *kúru-ṇā*; *kártr̥-ṇā*; *bhīṣ-aṇa-*, *bhū́ṣ-aṇa-*, *kárṣ-aṇa-*.
2. kU/pU: *arká+Ṭā* = *arká+ina* (7.1.12) = *ark-éṇa*; *darpá+ina* = *darp-éṇa*.
3. āṄ: *pari-ā́Ṅ+nad-dha* = *pary-ā́-ṇad-dha-*; cf. 14 below; exception to 38 below.
4. nuM: *br̥hI+LyuṬ* = *bŕ̥-nuM-h+ana-* = *bŕ̥-ṁ-h-aṇa-*.

8.4.3 pūrva-pad-ā́t saṁ-jñā́-y-ām á-g-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n co-occurring after 1.1.67] a prior member (pūrva-pad-ā́t: in composition) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āṄ or nuM 2] with the exception of phoneme g, when deriving a name (saṁ-jñā́-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

drú-r iva nā́sikā a-syá = *drú-ṇasa-ḥ* (5.4.118) 'n.pr. (lit. a large-nosed person)'; similarly *śū́rpa-ṇakh-ā* 'n.pr. of Rāvana's sister' but *cárma-nāsika-* 'whip, leather thong'; *r̥g-ay-aná-* 'name of a text'.

8.4.4 vána-m [1]puragā-[2]miśrakā-[3]sidhrakā-[4]śārikā-[5]koṭara=[6]ágre-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] vána- 'forest' [when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior

members in composition] puragā-°, miśrakā-°, sidhrakā-°, śārikā-°, koṭarā-° 'names of trees' and ágre-° 'in front' [to derive names 3, in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *purgā/miśrakā/sidhrakā/śārikā/koṭarā/agre+vaṇá-m* 'names of forests', but *kubera-vaná-m*. Extension of 1-2, blocking out the constraint [samāna-pad-é 1] and applicable beyond the same padá, but restricted to only these specified cases.

8.4.5 [1]prá-[2]nír=[3]antár-[4]śará=[5]ikṣú-[6]plakṣá-[7]āmrá-[8]kārṣ-yà-[9]khadirá-[10]piyūkṣā-bhyaḥ á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3 vána- 'forest' 4 when co-occurring with prior members in composition] prá-°, nír-°, antár-°, śará-°, ikṣú-°, plakṣá-°, kārṣ-yà-°, khadirá-° and pīyūkṣā-° [to derive a personal name 3] or otherwise also (á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *pra-vaṇá-m* 'excellent forest'; *nir-vaṇá-m* 'an area devoid of forests'; *antar-vaṇá-m* 'inside a forest'; *śara-vaṇá-m* 'a forest of reeds'; *plakṣa/āmra/kārṣya/khadira/pīyūkṣá-m* 'forests abounding in these specified trees'.

8.4.6 vibhāṣā óṣadhi- vánas-páti-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the posterior member 3 vána- 'forest' 4 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members consisting of names of] annual plants (óṣadhi-°) or forest trees (°vánas-páti-bhyaḥ) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āṄ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *óṣadhi: dūrvā-vaṇá-m/vaná-m; mūrvā-vaṇá-m/vaná-m.*
2. *vánas-páti: śirīṣa-vaṇá-m/vaná-m; badarī-vaṇá-m/vaná-m.*

8.4.7 ahna-ḥ aT=ant-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] °ahná- 'day' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āṄ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

> *pū́rva-m áhn-aḥ = pūrva+$\emptyset^1$+ahan+ṬáC* (5.4.91) = *pūrv-ā-hṇá-ḥ* (5.4.88) = *pūrvahṇá-ḥ* 'forenoon, morning', similarly *apar-ā-hṇá-ḥ* 'afternoon'; but

nir-ga-tá-ḥ áhn-aḥ nír-ahna-ḥ 'dusk, evening, early night'; similarly *dúr-ahna-ḥ* 'a bad day' (prior member not ending in aT). Likewise *dirghā́-ṇ-i áhān-i a-syā́m* = *dīrgha+∅¹+ahan+ṄīP* (4.1.28) = *dīrghá+ah∅n+ī* (6.4.134) = *dirgh-ā́-hn-ī śarád* 'autumn, having long days' (since the form of the posterior member is *áhan-* and not *ahná-* and *samāsāntá* affix [ṬáC] is not applicable in generating Bahuvrīhí compounds).

8.4.8 vā́h-ana-m ā́-hi-t-āt

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior nominal stem 3] vā́h-ana- 'vehicle' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member 3 in composition] denoting the item carried (ā́-hi-t-āt) [containing phonemes r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

ikṣu-vāhaṇá-m/śara-vāhaṇá-m 'conveyor of sugar cane/reeds', but *dākṣi-vāhaná-m* 'vehicle belonging to Dākṣi'.

8.4.9 pā́na-ṁ deś-é

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member] °pā́na- 'drinking' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108], to denote a country (dese).

kṣīra-m pā́na-m yé-ṣām = *kṣīrá-pāṇ-ā-ḥ uśīnár-ā-ḥ* 'the country of Uśīnara-s who are fond of drinking milk'; similarly *súrā-pāṇ-ā-ḥ prā́c-y-ā-ḥ* 'the country of the Easterners who are fond of drinking liquor'. The name of the country is derived from that of its inhabitants or vice versa.

8.4.10 vā ¹bhāv-á-²kár-aṇay-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the posterior member °-pā́na- 'drinking' 9, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when denoting a condition (bhāv-á-°) or an instrument (°-kár-aṇay-oḥ).

1. bhāv-é: *kṣīrá-sya pā́na-m* = *kṣīra-pāṇá-m/°-pāná-m* 'drinking of milk'.
2. kár-aṇ-e: *kṣīrá-m pī-yá-te án-ena* = *kṣīra-pā́ṇa-ḥ/pā́na-ḥ kamsá-ḥ* 'goblet for drinking milk'.

8.4.11 ¹prāti-pad-ika=antá-²nuM-³vi-bhák-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 optionally 10] occurring as a nominal stem-final (prāti-pad-ika=antá-°) or [ending in 1.1.72] the infixed increment nuM or a vibhákti (1.4.104) affix [co-occurring with a prior member containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *mā́ṣān vap-a-ti = mā́ṣa+∅¹+vap+Ṇíni = māṣa-vāp-íṇ+au/ māṣa-vāp-íṇ-au* 'sower of māṣa beans'.
2. *mā́ṣān vap-anti = māṣa+∅¹+vaP+áṆ* (3.2.1) = *māṣa-vāp-á+Śi* (7.1.20) = *māṣa-vāpá+nuM+i = masa-vāpā́-ṇ-i/vāpā́-n-i.*
3. *māṣa-vāp-á+Ṭā = māṣa-vāp-á+ina* (7.1.12) = *māṣa-vāp-éṇa/vāp-éna.*

8.4.12 eka=áC=uttara-pad-e ṇa-ḥ

(In a compound) with a mono-syllabic posterior member (eka=áC=uttara-pad-e) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as nominal stem-final, or of infixed increment nuM or a vibhákti affix 11, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of a prior member 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The repetition of [ṇa-ḥ] here while it was recurring from 1 above is for the purpose of blocking out [vā] from 10 above.

1. *vṛtrá-ṁ ha-távān = vṛtrá+∅¹+han+KvіP* (3.2.87) = *vṛtra-hán+au = vṛtra-háṇ-au*; 2. *súrā-m pib-a-ti = súrā-pā+ṬáK = surā-p∅-á* (6.4.64)+*Śi* = *surā-p-ā́-ṇ-i* (7.1.72); 3. *surā-pá+Ṭá = surā-pá+ina* (7.1.12) = *surā-p-éṇa.*

8.4.13 kU-mat-i ca

[In a compound with a posterior member 12] containing a velar stop (kU-mat-i) also (ca) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as stem-final, or nuM or vi-bhák-ti affix 11, when co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of the prior member even when there is intervention by aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule is in relation to a polysyllabic posterior member.

vastra-yugá+íni (5.2.115)+*au = vastra-yug-íṇ-au; svarga-kām-íṇ-au; vastra-yugá+Śi = vastra-yugā́+nuM+i = vasta-yugā́-ṇ-i; vastra-yugá+Ṭā = vastra-yug-éṇa.*

8.4.14 upa-sarg-ā́t á-sam-ās-e ápi ṇá=upa-deś-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a verbal stem] which is first introduced with initial ṇ (ṇá=upa-deśa-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (upa-sarg-ā́t) [containing phone r/ṣ preceding the dental n, even when separated by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] with or without composition (á-sam-ās-e ápi).

prá/pári+ṇamA prahva-tv-é (I 1030)+*ŚaP+tiP* = *prá/pári-ṇam-a-ti; pra/pari+ṇīÑ prā́p-aṇ-e* (I 950)+*ṆvuL* = *pra-pari-ṇā́y-aka.*

But *pra-ga-t-ā́-ḥ nā́y-ak-ā-ḥ a-smā́t deś-āt* = *prá-nāy-aka-ḥ deśá-ḥ* since *prá* is not an upasargá in relation to the verbal stem *nī*. In the case of verbal stems not introduced with initial [ṇ]: *prá-nardÁ śabde* (I 57)+*ṆvuL* = *pra-nárd-aka-/ prá-nard-a-ti.*

8.4.15 [1]hi-nú=[2]mī-nā́

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of verbal themes hi-nú- (= hi- V 11) 'move, increase', mī- IX 4 'injure' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá-hi-ṇo-ti 'incites'; *prá-mī-ṇā-ti* 'destroys'.

8.4.16 āni lOṬ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of the first person singular Imperative l-substitute ā-ni [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári-vap-a+ā-ni = *prá/pari-vap-ā-ṇi*; but when [ā-ni] is not a lOṬ-substitute, retroflexion does not take place: *prá-kr̥ṣ-t-ā vapā́ yé-ṣām tā́-n-i* = *prá+vapa+Śi* = *prá-vapā-n-i mā́ṁsā-n-i* 'meat containing a thick membrane'.

8.4.17 né-r [1]gádÁ-[2]nádÁ-[3]páta-[4]padA-[5]GHU-[6]mā-[7]sya-ti-[8]hán-ti-[9]yā́-ti-[10]vā́-ti-[11]drā́-ti-[12]psā́-ti-[13]váp-a-ti-[14]váh-a-ti-[15]śā́m-ya-ti-[16]ci-nó-ti-[17]dég-dhi-ṣu

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of

the preverb] ní-° [before 1.1.67 the verbal stems] gád- 'speak' (I 53), nád- 'roar' (I 56), pát- 'fly, fall down' (I 898), pad- 'go' (IV 60), those designated by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), mā- 'measure' (IV 34), meṄ 'barter' (I 1010), so- 'destroy' (IV 34), han- 'kill' (II 2), yā- 'go' (II 40), vā- 'blow' (II 41), drā- 'run' (II 45), psā- 'eat' (II 46), vap- 'sow' (I 1052), vah- 'carry, bear' (I 1053), śam- 'become quiet' (IV 92), ci- 'heap' (V 5) and dih- 'anoint' (II 5) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+ṇí-gad-a-ti/nad-a-ti/pat-a-ti/pad-ya-te/da-dhā-ti/mi-mī́-te/ṣya-ti/han-ti/yā-ti/vā-ti/drā-ti/psā-ti/vap-a-ti/vah-a-ti/śā́m-ya-ti/ci-no-ti/deg-dhi/a-gad-a-t/a-nad-a-t etc.

8.4.18 śéṣ-e vibhāṣā á-¹ka-²kha=ād-au-³á-ṣa-ant-e=upa-deś-é

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the preverb ní-° 17 before 1.1.67] remaining (śeṣ-e) verbal stems not beginning with phoneme k-° or kh-° or ending in phoneme °-ṣ when first introduced (udpa-deś-é in the Dhp.) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 other preverbs 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] optionally (vibhāṣā).

ḌU-pac-ÀṢ I 1045: *pra-ṇí-pac-a-ti/pra-ní-pac-a-ti; pra-ṇí-/pra-ní-bhi-na-t-ṭi* but *pra-ní+kar-o-ti/khād-a-ti/pi-na-ṣ-ṭi (= piṣ+ŚnaM+tiP).*

8.4.19 án-i-te-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] án- 'breathe' (II 61) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá-párā+aṇ-i-ti.

8.4.20 ánta-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem an- 'breathe' (II 61) 19, co-occurring after 1.167 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aT, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2], occurring as padá-final (ánta-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá+an-i-ti = pra+an+KviP = pr-ā́-n+sU(voc.) = prā́ṇ+∅ (6.1.68).

8.4.21 ubh-aú sá=abhy-ās-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem an- 'breathe' (II 61) 19] along with (sa-°) that of the reduplicated syllable (°-abhy-ās-á-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá+an+saN+Śap+tiP = prá+an+iṬ-saN+a+ti = prá-ani-ni-ṣa-ti (6.1.2,9,97; 3.59) = *pr-ā́-ṇi-ṇi-ṣa-ti; prá+an+ṆíC+CaṄ+t = pr-ā́-ṇi-ṇ-a-t* (1.1.59).

8.4.22 hán-te-r aT-pūrva-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short a(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári+haṇ-ya-te; pra-pari+hán̩-ana-m but *prá-ghn-anti.*

8.4.23 [1]va-[2]m-or vā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) preceded by phoneme short a(T) 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2] before l-substitutes beginning with v-° or m-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá/pári+haṇ+vas/°mas; prá-pári+han+vas/mas.

8.4.24 antár á-deś-e

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short aT 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] antár-° [in continuous utterance 2.108] when not indicating a locality or country (á-deś-e).

antár-haṇ-ya-te/antar-háṇ-ana-m 'is abolished/abolition', but *antar-hán-ana-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a country or locality'.

8.4.25 áy-ana-ṁ ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] áy-ana- 'going' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle antár when not indicating a locality or country 24 in continuous utterance 2.108].

antar-áy-aṇa-m 'disappearing' but *antar=áy-ana-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a locality or country'.

8.4.26 chándas-i ṛT=ava-grah-ā́t

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a posterior member of a compound co-occurring after a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) [separated in the Padapāṭha] by an avagrahá 'mark of separation' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

nar-í mánaḥ a-syá = nṛ+∅máṇas 'mindful or kind to men'; *pitṛ-yā́ṇa-m* 'the path leading to the Manes'.

8.4.27 nas=ca [1]dhātu-sthá=[2]urú-[3]ṣú-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 26 the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the pronominal substitute of asmád- 1.11] nas [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a verbal padá (dhātu-sthá-°) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2] or urú 'far' and ṣú (= sú with retroflexion) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ágne rákṣ-ā ṇaḥ (RV 7.15.13) 'O Agni, protect us!'. *urú ṇas kṛ-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'grant us opportunity to grow'; *ūrdhvá-m ū ṣú ṇa ūtáy-e* (RV 1.36.13).

8.4.28 upa-sarg-ā́t án-oT-para=ḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the expression nas- 27 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.109] except when it is not followed by phoneme o(T).

This original reading has been emended by Patañjali who replaces the expression [án-oT-para-ḥ] by [bahulá-m] which is the reading adopted by Kāśikā. The expression [nas] in the preceding as well as the present rule stands for the al-

lomorphs of the pronominal stem asmád- 'we' and nāsikā (5.4.119); in the preceding rule only the first one is involved, while in the present rule both allomorphs are involved.

1. *prá ṇa āyūṁṣ-i tār-i-ṣ-at* (RV 1.25.12) but *prá no muñc-a-tam váruṇa-sya pā́ś-āt* (RV 6.74.4). On the other hand Patañjali's emended [bahulá-m] provides for both *prá no muñc-a-tam, prá ṇo vaní-r devá-kr̥-tā* (AV 5.7.3). 2. *pra-ga-t-ā́ nā́sikā a-syá = pra+nas+áC = pra-ṇas-á-ḥ* (5.4.119) 'long-nosed'.

8.4.29 kr̥t-i=aC-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of a kŕ̥t [affix 3.1.1, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when that phoneme occurs [after 1.1.67] a vowel (aC-aḥ).

The affixes referred to here are: *ana (LyuṬ), (m)+āná (KānáC, CānáŚ, SānáC), anī́ya(R), áni, ín (íni, Ṇíni)* and *n*-replacement of *niṣṭhā́* affixes *(Ktá, KtavatU)*.

1. *pra+yā+LyuṬ = pra+yā́+ana- = pra-y-ā́-ṇa-* 'journey'; similarly *pra-m-ā́-ṇa-* 'measure, standard'.
2. (m)+āná: *pra/pari+yā-yá-m-āṇa-*.
3. anī́ya: *pra/pari+yā+anī́yaT = pra/pari/y-ā-ṇī́ya-*.
4. áni: *a-pra+yā+áni = a-pra-y-ā́-ṇi*.
5. íni/Ṇíni: *pra/pari+yā+ín+au = pra/pari/yāy-iṇ-au*.
6. *n* of niṣṭhā (Ktá/KtávatU): *pra/pari+hā+Kta = pra/pari+hī* (6.4.66)+*na* (2.45) = *prá-pári-hī-ṇa-* 'renounced', but *prá/pári-bhug-na-* since *n* is preceded by a consonant.

8.4.30 Ṇé-r vibhāṣā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of a kŕ̥t 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] Ṇí(C) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+yā+ṆíC+LyuṬ = pra/pari/yā́+puK+ṆiC+ana- (7.3.36) = *pra/pari-yā́-p-∅-ana-* (6.4.51) = *pra/pari-yā́-p-aṇa-/°-yā́-p-ana-*. Similarly *pra/pari/yā-p-yá-m-āṇa-/°m-āna-; pra/pari/yā-p-aṇī́ya/°-anī́ya-; á-pra-yā-p-aṇi-/°-ani; pra-yā-p-íṇ-au/°yā-p-ín-au.*

8.4.31 ha̲L-aś ca íC=upa=dh-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kṛ̥t 28 affix 3.1.1 optionally 30, introduced after 3.1.2] a verbal stem with initial consonant (ha̲L-as=ca) and a penultimate vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ (íC=udpa-dh-āt) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nu̲M 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+kup+LyuṬ = *pra/pari-kóp-aṇa-/°ana-* but *pra+íh+ana-* = *pr-é-h-aṇa*.

8.4.32 íC=āde-ḥ sá-nu̲M-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kṛ̥t 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem with infixed increment 1.1.47] nu̲M, beginning with a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ (íC=āde-ḥ) [and ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 31, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ l, even when separated from it by aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nu̲M 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a necessary operation since option is indicated both in the preceding and succeeding rules specifically.

pra/parā+ikh+nu̲M+LyuṬ (I 134 *íkhÍ* 7.1.58) = *pra/parā+íṅkh-aṇa-* = *pr-é-ṅkh-aṇa-/par-é-ṅkh-aṇa-*; similarly *pr-ó-mbh-aṇa-*.

8.4.33 vā [1]níṁsa̲-[2]níkṣA-[3]nínd-ām

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the verbal stems] ní-n-s (= ṇísI II 15) 'kiss', níkṣ- 'kiss' (I 689) and ní-n-d (= ṇídÍ I 66) 'censure, blame' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 with phoneme r/ṣ l, even when separated from it by aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nu̲M 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pra-ṇíṁs-ana-/pra-níṁs-ana-*; 2. *pra-ṇíkṣ-aṇa-/pra-níkṣ-aṇa-*; 3. *pra-ṇínd-ana/ pra-nínd-ana-*.

By being introduced in the Dhp. with initial retroflex nasal [ṇ] retroflexion would necessarily have taken place by 14 above, but the option indicated by this rule is an exception to that.

8.4.34 ná [1]bhā-[2]bhū́-[3]pū́-[4]kámi̲-[5]gami̲-[6]pyā́yĪ-[7]vép-ām

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ l] does not (ná) replace [dental nasal stop n 1 of a kṛ̥t 29 affix 3.1.1 preceded by a vowel 29, introduced

after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] bhā- 'shine' (II 42), bhū́- 'become' (I 1), pū́- 'purify' (IX 11), kám- 'love' (I 460), gam- 'go' (I 1031), pyā́y- 'swell, increase' (I 517) and vép- 'tremble' (I 391) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra-/pari+bh-ā́-na-/bháv-ana-/páv-ana-/kám-ana-/gám-ana-/pyā́y-ana-/vép-ana-; by a vārttika retroflexion takes place in the case of *pūṄ* (I 1015): *pra-páv-aṇa-m sóma-sya* 'purification of Soma'.

8.4.35 ṣ-āt pada=ant-ā́t

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 occurring after 1.1.67] a padá-final (pada=ant-ā́t) phoneme °-ṣ [in continuous utterance 2.108, with or without the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2].

sarpiṣ-pāná-m 'drinking of clarified butter'; *duṣ-pī-yá-m-āna* 'being drunk with difficulty', but *kuṣ+ṇā́+ti*.

8.4.36 naś-eḥ ṣá-anta-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] naś- 'disappear' (IV 85) when it ends in retroflex sibilant ṣ, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

pra/pari+naś+Kta = *pra/pari+naṣ+ṭá-* (2,36; 4.41), but *pra-/pari+ṇaś+ya-ti*; on the other hand, however, *prá-/pári-naṅk-ṣya-ti* (= °*naś+sya* = °*na-nuM-ś+sya-* = °*naṁṣ-ṣya-* 2.36 = °*naṁk-ṣya-* 2.41 = °*naṅk-ṣya-* 3.59) since the retroflex sibilant is replaced by velar stop [k].

8.4.37 pada=antá-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not replace] a padá-final [dental nasal stop n 1, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ 1 with or without the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

putr-ā́-n/gir-ī́-n/gur-ū́-n/pit-ṝ́-n; vṛkṣ-ā-n/mā́ṣ-ā-n/íṣ-ū-n/ṛ́ṣ-ī-n.

8.4.38 pada-vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not replace dental nasal stop n 1] also (ápi) when separated [from a preceding phoneme r/ṣ 1] by the intervention of padá-s (pada-vy-av-āy-é) [consisting of the phonemes denoted by the sigla aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

māṣa-kumbha-vāp-éna 'through sowing with a jar full of mā́ṣa beans'; *catur-aṅga-yog-éna, pra/pari+áva-nad-dha-*.

8.4.39 kṣubh-nā́=ādi-su ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1, preceded by the phoneme r/ṣ 1, with or without intervention by phonemes denoted by the sigla aṬ, kU, pU, ā́Ṅ or nuM 2] in the class of expressions beginning with kṣubh-nā́- [in continuous utterance 1.208].

kṣubh-nā́-ti, °-nī-táh/°-n-ánti; hari-ndándana-, giri-nagará-.

8.4.40 [1]s-[2]tO-ḥ [1]ś-[2]cU-nā [1]ś-[2]cU-ḥ

The substitute palatal sibilant ś and palatal stops (cU) replace dental sibilant s and dental stops (tU) [in contact with them 2.108].

Although the conditions specified in meta-rule 1.3.10 are satisfied here, that rule is inoperative here since the dental sibilant is replaced by the palatal even when it is in contact with palatal stops, besides the palatal sibilant. Its application is restricted to the correspondence between the substitute and substituendum only.

1. s+ś: *vṛkṣá+sU+śī́+∅*[1]*+te* = *vṛkṣá-ś śé-te*; 2. s+cU: *vṛkṣá-ś ci-no-ti/chād-ay-a-ti*; 3. tU+cU: *agni-cít jay-a-ti* = *agni-cíc jay-a-ti* = *agni-cíj jay-a-ti* (53); 4. tU+ś: *agni-cí-t śe-te* = *agni-cí-c śe-te* = *agni-cí-c che-te* (63); 5. cU+tU: *yaj+ná-* = *yaj-ñá-; yāc+nā* = *yāc-ñā; jan+lIṬ* = *ja-jan+eŚ* = *ja-j∅n-é* (6.4.98) = *ja-jñ-e*.

8.4.41 [1]ṣ-[2]ṭU-nā [1]ṣ-[2]ṭU-ḥ

The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ and retroflex stops (ṭU) replace [dental sibilant s and dental stops (tU) 40 in contact with them 2.108].

1. s+ṣ *vṛkṣá+Jas+ṣáṣ+Jas* = *vṛkṣ-ā́-ṣ ṣaṭ+∅*[1] (7.1.22); 2. s+ṭU: *vṛkṣá-ṣ ṭīk-a-ṭe*; 3. ṣ+tU: *piṣ+Ktá* = *piṣ-ṭá-*; 4. tU+ṭU: *agni-cí-ṭ ṭīk-a-te/ṭha-kāra-ḥ; agni-cí-ḍ ḍī-ná-ḥ* (53)/*ḍhauk-a-te*; 5. ṭU+tU: *liḥ+Ktá* = *liḍh+tá* (2.31) = *liḍh+dhá-* (2.40) = *liḍh+ḍha-* = *lī∅-ḍhá-* (6.3.111).

8.4.42 na pada=ant-ā́t=ṭO-r á-n-ām

[Retroflex stops (ṭU) 41] do not (na) replace [dental sibilant and stops (stO-ḥ) 40 occurring after 1.1.67] padá-final retroflex stops (ṭO-ḥ), with the exception of the sixth plural sUP triplet n-ām [in continuous utterance 2.108].

madhu-líṭ tar-a-ti/sar-a-ti/nay-a-ti/da-dā-ti/dhat-te but *īḍ+∅¹+te = īṭ-ṭé* (55); *sárpiṣ-ṭama-; ṣáṭ+nām = ṣaṇ-ṇā́m.*

8.4.43 tO-ḥ ṣ-i

[The substitute retroflex stops 41 do not replace padá-final 42] dental stops (tO-ḥ) [before 1.1.67] retroflex sibilant ṣ (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

agni-cí-t ṣaṇḍ-e.

8.4.44 ś-āt

[The substitute palatal stops 40 do not replace 42 dental stops 42 co-occurring after 1.1.67] palatal sibilant ś [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prach+ná- = praś+ná- (6.4.19) = *praś-ná-* 'query'.

8.4.45 ya̱R-aḥ áṅu-nāsik-e ánu-nāskika-ḥ vā

A substitute nasal stop optionally (vā) replaces [a padá-final 42] consonant other than phoneme h (ya̱R-aḥ) [before 1.1.67 an initial] nasal stop (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

vā́g/vā́ṅ nay-a-ti; madhu-líḍ/líṇ nay-a-ti; agni-cí-t/°cí-n nay-a-ti; triṣṭúb/triṣṭúm nay-a-ti but *véd-mi, kṣubh-nā́-ti* since the non-nasal stops are not padá-final.

8.4.46 aC-aḥ ¹ra̱-²ha̱-bhyām dv-é

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme r or h preceded by a vowel (aC-aḥ) are [optionally 45] replaced by gemination (dv-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

ark-á/arkk-á- 'light'; *bráh-man-/bráh-mman-* n. 'the Veda'.

8.4.47 án-aC-i ca

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel 46 and before 1.1.67] a non-vowel phoneme (án-aCi) are [optionally 45 replaced by gemination 46 in continuous utterance 2.108].

dádhi dá-tra = dádhy a-tra (6.1.77)/*dáddhy a-tra. mádhu á-tra = mádhv a-tra/máddhv a-tra.*

8.4.48 ná=ād-ín-ī=ā-kroś-é putrá-sya

[Substitute gemination 46] does not (ná) [replace phoneme t 46 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the posterior member in composition] °ād-ín-ī 'eater' when indicating insult or censure (ā-kroś-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

putrá+ād-ín-ī = putrá-m át-tum śī́la-m a-syā́ḥ = putrá∅[1]*+ad+Ṇini* (3.2.78)+*ṄīP* (4.1.5) = *putr-ā-d-ín-ī tvám asi pāp-e* 'you are a devourer of your son, O vile one (said in derision)', but when it is an actual fact: *putr-ā-dínī/puttr-ā-d-ín-ī* '(a feline) eating her cubs'.

8.4.49 śaR-aḥ aC-i

Sibilants (śaR-aḥ) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/h, preceded by a vowel 46 are not 48 replaced by gemination 46 before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

kárṣ-a-ti, várṣ-a-ti, ā-darś-á- but *dr̥ś+ṆíC+yaK+te = darś-í+yáK+te = darś-∅-ya-te* (6.4.51) = *darś-yá-te/darśś-ya-te*; exception to 46.

8.4.50 trí-pra-bhr̥-ti-ṣu śā́kaṭ-āyana-sya

[Gemination 46 does not take place 48] within a consonant nexus of three or more (trí-pra-bhr̥-ti-ṣu) [consonants excluding h 46 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Śā́kaṭāyana.

índra-, cand-rá-, rāṣ-ṭrá-, kā́rṣṇ-ya-, kā́rtsn-ya-.

8.4.51 sarvá-tra śā́kal-ya-sya

[Gemination 46 does not 48 take place] everywhere (sarvá-tra) according to the grammarian Śā́kalya.

ark-á-, mark-á- (46), *dádhy á-tra/mádhv á-tra* (47) etc.

8.4.52 dīrgh-ất ā-cār-yầ-ṇ-ām

[Gemination 47 does not 48 take place after 1.1.67] a long (dīrgh-ất vowel 1.2.28) according to all grammarians [in continuous utterance 2.108].

dā-trá-, dīrghá-, mūrkhá- etc.

8.4.53 jha̱L-ām ja̱Ś jha̱Ś-i

Substitute voiced un-aspirated stops (ja̱Ś) replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jha̱L-ām) [before 1.1.67] voiced stops (jha̱Ś-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

labh+tumu̱N = *lábh+tum* = *lábh+dhum* (2.40) = *láb-dum* 'for gaining'; *duh+∅*[1]*+te* = *dugh+te* (2.32) = *dugh+dhe* (2.40) = *dug-dhé.*

8.4.54 abhy-ās-é ca̱R ca

Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants (ca̱R) as well as (ca) [voiced unaspirated stops (ja̱Ś) 53 replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jha̱L) 53] occurring in the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By interpretation voiced unaspirated stops (ja̱Ś) replace voiced aspirated stops (jha̱Ṣ) and unvoiced unaspirated stops replace unvoiced aspirated stops (kha̱R).

khan+saN = *khán-khan+sa* (6.1.9) = *kán-khan-iṬ-sa* (7.2.35) = *cí-khan-i-ṣa-* (7.4.62,79; 8.4.59); *bhū+saN* = *bhú-bhū-sa-* (7.4.59) = *bú-bhū-ṣa-* (3.59); *sthā+saN* = *sthá-sthā-sa-* (7.4.59) = *stá-sthā-sa-* = *tá-sthā-sa-* (7.4.61) = *tí-ṣṭhā-sa-* (7.4.79; 8.3.59; 4.41).

8.4.55 kha̱R-i ca

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated consonants (ca̱R) 54] also replace [non-nasal stops and sibilants (jha̱L) 53 before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops and sibilants (kha̱R-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhid+tumu̱N = *bhéd+tum* = *bhét-tum; labh+syá-* = *lap-syá-; yudh+saN* = *yú-yudh+sa-* = *yú-yut-sa-*, etc.

8.4.56 vā ava-s-ā́-n-e

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants 54] optionally (vā) [replace non-nasal stops and spirants 53] occurring in pausa (avasā́n-e) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Although both ca̱R and kha̱R sigla include sibilants, their status at pausa is governed by separate rules (°-s 2.66; °-ś 2.36,62) °-ṣ alone is covered by this rule. It also proves that only the unvoiced stops are intended by the siglum ca̱R. *vā́c+sU = vā́c+∅* (6.1.68) = *vā́g* (2.39) /*vā́k; viś+sU= viṣ+∅* (2.36) = *víḍ/víṭ* etc.

8.4.57 aṆ-aḥ á-pra-gr̥h-ya-sya ánu-nāsika-ḥ

A substitute nasalized vowel (ánu-nāsika-ḥ) [optionally 56] replaces vowel phoneme-class a, i, u (aṆ[1]-aḥ) [in pausa 53] when they are not prolated (á-pra-gr̥h-ya-sya) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

dádhi/mádhu+su/am = dádhi/mádhu+∅ (7.1.23) = *dádhī̃/dádhi, mádhū̃/mádhu.*

8.4.58 anu-svār-á-sya yāY-i pára-sa-varṇá-ḥ

A substitute (= nasal stop) homophonous with the following semivowel or stop (ya̱Y-i) (pára-sa-varṇá-ḥ) replaces an anusvāra (ṁ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

śak-I (I 86)+*tumu̱N = śá-nu̱M+k+iṬ+tum* (7.1.58) = *śáṁk-i-tum* (3.24) = *śáṅk-i-tum* 'to doubt'; similarly *uchÍ+tum = úñch-i-tum* 'to glean'; *kuḍ-I+tum = kúṇḍ-i-tum; ṇad-Í+tum = nánd-i-tum; kapI+tum = kámp-i-tum* 'to please;/to shake'.

8.4.59 vā pada=antá-sya

[A substitute nasal stop homophonous with the following semivowel or stop 58] optionally (vā) replaces padá-final [anu-svār-á ṁ 58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

káta-ṁ kar-o-ti/ kata-ṅ kar-o-ti 'makes a mat'. *táṁ ka-tháṁ citrá-pakṣaṁ ḍay-a-m-ānáṁ nabhasthám púruṣa-ḥ a-vadh-ī-t/ táṅ ka-tháñ citrá-pakṣaṇ ḍaya-m-ānán nabhasthám púruṣa-ḥ a-vadh-ī-t* 'how did the man kill the speckled-winged bird flying in the sky?'.

8.4.60 tO-r l-i

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with the following phoneme 58] l replaces a dental stop (tO-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 the semivowel] l [in continuous utterance 2.108].

úd+las-a-ti = *úl-las-a-ti* 'shines forth'; *úd+laṅgh-a-ti* = *úl-laṅgh-a-ti* 'oversteps'; *agni-cít lu-nā-ti* = *agni-cíl lu-nā-ti*.

8.4.61 úd-aḥ ¹sthā-²stanbhO-ḥ pū́rva-sya

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with 58] the preceding phoneme (pū́rva-sya) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the verbal stems] sthā- 'remain' (I 975) and stanbh(U) 'prop, support, stop' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] úd-° [in continuous utternace 2.108].

1. *úd+sthā-* = *út+sthā* (55) = *út-tthā+tumuN* = *ut-thā́-tum* (65).
2. *úd+stambh+tumuN* (3.24) = *ut-tthámbh-i-tum* = *ut-thámbh-i-tum*.

8.4.62 jhaY-aḥ ha-ḥ anya-tará-syām

[A substitute phoneme homophonous 58 with the preceding phoneme 61] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces the phoneme h [occurring after 1.1.67] non-nasal stops (jhaY-aḥ) [in continuous utternace 2.108].

vā́g has-a-ti/vā́g ghás-a-ti; víḍ has-a-ti/víḍ ḍhas-a-ti; agni-cíd has-a-ti/agni-cid dhas-a-ti; tri-ṣṭúb has-a-ti/tri-ṣṭúb bhas-a-ti.

8.4.63 ś-as cha-ḥ aṬ-i

The substitute phoneme ch [optionally 62] replaces sibilant ś [occurring after 1.1.67 non-nasal stops (jhaY-ah) 62 before 1.1.66] vowels and semivowels excluding lateral l [in continuous utterance 2.108].

A vārttika emends [aṬ-i] of this rule to [aM-i] which then extends the scope by not only including /l/ but also the nasal stops.

vā́k śe-te / vā́k che-te; tri-ṣṭúp śe-te/che-te; tát ślók-ena/chlók-ena; tát śmáśru-ṇā/chmáśru-ṇā. tát snáth-an-ena/chnáth-an-ena.

8.4.64 haL-aḥ yaM-ām yaM-i lopá-ḥ

The substitute lópa (∅) [optionally 62] replaces a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-ām) [occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [before 1.1.66] a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

śáy-yā (3.3.99)/*śáy-yy-ā; ādit-yá- = āditу-yá-/ādit∅-yá-*.

8.4.65 jhaR-aḥ jhaR-i sá-varṇ-e

[The substitute lópa (∅) 64 optionally 62 replaces] stops and sibilants (jhaR-aḥ) [occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 64, before 1.1.66] homophonous (sa-varṇ-e) stops and sibilants (jhaR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

prá+dā+Kta = prá-tt-ta- (7.4.47) = *prá-t∅-ta- = prá-t-ta-* 'donated'.

8.4.66 udā́tt-āt ánudātta-sya svaritá-ḥ

The substitute svaritá accent replaces an ánudātta accent [occurring after 1.1.67] an udā́tta accent [in continuous utterance 2.108].

bhū́+ŚaP+tiP = bhó+a+ti (7.3.84)+*bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78) = *bhav-à-ti* in continuous utterance. *agním ī́l-e* (1.28) *puró-hi-ta-m = agni-m ī̀l-e puro-hì-tam* (in continuous recitation where the underlined vowels bear the anudātta accent and the unmarked udātta accent).

8.4.67 na=udātta-svaritá=udayam á-[1]gārgya-[2]kāśyapa-[3]gālava-n-ām

[A substitute svaríta 66] does not (ná) replace [an ánudātta occurring after an udā́tta 66] when it is itself followed by an udā́tta or svaritá (udātta-svaritá=udaya-m) according to the grammarians Gā́rgya, Kā́śyapa and Gālava [in continuous utterance 2.108].

gā́rgya-s+tá-tra = gārgya-s ta-trà; gā́rgy-a-s kvà = gārgyas kvà.

8.4.68 a a iti

The vowel phoneme short a (which was treated as an open or vi-vr̥-tá vowel) is replaced [in continuous utterance 2.108] by phoneme short a (which is in fact a close = saṁ-vr̥-tá vowel).

In grammatical operations short [a] was treated as an open or vi-vr̥-tá vowel homophonous with the long [ā], so that the notion of sávarṇa would apply to it in defining allophones of phoneme [a] with 3 lengths, 3 accents and ± nasality, but in actual usage it is a close (saṁ-vr̥-tá) vowel. Its inclusion here is to block out this particular character so as to establish its homogeneity with other allophones of this phoneme.

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I.A. udāttāḥ

I.A.1. para-smai-bhāṣa-ḥ

1 bhū́ sattā́-y-ām

I.A.2. ta-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ ánudatta=IT-aḥ

2 édhA vr̥d-dh-áu; 3 spárdhA saṁ-gharṣ-é; 4 gā́dhR̥ [1]pra-tiṣṭhā́-[2]lipsáy-or-[3]granth-é ca; 5 bā́dhR̥ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 6 nā́dhR̥ 7 nā́thR̥ [1]yāc-ñā́=[2]upa-tāpá=[3]aíśvarya=[4]āsī́ḥ-ṣu; 8 dádhA dhā́r-aṇ-e; 9 skúdI ā-práv-aṇ-e; 10 śvídI śvaíty-e; 11 vádI [1]abhi-vā́d-ana-[2]stu-ty-óḥ; 12 bhádI kalyā́ṇ-e sukh-é ca; 13 mádI [1]stu-tí-[2]móda-[3]máda-[4]sváp-na-[5]gá-ti-ṣu; 14 spádI kiṁ-cit=cál-an-e; 15 klídI pari-dév-ane; 16 múdA hárṣ-e; 17 dádA dān-é; 18 svádA 19 svárdA ā-svā́d-an-e; 20 úrdA mā́n-e krīḍā́-y-āṁ ca; 21 kúrdA 22 khúrdA 23 gúrdA guda-kriḍā́-y-ām eva; (24 gúdA krīḍā-y-ām evá); 25 sū́dA kṣár-aṇ-e; 26 hrádA á-vyak-t-e śábde; 27 hlā́dĪ sukh-é ca; 28 svádA ā-svā́d-an-e; 29 párdA kuts-it-é śábd-e; 30 yátĪ pra-yat-n-é; 31 yútR̥ 32 jútR̥ bhā́s-an-e; 33 víthR̥ 34 véthR̥ yā́c-an-e; 35 śráthI śaíthily-e; 36 gráthI kaúṭily-e; 37 kátthA ślāghā́-y-ām.

I.A.3. ta-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

38 átÁ sā́tatya-gam-an-e; 39 cítĪ́ saṁ-jñā́-n-e; 40 cyútÍR ā-séc-an-e; 41 scyútÍR kṣár-aṇ-e; (42 jyútÍR bhā́s-an-e); 43 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 44 kúthÍ 45 púthÍ 46 lúthÍ 47 máthÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-kléś-ay-oḥ; 48 ṣídhÁ gá-ty-ām; 49 ṣídhÙ śā́s-tr-é mā́ṅgaly-e ca; 50 khādR̥ bháks-aṇ-e; 51 khádÁ sthaíry-e hiṁsā́-y-āṁ ca; 53 gádÁ vyàk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 54 rádÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 55 nádÁ (á-vyak-t-e) śábd-e; 56 árdÁ gá-t-au yā́c-an-e ca; 57 nárdÁ 58 gárdÁ śábd-e; 59 tárdÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 60 kárdÁ kuts-i-t-é śábd-e; 61 khárdÁ dan-daś-ū́k-e; 62 átÍ 63 ádÍ bándh-an-e; 64 ídÍ

parama=aisvary-é; 65 bídÍ ava-yav-é; 65a gáḍÍ vadana=eka-deś-é; 66 ṇídÍ kutsā́-y-ām; 67 ṬUnádÍ sám-r̥d-dh-au; 68 cádÍ āhlād-e dīp-t-aú ca; 69 trádÍ ceṣṭā́-y-ām; 70 kádÍ 71 krádÍ 72 kládÍ ā-hvā́n-e ród-ane ca; 73 klídÍ pari-dév-an-e; 74 śúndhÁ śúd-dh-au.

I.A.4. ka-varg-ī́ya-antāḥ ánudātta-IT-aḥ

75 śī́kR̥ séc-ane; 76 lókR̥ dárś-an-e; 77 ślokR̥ saṁ-ghāt-é; 78 drékR̥ 79 dhrékR̥ [1]śábda=[2]ut-sāháy-oḥ; 80 rékR̥ śaṅkā́-y-ām; 81 sékR̥ 82 srékR̥ 83 srákI 84 śrákI 85 ślákI gá-ty-arthāḥ; 86 śákI śaṅkā́-y-ām; 87 ákI lákṣ-an-e; 88 vákI kaúṭily-e; 89 mákI máṇḍ-an-e; 90 kákA laúly-e; 91 kúkA 92 vŕ̥kA ā́-dān-e; 93 cákA tr̥p-t-aú prati-ghāt-é ca; 94 kákI 95 vákI 96 śvákI 97 trákI 98 ḍhaúkR̥ 99 traúkR̥ 100 ṣváskA 101 váskA 102 máskA 103 ṭíkR̥ 104 ṭī́kR̥ (105 tíkR̥ 106 tī́kR̥) 107 rághI 108 lághI gá-ty-arthāḥ; 109 ághI 110 vághI 111 mághI ga-ty-ā-kṣep-é; 112 mághI kaítav-e ca; 113 rā́ghR̥ 114 lā́ghR̥ 115 drā́ghR̥ (116 dhrā́ghR̥) sā́marthy-e; 117 drā́ghR̥ (dhrā́ghR̥) ā-yām-é ca; 118 ślā́ghR̥ kátth-an-e.

I.A.5. ka-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

119 phákkÁ nicair-gá-t-au; 120 tákÁ hás-an-e; 121 tákÍ kr̥cchra-jī́v-an-e; 122 búkkÁ bháṣ-aṇ-e; (123 śúkÁ gá-t-au); 124 kákhÁ hás-an-e; 125 ókhŔ̥ 126 rā́khŔ̥ 127 lā́khŔ̥ 128 drā́khŔ̥ 129 dhrā́khŔ̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇa=[2]álam-arthay-oḥ; 130 śā́khŔ̥ 131 ślā́khŔ̥ vy-ā̀p-t-au; 132 úkhÁ 133 úkhÍ 134 vákhÁ 135 vákhÍ 136 mákhÁ 137 mákhÍ 138 ṇákhÁ 139 ṇákhÍ 140 rákhÁ 141 rákhÍ 142 lákhÁ 142 lákhÍ 144 íkhÁ 145 íkhÍ 146 ī́khÁ (147 múkhÍ/thákÍ, 148 trákhÁ 149 trákhÍ 150 síkhÍ 151 ríkhÁ) 152 válgÁ 153 rágÍ 154 lágÍ 155 ágÍ 156 vágÍ 157 mágÍ 158 tágÍ 159 tvágÍ/trágÍ 160 śrágÍ 161 śvágÍ 162 ślágÍ 163 ígÍ 164 rígÍ 165 lígÍ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 165 tvágÍ kámp-an-e ca; 167 yúgÍ 168 júgÍ 169 vúgÍ várj-an-e; 170 ghághÁ hás-an-e, (171 dághÍ pā́l-an-e; 172 lághÍ śóṣ-aṇ-e); 173 mághÍ máṇḍ-an-e; 174 śíghÍ ā-ghrā́ṇ-e.

I.A.6. ca-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

175 várcA dī́p-t-au; 176 ṣácA séc-an-e; 177 lócR̥ dárś-an-e; 178 śácA vyà̀k-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 179 śvácA 180 śvácI ga-t-aú; 181 kácA bándh-an-e; 182 kácI 183 kā́cI [1]dī́p-ti-[2]bándh-anay-oḥ; 184 mácA 185 múcI kálk-an-e; 186 mácI [1]dhā́r-aṇa=[2]uc-chrāyá-[3]pū́j-ane-ṣu; 187 pácI vyak-tī-kár-aṇ-e;

188 ṣtúcA pra-sād-é; 189 ŕ̥jA [1]gá-ti-[2]sthā́-na=[3]árj-ana=[4]upa=árj-ane-ṣu; 190 ŕ̥jI 191 bhŕ̥jĪ bhárj-an-e; 192 éjR̥ 193 bhréjR̥ 194 bhrā́jR̥ dī́p-t-au; (195 réjR̥ dī́p-t-au); 196 ī́jA [1]gá-ti-[2]kút-sanay-oh; (197 vījA gá-t-au).

I.A.7. ca-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

198 śúcÁ śo-k-é; 199 kúcÁ śábd-e tā́r-e; 200 kúncÁ 201 krúncÁ [1]kaúṭilya=[2]alpī-bhāváy-oḥ; 202 lúncÁ apa-náy-an-e; 203 áncŨ [1]gá-ti-[2]pū́j-anay-oḥ; 204 váncÚ 205 cáncÚ 206 táncÚ 207 tváncÚ 208 mrúncÚ 209 mlúncÚ 210 mrúcÚ 211 mlúcÚ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 212 grúcÚ 213 glúcÚ 214 kújÚ 215 khújÚ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e; 216 glúncÁ 217 ṣásjÁ gá-t-au; 218 gújÍ á-vyak-t-e śábd-e; 219 árcÁ pūjā́-y-ā́m; 220 mléchÁ á-vyak-t-e śábd-e; 221 láchÁ 222 lā́chÍ lákṣ-aṇ-e; 223 vā́chÍ icchā́-y-ām; 224 ā́chÍ ā-yām-é; 225 hrī́chÁ lajjā́-y-ām; 226 húrchÀ kaúṭily-e; 227 múrchÀ [1]móh-ana-[2]sam-uc-chrāyáy-oḥ; 228 sphúrchÀ vi-stŕ̥-t-au; 229 yúchÁ pra-mād-é; 230 úchÍ uñch-é; 231 úchĪ́ vi-vās-é; 232 dhrájÁ 233 dhrájÍ (234 vrájÁ 235 vrájÍ) 236 dhŕ̥jÁ 237 dhŕ̥jÍ 238 dhvájÁ 239 dhvájÍ gá-t-au; 240 kū́jÁ (241 kújÍ) á-vyak-t-e śábd-e; 242 árjÁ 243 ṣárjÁ árj-an-e; 244 gárjÁ śábd-e; 245 tárjÁ bhárts-an-e; 246 kárjÁ vyáth-an-e; 247 khárjÁ pū́j-an-e ca; 248 ájÁ [1]gáti-[2]kṣép-aṇay-oḥ; 249 téjÁ pā́l-an-e; 250 khájÁ manth-é; (251 kájÁ mád-e); 252 khájÍ ga-ti-vaikaly-é; 253 éjR̥ kámp-an-e; 254 ṬU-O-sphúrjÀ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é; 255 kṣí ksay-é; 256 kṣíjÁ á-vyak-t-e śábd-e; 257 lájÁ 258 lájÍ bhárts-an-e; 259 lā́jA 260 lā́jÍ bhárts-an-e ca; 261 jájÁ 262 jájÍ yud-dh-é; 263 tújÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 264 tújÍ pāl-an-e; 265 gájÁ 266 gájÍ 267 gŕ̥jÁ 268 gŕ̥jÍ 269 mújÁ 270 mújÍ śábda=arthāḥ; gájÁ mád-an-e ca; 271 vájÁ 272 vrájÁ gá-t-au.

I.A.8. ṭa-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

273 áṭṭA [1]ati-krám-a-[2]hiṁsáy-oḥ; 274 véṣṭA véṣṭ-an-e; 275 céṣṭA ceṣṭā́-y-ām; 276 góṣṭA 277 lóṣṭA saṁ-ghāt-é; 278 gháṭṭA cál-an-e; 279 sphúṭA vi-kás-an-e; 280 áṭhI gá-t-au; 281 váṭhI eka-caryā́-y-am; 282 máṭhI 283 káṭhI śók-e; 284 múṭhI pā́l-an-e; 285 héṭhA vi-bādhā́-y-ām; 286 éṭhA ca; 287 híḍI [1]gá-ti=[2]án-ā-daray-oḥ; 288 húḍI saṁ-ghāt-é; 289 kúḍI dā́h-e; 290 váḍI vi-bhā́j-an-e; 291 máḍI ca; 292 bháḍI pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 293 píḍI saṁ-ghāt-é; 294 múḍI mā́rj-an-e; 295 túḍI tóḍ-an-e; 296 húḍi vár-aṇ-e; (297 sphúḍI vi-kás-an-e); 298 cáḍI kop-e; 299 śáḍI rujā́-y-ām saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 300 táḍI tā́ḍ-an-e; 301 páḍI gá-t-au; 302 káṇḍA mád-e; 303 kháḍI manth-é; 304 héḍR̥ 305 hóḍR̥ án-ā-dar-e;

306 bā́ḍR̥ ā-plāvy-è; 307 drā́ḍR̥ 308 dhrā́ḍR̥ vi-śár-aṇ-e; 309 śā́ḍR̥ ślāghā́-y-ām.

I.A.9. ṭa-varg-īya=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

310 saúṭŔ̥ garv-é; 311 yaúṭR̥ bandh-é; 312 mléṭŔ̥ 313 mréḍR̥ (314 mléṭR̥) un-mād-é; 315 káṭÉ (316 cáṭÉ) [1]varṣá=[2]ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 317 áṭÁ 318 páṭÁ gá-t-au; 319 ráṭÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 320 láṭA bā́ly-e; 321 śáṭÁ [1]rujā́-[2]vi-śár-aṇa-[3]gá-ti=[4]ava-sā́d-ane-ṣu; 322 váṭÁ véṣṭ-an-e; 323 kíṭÁ 324 khíṭÁ trā́s-e; 325 śíṭÁ 326 ṣíṭÁ án-ā-dar-e; 327 jáṭÁ 328 jháṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 329 bháṭÁ bhṛ̥́-t-au; 330 táṭÁ uc-chrāy-é; 331 kháṭÁ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām; 332 náṭÁ nṛ̥́t-au; 333 píṭÁ [1]śábda-[2]saṁ-ghātáy-oḥ; 334 háṭÁ dī́p-t-au; 335 ṣáṭÁ ava-yáv-e; 336 lúṭÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 337 cíṭÁ para-praiṣy-é; 338 víṭÁ śábd-e; 339 bíṭÁ ā-kros-é; 340 íṭÁ 341 kíṭÁ 342 káṭĪ́ gá-t-au; (343 héṭhÁ vi-bādhā́-y-ām); 344 máḍÍ bhū́ṣ-ā-y-ām; 345 kúḍÍ vaí-kal-ye; 346 múṭÁ pra-márd-an-e; 347 cúḍÍ alpī-bhāv-é; 348 múḍÍ khánḍ-an-e; 349 rúṭÍ 350 lúṭÍ sté-y-e; (351 váṭÍ vi-bhā́j-an-e); 352 sphúṭÍR vi-sár-aṇ-e; 353 páṭhÁ vy-àktā-y-ām vāc-í; 354 váṭhÁ sthaúly-e; 355 máṭhÁ [1]máda-[2]ni-vā́say-oḥ; 356 káṭhÁ kṛ̥cchra-jīv-an-é; 357 ráṭhÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 358 háṭhÁ [1]plú-ti-[2]śaṭha-tváy-oḥ; 359 rúṭhA 360 lúṭhÁ 361 úṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é; 362 píṭhÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-kléś-an-ay-oḥ; 363 śáṭhÁ kaítav-e ca; 364 śúṭhÁ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 365 kúṭhÍ ca; 366 lúṭhÍ ā́-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca; 367 śúṭhÍ śóṣ-aṇ-e; 368 rúṭhÍ 369 lúṭhÍ gá-t-au; 370 cúḍḍÁ bhāva-kár-an-e; 371 áḍḍÁ abhi-yog-e; 372 káḍḍÁ kā́rkaśy-e; 373 krī́ḍR̥ vi-hār-é; 374 túḍR̥ tóḍ-an-e; 375 hū́ḍR̥/húḍR̥ 376 hóḍR̥ gá-t-au; 377 raúḍR̥ án-ā-dar-e; 378 róḍR̥ 379 lóḍR̥ un-mād-é; 380 áḍÁ ud-yam-é; 381 láḍÁ vi-lās-é; (382 lálÁ īp-sā́-y-ām); 383 káḍÁ mád-e; 384 gáḍÍ vad-ana=eka-deś-é.

I.A.10. pa-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ ánudatta=IT-aḥ

385 típR̥ 386 tépR̥ 387 stípR̥ 388 stépR̥ kṣár-ana=arthāḥ; 389 tépR̥ kámp-an-e ca; 390 glépR̥ daíny-e; 391 ṬU-vépR̥ kámp-an-e; 392 képR̥ 393 gépR̥ 394 glépR̥ ca; 395 mépR̥ 396 lépR̥ 397 répR̥ (398 dhépR̥) gá-t-au; 399 trápŪṢ lajjā́-y-ām; 400 kápI cál-an-e; 401 rábI 402 lábI 403 ábI śábd-e; 404 lábI ava-sráṁs-an-e ca; 405 kábR̥ várṇ-e; 406 klī́bR̥ á-dhārṣṭy-e; 407 kṣī́bR̥ mád-e; 408 śī́bR̥ kátth-an-e; 409 cī́bhR̥ ca; 410 rébhR̥ śábd-e; (411 ábhI 412 rábhI śábd-e); 413 ṣṭábhI 414 skábhI prati-bandh-é; 415 jábhI 416 jṛ̥́bhI gātra-vi-nām-é; 417 śálbhA

kátth-an-e; 418 válbhA bhój-an-e; 419 gálbhA dhā́rṣṭy-e; 420 śránbhU pra-mād-e; 421 ṣṭúbhU stambh-é.

I.A.11. pa-varg-ī́ya=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

422 gúpŪ̀ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 423 dhū́pÁ saṁ-tāp-é; 424 jápÁ 425 jálpÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 426 cápÁ sā́ntvan-e; 427 ṣápÁ sam-av-āy-é; 428 rápÁ 429 lápÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 430 cúpÁ mandā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au; 431 túpÁ 432 túnpÁ 433 trúpÁ 434 trúnpÁ 435 túphÁ 436 túnphÁ 437 trúphÁ 438 trúnphÁ hiṁsā́=arthāḥ; 439 párpÁ 440 ráphÁ 441 ráphÍ 442 árbÁ 443 párbÁ 444 lárbÁ 445 bárbÁ 446 márbÁ 447 kárbÁ 448 khárbÁ 449 gárbÁ 450 śárbÁ 451 ṣárbÁ 452 cárbÁ gá-t-au; 453 kúbÍ chā́d-an-e; 454 lúbÍ 455 túbÍ árd-an-e; 456 cúbÍ vaktra-saṁ-yog-é; 457 ṣṛ́bhÚ 458 ṣṛ́nbhÚ hiṁsā́=arth-au; 459 śúbhÁ 460 śúnbhÁ bhā́s-an-e.

I.A.12. ánu-nāsika=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

461 ghíṇI 461 ghúṇI 463 ghṛ́ṇI gráh-aṇ-e; 464 ghúṇA 465 ghū́rṇA bhrám-aṇ-e; 466 páṇA vy-ava-hār-é stú-t-au ca; 467 pánA ca; 468 bhāmA kródh-e; 469 kṣámŪṢ sáh-an-e; 470 kámU kā́n-t-au.

I.A.13. ánu-nasika=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

471 áṇÁ 472 ráṇÁ 473 váṇÁ 474 bháṇÁ 475 máṇÁ 476 káṇÁ 477 kváṇÁ 478 vráṇÁ 479 bhráṇÁ 480 dhváṇÁ (481 dháṇÁ) śábda=arthāḥ; 482 óṇṚ́ apa-náy-an-e; 483 śóṇṚ́ [1]várṇa-[2]gá-ty-oh; 484 śróṇṚ́ saṁ-ghāt-é; (485 ślóṇṚ́ ca); 486 paíṇṚ́ [1]gá-ti-[2]pr-é-r-aṇa-[3]śléṣ-aṇe-ṣu; 487 dhráṇÁ śábd-e; 488 kánĪ́ [1]dī́p-ti-[2]kā́n-ti-[3]gá-ti-ṣu; 489 stánÁ 490 vánÁ śábd-e; 491 vánÁ 492 ṣánÁ sam-bhák-t-au; 493 ámÁ gá-ty-ādi-ṣu [=gá-t-au, śábd-e, sam-bhák-t-au]; 494 drámÁ 495 hámmÁ 496 mī́mṚ́ gá-t-au; 497 cámÚ 498 chámÚ 499 jámÚ (500 jímÚ) 501 jhámÚ ád-an-e; 502 krámU pāda-vi-kṣep-é.

I.A.14. ya̱-ra̱-la̱-vá̱=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

503 áyA 504 váyA 505 páyA 506 máyA 507 cáyA 508 táyA 509 náyA gá-t-au; 510 dáyA [1]dāná-[2]gá-ti-[3]rákṣ-aṇa-[4]hiṁsā́=[5]ā-dāné-ṣu; 511 ráya gá-t-au; 512 ū́yĪ tan-tu-saṁ-tān-é; 513 pū́yĪ vi-śár-aṇ-e dur-gandh-é ca; 514 knū́yĪ śábd-e únd-e ca; 515 kṣmā́yĪ vi-dhū́-n-an-e; 516 sphā́yĪ 517 O-pyā́yĪ vṛ́d-dh-au; 518 tā́yṚ [1]saṁ-tāná-[2]pāl-anay-oḥ; 519 śálA [1]cál-ana-

[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 520 válA 521 vállA saṁ-vár-an-e saṁ-cál-an-e ca; 522 málA 523 mállA dhā́r-aṇ-e; 524 bhálA 525 bhállA [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́=[3]ā-dāné-ṣu; 526 kálA [1]śábda-[2]saṁ-khyā́nay-oḥ; 527 kállA á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e; 528 tévR̥ 529 dévR̥ dév-an-e; 530 ṣévR̥ 531 gévR̥ 532 glévR̥ 533 pévR̥ (534 mévR̥) 535 mlévR̥ (536 śévR̥ 537 khévR̥ 538 plévR̥ 539 kévR̥) sév-an-e; 540 révR̥ plav-a-gá-t-au.

I.A.15. ya-ra-la-vá=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

541 mávyÁ bándh-an-e; 542 ṣū́rkṣyÁ 543 ī́rkṣyÁ 544 ī́rṣyÁ īrṣyā́=arthāḥ; 545 háyÁ gá-t-au; 546 śúcyÁ abhi-ṣav-é; 547 háryÁ [1]gá-ti-[2]kā́n-ty-oḥ; 548 álÁ [1]bhū́-ṣ-aṇa-[2]pary-ā́p-ti-[3]vā́r-aṇe-ṣu; 549 ÑI-phálĀ̀ vi-śár-aṇ-e; 550 mīlÁ 551 śmī́lÁ 552 smī́lÁ 553 kṣmī́lÁ ni-méṣ-aṇ-e; 554 pī́lÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é; 555 ṇī́lÁ várṇ-e; 556 śī́lÁ sam-ā-dh-aú; 557 kī́lÁ bándh-an-e; 558 kū́lÁ ā-vár-aṇ-e; 559 śū́lÁ rujā́-y-āṁ saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 560 tū́lÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 561 pū́lÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 562 mū́lÁ pra-tiṣṭhā́-y-ām; 563 phálÁ niṣ-pát-t-au; 564 cúllÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e; 565 phúllÁ vi-kás-an-e; 566 cíllÁ saíthily-e bhāva-kár-aṇ-e ca; 567 tílÁ gá-t-au; 568 vélŔ̥ 569 célŔ̥ 570 kélŔ̥ 571 khélŔ̥ 572 kṣvélŔ̥ 573 véllÁ cál-an-e; 574 pélŔ̥ 575 phélŔ̥ 576 śélŔ̥ gá-t-au; 577 skhálÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 578 khálÁ saṁ-cay-é; 579 gálÁ ád-an-e; 580 ṣálÁ gá-t-au; 581 dálÁ vi-śár-aṇ-e; 582 śválÁ 583 śvállÁ āśu-gám-an-e; 584 khólŔ̥/khórŔ̥ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 585 dhórŔ̥ ga-ti-cātury-é; 586 tsárÁ chad-ma-gá-t-au; 587 kmárÁ hū́rch-an-e; 588 ábhrÁ 589 vábhrÁ 590 mábhrÁ 591 cárÁ gáty-arthāḥ; cár-a-tir bhákṣ-aṇa=arthaḥ=api; 592 ṣṭhívÚ/ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e; 593 jí jay-é; 594 jī́vÁ prāṇa-dhā́r-aṇ-e; 595 pī́vÁ 596 mī́vÁ 597 tī́vÁ 598 ṇī́vÁ sthaúly-e; 599 kṣívÚ nir-ás-an-e; 600 úrvĪ́ 601 túrvĪ́ 602 thúrvĪ́ 603 dúrvĪ́ 604 dhúrvĪ́ hiṁsā́=arthāḥ; 605 gúrvĪ́ ud-yám-an-e; 606 múrvĪ́ bándh-an-e; 607 púrvÁ 608 párvÁ 609 márvÁ pū́r-aṇ-e; 610 cárvÁ ád-an-e; 611 bhárvÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 612 kárvÁ 613 khárvÁ 614 gárvÁ dárp-e; 615 árvÁ 616 śárvÁ 617 ṣárvÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 618 ívÍ vy-ā́p-t-au; 619 pívÍ 620 mívÍ 621 ṇívÍ séc-an-e; 622 hívÍ 623 dívÍ 624 dhívÍ 625 jívÍ prī́ṇ-ana=arthāḥ; 626 rívÍ 627 rávÍ 628 dhávÍ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 629 kr̥̄́vÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]kár-aṇay-oś ca; 630 mávÁ bándh-an-e; 631 ávÁ [1]rákṣ-aṇa-[2]gá-ti=[3]kā́n-ti-[4]prī́-ti-[5]tŕ̥p-ty-[6]ava-gam-á-[7]pra-veś-á-[8]śráv-aṇa-[9]svāmy-ártha-[10]yā́c-ana-[11]kriyā́=[12]icchā́-[13]dī́p-ti=[14]av-ā́-p-ti=[15]ā-líṅg-ana-[16]hiṁsā́-[17]dāná-[18]bhāga-[19]vŕ̥d-dhi-ṣu; 632 dhā́vÚ [1]gá-ti-[2]súd-dhy-oḥ.

I.A.16. ūṣmá=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

633 dhúkṣA 634 dhíkṣA [1]saṁ-dīp-ana-[2]kléś-ana-[3]jī́v-ane-ṣu; 635 vŕ̥kṣA vár-aṇ-e; 636 śīkṣA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é; 637 bhíkṣA bhikṣā́-y-ām a-lābh-é lābh-é ca; 638 kléśA á-vy-ak-tāy-āṁ vāc-í; 639 dákṣA vŕ̥d-dh-au śīghrá=arth-e ca; 640 dī́kṣA [1]mauṇḍá=[2]íj-yā=[3]upa-náy-ana-[4]ni-yam-á-[5]vratá=[6]ā-deśé-ṣu; 641 ī́kṣA dárś-an-e; 642 ī́ṣA [1]gá-ti-[2]hiṁsā́-[3]dárś-ane-ṣu; 643 bhā́ṣA vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 644 várṣA snéh-an-e; 645 géṣR̥ anv-icchā́-y-ām; 646 yéṣR̥ pra-yat-n-é 647 jéṣR̥ 648 ṇéṣR̥ 649 éṣR̥ 650 préṣR̥ gá-t-au; 651 réṣR̥ 652 héṣR̥ (653 hréṣR̥) á-vy-ak-te śábd-e; 654 kā́sR̥ śabda-kutsā́-y-ām; 655 bhā́sR̥ dī́p-t-au; 656 ṇāsR̥ 657 rā́sR̥ śábd-e; 658 ṇásA kaúṭily-e; 659 bhyásA bhay-é; 660 ā́N-aḥ śásI icchā́-y-ām; 661 grásU 662 glásU ád-an-e; 663 ī́hA ceṣṭā́-y-ām; 664 báhI 665 máhI vŕ̥d-dh-au; 666 áhI gá-t-au; 667 gárhA 668 gálhA kutsā́-y-ām; 669 bárhA 670 bálhA prā́dhāny-e; 671 várhA 672 válhA [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́=[3]ā-cchā́d-ane-ṣu; 673 plíhA gá-t-au; 674 véhR̥ 675 jéhR̥ 676 bā́hR̥ pra-yat-n-é; 677 drā́hR̥ nidrā-kṣay-e; 678 kā́sR̥ dī́p-t-au; 679 ū́hA vi-tark-é; 680 gā́hŪ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 681 gŕ̥hŪ gráh-aṇ-e; 682 ghúṣI kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e.

I.A.17. ūṣmá=antāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

683 ghúṣÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e; 684 ákṣȖ vy-ā́p-t-au; 685 tákṣȖ 686 tvákṣȖ tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 687 úkṣÁ séc-an-e; 688 rákṣÁ pā́l-an-e; 689 ṇíkṣÁ cúmb-ane; 690 tŕ̥kṣÁ 691 ṣṭŕ̥kṣÁ 692 ṇákṣÁ gá-t-au; 693 vákṣÁ róṣ-e; 694 mŕ̥kṣÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 695 tákṣÁ tvác-an-e; (696 plákṣÁ pari-grah-é); 697 sū́rkṣÁ ā-dar-é; 698 kā́kṣÍ 699 vā́kṣÍ 700 mā́kṣÍ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām; 701 drā́kṣÍ 702 dhrā́kṣÍ 703 dhvā́kṣÍ ghora-vās-it-é ca; 704 cū́ṣÁ pā́n-e; 705 tū́ṣÁ túṣ-ṭ-au; 706 pū́ṣÁ vŕ̥d-dh-au; 707 mū́ṣÁ ste-y-é; (708 lū́ṣÁ 709 rū́ṣÁ bhū-ṣ-ā́-y-ām); 710 sū́ṣÁ pra-sav-é; 711 yū́ṣÁ hiṁsā-y-ām; 712 bhū́ṣÁ (713 tásÍ) alaṁ-kār-é; 714 ū́ṣÁ rujā́-y-ām 715 ī́ṣÁ úñch-e; 716 káṣÁ 717 kháṣÁ 718 śíṣÁ 719 jáṣÁ 720 jháṣÁ 721 śáṣÁ 722 váṣÁ 723 máṣÁ 724 rúṣÁ 725 ríṣÁ hiṁsā́=arthāḥ; 726 bháṣÁ bhárts-an-e; 727 úṣÁ dāh-é; 728 jíṣÚ 729 víṣÚ 730 míṣÚ (731 ṇíṣÚ) séc-an-e; 732 púṣÁ púṣ-ṭ-au; 733 śríṣÚ 734 ślíṣÚ 735 prúṣÚ 736 plúṣÚ dāh-é; 737 pŕ̥ṣÚ 738 vŕ̥ṣÚ 739 mŕ̥ṣÚ séc-an-e ca; í-tar-au [1]hiṁsā́-[2]kléś-anay-oś ca; 740 ghŕ̥ṣÚ saṁ-gharṣ-e; 741 hŕ̥ṣÚ álīk-e; 742 túsÁ 743 hrásÁ 744 hlásÁ 745 rásÁ śábd-e; 746 lásÁ [1]śléṣ-aṇa-[2]krī́ḍ-anay-oś ca; 747 ghásĻ ád-an-e; 748 járjÁ 749 cárcÁ 750 jhárjhÁ/ jhárjÁ/*jhártsÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā-[3]tárj-ane-ṣu; 751 písR̥ 752 pésR̥

gá-t-au; (753 vísÁ 754 vésÁ 755 bísÁ 756 bésÁ gá-t-au); 757 hásÉ hás-an-e; 758 ṇíśÁ sam-ā-dh-aú; 759 míśÁ 760 máśÁ śábd-e; 761 śávÁ gá-t-au; 762 śásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au; 763 śásÚ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 764 śánsÚ stú-t-au; 765 cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e; 766 máhÁ pūjā́-y-ām; 767 ráhÁ tyāg-é; 768 ráhÍ gá-t-au; 769 dṛ́hÁ 770 dṛ́hÍ 771 bṛ́hÁ 772 bṛ́hÍ vṛ́d-dh-au; 773 túhÍR 774 dúhÍR 775 úhÍR árd-an-e; 776 árhÁ pūjā́-y-ām.

I.A.18. dyútA=āday-aḥ (1.3.91; 3.1.55) ánudātta=IT-aḥ

777 dyútA dī́p-t-au; 778 śvítĀ várṇ-e; 779 ÑI-mídĀ snéh-an-e; 780 ÑI-ṣvídĀ gā-tra-pra-sráv-aṇ-e; 781 rúcA dī́p-t-au abhi-prī́-t-au ca; 782 ghúṭA pari-várt-an-e; 783 rúṭA 784 lúṭA 785 lúṭhA prati-ghāt-é; 786 śúbhA dī́p-t-au; 787 kṣúbhA saṁ-cál-an-e; 788 ṇábhA 789 túbhA hiṁsā́-y-ām; 790 sránsU 791 dhvánsU 792 bhránsU ava-sráṁs-an-e; 793 dhvánsU gá-t-au ca; 794 sránbhU vi-śvās-é; 795 vṛ́tU várt-an-e; 796 vṛ́dhU vṛ́d-dh-au; 797 śṛ́dhU śabda-kutsā́-y-ām; 798 syándŪ pra-sráv-aṇ-e; 799 kṛ́pŪ sāmarthy-e.

I.A.19. ghāṭA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ (6.4.92)

I.A.19.a. ánudātta=IT-aḥ

800 ghátA ceṣṭā́-y-ām; 801 vyáthA [1]bhayá-[2]saṁ-cál-anay-oḥ; 802 práthA pra-khyā́n-e; 803 prásA vi-stār-é; 804 mrádA márd-an-e; 805 skhádA skhád-an-e; 806 kṣájI [1]gá-ti-[2]dānáy-oḥ; 807 dákṣA [1]gá-ti-[2]śā́s-anay-oḥ; 808 krápA kṛpā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au; 809 kádI 810 krádI 811 kládI vaí-klavy-e; 812 ÑI-tvárĀ sam-bhram-é; gháṭA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ.

I.A.19.b. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

813 jvárÁ róg-e; 814 gáḍÁ séc-an-e; 815 héḍÁ véṣṭ-an-e; 816 váṭÁ 817 bháṭÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 818 ṇáṭÁ nṛ́t-t-au; 819 ṣṭákÁ prati-ghāt-é; 820 cákÁ tṛ́p-t-au; 821 kákhÉ hás-an-e; 822 rágÉ śaṅkā́-y-ām; 823 lágÉ sáṅg-e; 824 hrágÉ 825 hlágÉ 826 ṣágÉ 827 ṣṭhágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 828 kágÉ ná=uc-yá-te; 829 ákÁ 830 ágÁ kuṭiḷā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au; 831 káṇÁ 832 ráṇÁ gá-t-au; 833 cáṇÁ 834 śáṇÁ 835 śráṇÁ dān-é ca; 836 śráthÁ (837 kṅáthÁ) 838 kráthÁ 839 kláthÁ hiṁsā=arthāḥ; 840 cánÁ ca; 841 vánÚ ca ná=úpa-labh-ya-te; 842 jválÁ dī́p-t-au; 843 hválÁ 844 hmálÁ cál-an-e;

845 smŕ̥ ā-dhyā-ne; 846 dr̥̄́ bhay-é; 847 nr̥̄́ nay-é; 848 śrā́ pāk-é; 849 [1]mā́r-aṇa-[2]tóṣ-aṇa-[3]ni-śā́m-ane-su jñā́; 850 kámp-an-e cáli̱ḥ; 851 chádi̱-r ū́rj-an-e; 852 jihvā=un-máth-an-e laḍi̱ḥ; 853 mádĪ́ [1]hárṣa-[2]glép-anay-oḥ; 854 dhvánÁ śábd-e; ghā́ṭA=āday-aḥ MIT-aḥ.

(855 ráṇÁ śábd-e; 856 dáli̱ 857 váli̱ 858 skháli̱ 859 trápi̱ 860 kṣáp-a̱y̱-aś ca; 861 svánÁ ava-táṁs-an-e)

862 jánĪ́- 863 jr̥̄́Ṣ- 864 knásÚ- 865 ránj-aḥ-866 ám-antāś ca; 867 jválÁ-hválÁ-hmálÁ-nám-ām án-upa-sarg-āt=vā; 868 glā-snā-vánÚ-vam-āṁ ca; 869 ná kámi̱=ámi̱-cám-ām; 870 śam-aḥ dárś-an-e; 871 yam-aḥ=á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e; 872 skhádi̱r [1]áva-[2]pári-bhyāṁ ca; 873 pháṇÁ gá-t-au; vr̥t.

I.A.20. phaṇA=āday-aḥ (6.4.125)

873 pháṇÁ gá-t-au; 874 rā́jR̥̀ dī́p-t-au (svarita=IT); 875 ṬU-bhrā́j-R̥ 876 ṬU-bhrā́ś-R̥ 877 ṬU-bhlā́ś-R̥ dī́p-t-au; 878 syámÚ 879 svánÁ śábd-e (udā́tta=IT-au); (880 ṣṭánÁ) 881 DHvánÁ śábd-e (udā́tta=IT); 882 ṣámÁ 883 ṣṭámÁ vaíkaly-e.

I.A.21. jválÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.140)

I.A.21.a. udā́ttāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

884 jválÁ dī́p-t-au; 885 cálÁ kámp-an-e; 886 jálÁ ghā́t-an-e; 887 ṭálÁ 888 ṭválÁ vaíklavy-e; 889 ṣṭhálÁ sthā́n-e; 890 hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 891 ṇálÁ gandh-é; 892 pálÁ gá-t-au; 893 bálÁ pr-ā́ṇ-an-e dhānya=ava-rodh-é ca; 894 púlÁ mahat-tv-e; 895 kúlÁ saṁ-styā-n-é; 896 sálÁ 897 húlÁ 898 pátḶ́ gá-t-au; húlÁ hiṁsā́-sam-vár-aṇay-oś ca; 899 kváthÉ niṣ-pāk-é; 900 páthÉ gá-t-au; 901 máthÉ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 902 ṬU-vámÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 903 bhrámÚ cál-an-e; 904 kṣárÁ sam-cál-an-e;

I.A.21.b. udāttaḥ=ánudātta=IT

905 ṣáhA márṣ-an-e;

I.A.21.c. án-udāttaḥ ánudātta=IT

906 ramA krīḍā́-y-ām;

I.A.21.d. ánudāttāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

907 ṣadĹ̥ [1]vi-śár-aṇa-[2]gá-ti=[3]ava-sād-ane-ṣu; 908 śadĹ̥ śā́t-an-e; 909 kruśÁ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca.

I.A.21.e. udā́ttau udā́tta=IT-au

910 kúcÁ [1]sam-párc-ana-[2]kaúṭilya-[3]prati-ṣṭambhá-[4]vi-lékh-ane-ṣu; 911 búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e;

I.A.21.f. ánudāttaḥ udā́tta=IT

912 ruhÁ bīja-jánman-i prādur-bhāv-é ca;

I.A.21.g. udā́ttah udā́tta=IT

913 kásÁ gá-t-au; vr̥t.

I.A.22. svartitá=IT-aḥ

914 híkkÀ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e; 915 áñcÙ gá-t-au yā́c-an-ẹ ca; 916 ṬU-yā́cR̥̀ yāc-ñā́-y-ām; 917 réṭR̥̀ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 918 cátÈ/cádÈ yā́c-an-e ca; 919 próthR̥̀ pary-ā́p-t-au; 920 mídR̥̀/médR̥̀ [1]medhā́-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ; 921 ṇídR̥̀/nédR̥̀ [1]kutsā́-[2]saṁ-ni-kárṣ-ay-oḥ; 922 śŕ̥dhÙ 923 mŕ̥dhÙ únd-an-e; 924 búdhÌR bódh-an-e; 925 U-búndÌR ni-śā́m-an-e; 926 véṇR̥̀ [1]gá-ti-[2]jñāna-[3]cintā́-[4]ni-śā́m-ana-[5]vā́d-i-tra-[6]gráh-aṇe-ṣu; 927 khánÙ ava-dā́r-aṇ-e; 928 cī́vR̥̀ [1]ā-dāná-[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 929 cáyR̥̀ [1]pūjā́-[2]ni-śā́m-anay-oḥ; 930 vyáyÀ gá-t-au; 931 dā́śR̥̀ dān-é; 932 bhéṣR̥̀ bhay-é; 933 bhréṣR̥̀/bhléṣR̥̀ gá-t-au; 934 ásÀ [1]gá-ti-[2]dī́p-ti=[3]ā-dāné-ṣu; (935 áyÀ gá-t-au); 936 spáśÀ [1]bā́dh-ana-[2]spárś-anay-oḥ; 937 láṣÀ kā́n-t-au; 938 cáṣÀ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 939 cháṣÀ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 940 jháṣÀ [1]ā-daná-[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 941 bhákṣÀ ád-an-e; 942 dā́sR̥̀ dān-é; 943 mā́hR̥̀ mā́n-e; 944 gúhÙ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 945 śríÑ sevā́-y-ām.

I.B. ánudāttāḥ

I.B.1. áC=antāḥ

I.B.1.a. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

946 bhr̥Ñ bhár-aṇ-e; 947 hr̥Ñ hár-aṇ-e; **948 dhr̥Ñ dhā́r-aṇ-e**; (949 kr̥Ñ kár-aṇ-e); 950 ṇīÑ pr-ā́p-aṇ-e;

I.B.1.b. parasmai-padín-aḥ

951 dheṬ pā́n-e; 952 glai 953 mlai harṣa-kṣay-é; 954 dyai nyak-kár-aṇ-e; 955 drai svap-n-é; 956 dhrai tŕ̥p-t-au; 957 dhyai cintā́-y-ām; 958 rai śábd-e; 959 styai/ṣṭyai [1]śábda-[2]saṁ-ghātáy-oḥ; 960 khai khád-ane; 961 kṣai 962 jai 963 ṣai kṣay-é; 964 kai 965 gai śábd-e; 966 śai 967 śrai pāk-é; 968 pai 969 O-vai śóṣ-aṇ-e; 970 ṣṭai véṣṭ-an-e; 971 daiP śódh-an-e; 972 pā pā́n-e; 973 ghrā ghrāṇ-é; 974 dhmā [1]śábda=[2]agni-sam-yog-áy-oḥ; 975 ṣṭhā gati-ni-vr̥t-t-aú; 976 mnā abhy-ās-é; 977 dāṆ dān-é; 978 hvr̥ kaúṭily-e; 979 svr̥ [1]śabda=[2]upa-tā́p-ay-oḥ; 980 smr̥ cintā́-y-ām; (981 dvr̥ vár-aṇ-e); 982 sr̥ gá-t-au; 983 r̥ [1]gá-ti-[2]pr-ā́p-aṇay-oḥ; 984 gr̥ 985 ghr̥ séc-an-e; 986 dhvr̥ hū́rch-an-e; 987 sru gá-t-au; 988 ṣu [1]pra-sav-á=[2]aíśvaryay-oḥ; 989 sru sráv-aṇ-e; 990 dhru sthaíry-e; 991 du 992 dru gá-t-au; 993 ji 994 jri abhi-bhav-é; (995 ju iti sautrá-ḥ dhā́tu-ḥ gá-ti=artha-ḥ);

I.B.1.c. ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

996 smiṄ īṣad-dhás-an-e; 997 guṄ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e; 998 gāṄ gá-t-au; 999 kuṄ 1000 ghuṄ 1001 uṄ 1002 nuṄ (1003 khuṄ) śábd-e; 1004 cyuṄ 1005 jyuṄ 1006 pruṄ 1007 pluṄ gá-t-au; 1008 ruṄ [1]gá-ti-[2]róṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 1009 dhr̥Ṅ ava-dhváṁs-an-e; 1010 meṄ pra-ṇi-dān-é; 1011 deṄ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 1012 śyaiṄ gá-t-au; 1013 pyaiṄ vŕ̥d-dh-au; 1014 traiṄ pā́l-an-e;

I.B.1.d. udā́ttāḥ atmane-pad-ín-aḥ

1015 pū́Ṅ páv-an-e; 1016 mū́Ṅ bándh-an-e; **1017 ḍī́Ṅ víhāyas-ā** gá-t-au;

I.B.1.e. udā́ttaḥ parasmai-pad-ī́

1018 tṝ́ [1]pláv-ana-[2]tár-aṇay-oḥ;

I.B.2. háL=antāḥ

I.B.2.a. ánudātta=IT-aḥ

1019 gupA góp-an-e; 1020 tijA ni-śā́n-e; 1021 mānA pūjā́-y-ām; 1022 badhA bándh-an-e; 1023 rabhA rā́bh-asy-e; 1024 ḌU-labhAṢ pra=ā́p-t-au; 1025 svanjA pari-ṣvang-é; 1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é; (udā́tta=IT ca)

I.B.2.b. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

(1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é); 1027 ÑI-kṣvíd-Ȁ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e (udā́ttaḥ), 1028 skandÍR [1]gá-ti-[2]śóṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 1029 yabhÁ vi-par-ī-ta-maithun-é; 1030 ṇamÁ pra-hva-tvé śábd-e ca; 1031 gamḶ́ 1032 sṛpḶ́ gá-t-au; 1033 yamÁ upa-ram-é; 1034 tapÁ saṁ-tāp-é; 1035 tyajÁ hā́n-au; 1036 ṣanjÁ sáṅg-e; 1037 dṛśÍR pr-ékṣ-aṇ-e; 1038 danśA dáś-an-e; 1039 kṛṣÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 1040 dahÁ bhasm-ī-kár-aṇ-e; 1041 mihÁ séc-an-e; 1042 kitA ni-vā́s-e roga=apa-náy-an-e ca;

I.B.2.c. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1043 dānÀ khā́ṇḍ-an-e; 1044 śānÀ téj-an-e; 1045 ḌU-pac-ÀṢ pāk-é; (1046 ṣacÀ sam-av-ay-ē;) 1047 bhajÀ sevā́-y-ām; 1048 ranjÀ rāg-é; 1049 śapÀ ā-kroś-é; 1050 tviṣÀ dī́p-t-au;

I.B.2.d. yajÀ=ād-ay-aḥ (6.1.15)

I.B.2.d.i. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

1051 yajÀ [1]deva-pūjā́-[2]saṁ-ga-ti-kár-aṇa-[3]dāné-ṣu; 1052 ṬU-vapÀ bīja-saṁ-tān-é; 1053 vahÀ pr-ā́p-aṇ-e; 1054 vasÁ ni-vā́s-e (udā́tta=IT); 1055 veÑ tan-tu-sam-tān-é; 1056 vyeÑ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 1057 hveÑ spardhā́-y-āṁ śábd-e ca;

I.B.2.d.ii. udā́ttau parsmai-pad-ín-au

1058 vádÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 1059 ṬU-O-śví [1]gá-ti-[2]vṛ́d-dhy-oḥ.

II. Ad=āday=aḥ

II.A. ánudattāḥ

II.A.1. udā́tta=IT-au

1 adÁ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 2 hanÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gá-ty-oḥ;

II.A.2. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

3 dviṣÀ á-prī-t-au; 4 duhÀ pra-pū́r-aṇ-e; 5 dihÀ upa-cay-é; 6 lihÀ ā-svā́d-an-e;

II.A.3. ánudātta=IT

7 cakṣIṄ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í;

II.B. udā́ttāḥ

II.B.1. ánudātta=IT-aḥ

8 ī́rA gá-t-au; 9 ī́ḍA stú-t-au; 10 ī́śA aíśvary-e; 11 ā́sA upa-véś-an-e; 12 ā́Ṅ-aḥ śā́sU icchā́-y-ām; 13 vásA ā-cchā́d-an-e; 14 kásI [1]gá-ti-[2]śā́s-anay-oḥ; 15 ṇísI cúmb-an-e; 16 ṇíjI śúd-dh-au; 17 śíjI á-vy-ak-te śábd-e; 18 píjI várṇ-e; 19 vṛ́jĪ várj-an-e; 20 pṛ́cĪ sam-park-é; 21 ṣū́Ṅ prāṇi-garbha-vi-móc-ane; 22 śī́Ṅ sváp-n-e;

II.B.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

23 yú míśr-aṇ-e; 24 rú śábd-e; (25 tú vṛ́d-dhy-artha-ḥ); 26 ṇú stú-t-au; 27 ṬUkṣú śábd-e; 28 kṣṇú téj-an-e; 29 ṣnu pra-sráv-aṇ-e;

II.B.3. ubha-ya-pad-ī

30 ū́rṇuÑ ā-cchā́d-an-e

II.C. ánudāttāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ (excepting 34,35,37)

31 dyu abhi-gám-an-e; 32 ṣu [1]pra-savá=[2]aíśvaryay-oḥ; 33 ku śábd-e; 34 ṣtuÑ stú-t-au; 35 brūÑ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 36 iṆ gá-t-au; 37 iṄ adhy-áy-an-e; 38 iK smár-aṇ-e; 39 vī [1]gá-ti-[2]pra-janá-[3]kā́n-ti=[4]ás-ana-[5]khād-ane-ṣu; 40 yā pr-ā́p-aṇ-e; 41 vā [1]gá-ti-[2]gándh-anay-oḥ; 42 bhā dī́p-t-au; 43 ṣnā śauc-ê; 44 śrā pāk-é; 45 drā kutsā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au; 46 psā bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 47 pā rákṣ-aṇ-e; 48 rā dan-é; 49 lā ā-dān-é; 50 dāP láv-an-e; 51 khyā pra-káth-an-e; 52 prā pū́r-aṇ-e; 53 mā mā́n-e; 54 vacÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 55 vídÁ jñān-e (udā́tta-ḥ); 56 asÁ bhuv-í; 57 mṛ̥jÙ śúd-dh-au.

II.C.1. rud=āday-aḥ (7.2.76; 3.98,99)

58 rúdÍr aśru-vi-móc-an-e (udā́tta-ḥ); 59 ÑI-ṣvapÁ śay-é (ánu-dātta-ḥ); 60 śvásÁ pr-ā́ṇ-an-e; 61 áṇÁ ca; 62 jákṣÁ [1]bhákṣa-[2]hás-anay-oḥ (60-62 udā́tt-āḥ).

II.C.2. jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ (6.1.6)

62 jákṣÁ [1]bhákṣa-[2]hás-anay-oḥ; 63 jā́gṝ nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dáridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cákāsṜ̥ dī́p-t-au; 66 śā́sÚ anu-śíṣ-ṭ-au; 67 dī́dhīṄ [1]dī́p-ti-[2]dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīṄ vé-ti-nā túl-y-e (62-68 udatt-āḥ; 67-68 chānd-as-au).

II.C.3. chāndas-au

69 ṣásÁ (sás-ti) sváp-n-e; 70 váśÁ kā́n-t-au. 71 cár-kar-ī-taṁ ca; 72 hnuṄ apa-náy-an-e (ánudātta-ḥ).

III. Ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ

III.A. ánudāttāḥ

1 hu [1]dāná=[2]ád-anay-oḥ; 2 ÑI-bhī bhay-é; 3 hrī lajjā́-y-ām; 4 pr̥ [1]pā́l-ana-[2]pū́r-aṇay-oḥ; 5 ḌU-bhr̥Ñ [1]dhā́r-aṇa-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 6 māṄ mā́n-e śábd-e ca; 7 O-hāṄ gá-t-au; 8 O-hāK tyāg-é; 9 ḌUdāÑ dān-é; 10 ḌU-dhāÑ [1]dhā́r-aṇa-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 11 ṇijÌR [1]śaucá-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 12 vijÌR pr̥thag-bhāv-é; 13 viṣL̥ vy-ā́p-t-au (11-13 svar-ita=IT-aḥ).

III.B. chāndasā́ḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

14 ghr̥ [1]kṣár-aṇa-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ; 15 hr̥ pra-sah-ya-kár-aṇ-e; 16 r̥ 17 sr̥ gá-t-au; 18 bhasÁ [1]bhárts-ana-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ; 19 ki (20 kitÁ) jñān-e; 21 turÁ tvár-aṇ-e; 22 dhiṣÁ śábd-e; 23 dhanÁ dhā́ny-e; 24 janÁ ján-an-e; 25 gā stú-t-au.

IV. Dív-āday-aḥ

IV.A. udā́ttāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

1 dívÚ [1]krīdā́-[2]vi-ji-gī-ṣ-ā́-[3]vy-ava-hā́ra-[4]dyú-ti-[5]stú-ti-[6]mód-a-[7]mád-a-[8]sváp-na-[9]kā́n-ti-[10]gá-ti-ṣu; 2 ṣívÚ tan-tu-saṁ-tā́n-e; 3 srívÚ [1]gá-ti-[2]śóṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 4 ṣṭhívÚ ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e; 5 ṣṇúṣÚ ád-an-e; ā-dān-é ity ék-e; á-darś-an-e ity ápar-e; 6 knásÚ [1]hvár-aṇa-[2]dī́p-tyo-ḥ; 7 výuṣÁ dāh-é; 8 plúṣÁ ca; 9 nŕ̥tĪ́ gā-tra-vi-kṣep-é; 10 trásĪ ud-veg-é; 11 kúthÁ pū-tī-bhāv-é; 12 púthÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 13 gúdhÁ pari-véṣṭ-an-e; 14 kṣípÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 15 púṣpÁ vi-kás-an-e; 16 tímÁ 17 ṣṭímÁ/ṣṭī́mÁ ārdrī-bhāv-é; 18 vrī́ḍÁ cód-an-e (lajjā́-y-āṁ ca); 19 ī́ṣÁ gá-t-au; (20 ṣáhÁ) 21 ṣúhÁ caky-arth-e; 23 jr̥̄́Ṣ 23 jhr̥̄́Ṣ vayo-hā-n-aú.

IV.B. sú=āday-aḥ (oT=IT-aḥ) ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

IV.B.1. udā́ttau

24 sū́Ṅ prāṇi-pra-sav-é; 25 dū́Ṅ pari-tāp-é.

IV.B.2. ánudāttāḥ

26 dīṄ kṣay-é; 27 ḍīṄ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au; 28 dhīṄ ā-dhār-é; 29 mīṄ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 30 rīṄ śráv-aṇ-e; 31 līṄ śléṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vrīṄ vr̥-ṇó-ty=arth-e; sú=āday-aḥ oT=IT-aḥ.

33 pīṄ pā́n-e; 34 māṄ mā́n-e; īṄ gá-t-au; 36 prīṄ prī́-t-au;

IV.C. ánudāttāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

37 śo tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 38 cho chéd-an-e; 39 ṣo anta-kar-máṇ-i; 40 do ava-kháṇḍ-an-e.

IV.D. udā́ttāḥ

IV.D.1. ánudatta=IT-aḥ

41 jánĪ prādur-bhāv-é; 42 dī́pĪ dī́p-t-au; 43 pū́rĪ ā-pyā́y-an-e; 44 tū́rI [1]gá-ti-tvár-aṇa-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ; 45 dhū́rĪ 46 gū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gá-ty-oh; 47 ghū́rĪ 48 jū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]vayo-hā-ny-óḥ; 49 śū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā-[2]stambháy-oḥ; 50 cū́rĪ dāh-é; 51 tapA aíśvary-e vā (ánudātta-ḥ); 52 vŕ̥tU várt-an-e; 52a klíśA upa-tāp-é; 53 kā́śR̥ dī́p-t-au; 54 vā́śR̥ śábd-e;

IV.D.2. svar-itá=IT-au

55 mŕ̥ṣÀ titikṣā́-y-ām; 56 Ī-súcÌR pūtī-bhāv-é;

IV.E. ánudāttāḥ

IV.E.1. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

57 ṇahÀ bándh-ane; 58 ranjÀ rāg-é; 59 śapÀ ā-króś-e;

IV.E.2. ánudātta=IT-aḥ

60 padA gá-t-au; 61 khidA daíny-e; 62 vidA sattā́-y-ām; 63 budhA ava-gám-an-e; 64 yudhA sam-pra-hār-é; 65 ánoḥ=rudhA kām-é; 66 anA pr-ā́ṇ-an-e; 67 manA jñān-e; 68 yujA sam-ā-dh-aú; 69 sr̥jA vi-sarg-é; 70 liśA alpī-bhāv-é;

IV.E.3. udātta=IT-au

71 rādhÁ=ḥ á-karma-k-āt vṛ́d-dh-āv evá; 72 vyadhÁ tā́ḍ-an-e;

IV.F. puṣÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.55) udā́tta=IT-aḥ

IV.F.1. ánudāttāḥ

73 puṣÁ púṣ-ṭ-au; 74 śuṣÁ śóṣ-aṇ-e; 75 tuṣÁ prī́-t-au; 76 duṣÁ vaí-kṛ-t-y-e; 77 śliṣÁ ā̀-líṅg-an-e; 78 śakÀ ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-ḥ márṣ-aṇ-e; 79 ṣvidÀ gā-tra-pra-kṣár-aṇ-e; 80 krudhÁ kópe; 81 kṣudhÁ bubhuk-ṣā́-yā-m; 82 śudhÁ śauc-é; 83 ṣidhÚ saṁ-rā́d-dh-au;

IV.F.2. radhA=āday-aḥ (7.2.45)

84 radhÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-rā́d-dhy-oḥ; 85 ṇaśÁ á-darś-an-e; 86 tṛpÁ prī́ṇ-an-e; 87 dṛpÁ [1]hárṣa-[2]móh-anay-oḥ; 88 druhÁ jighaṁsā-y-ām; 89 muhÁ vaícitty-e; 90 ṣṇuhÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 91 ṣṇihÁ prī́-t-au;

IV.F.3. udāttāḥ

IV.F.3.a. śám=āday-aḥ (3.2.141; 7.3.74)

92 śámÚ upa-śam-é; 93 támÚ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām; 94 dámÚ upa-śam-é; 95 śramÚ táp-as-i khed-é ca; 96 bhrámÚ án-ava-sthān-e; 97 kṣámÙ sáh-an-e; 98 klámÚ glā-n-aú; 99 mádÍ hárṣ-e;

100 ásÚ kṣép-aṇ-e; 101 yásÚ pra-yat-n-é; 102 jásÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 103 tásÚ upa-kṣay-é; 104 dásÚ ca; 105 vásÚ stambh-é; 106 vyúṣÁ vi-bhāg-é; 107 plúṣÁ dāh-é; 108 bísÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 109 kúsÁ śléṣ-aṇ-e; 110 búsÁ ut-sarg-é; 111 músÁ khánḍ-an-e; 112 másÍ pari-mā́n-e; 113 lúṭÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 114 úcÁ sam-av-āy-é; 115 bhṛ́śÚ/bhṛ́nśÚ adhaḥ-pát-an-e; 116 vṛ́ṣÁ vár-aṇ-e; 117 kṛ́śÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 118 ÑI-tṛ́ṣÁ pipā-sā́-y-ām; 119 hṛ́ṣÁ túṣ-ṭ-au; 120 rúṣÁ róṣ-e; 121 ḍípÁ kṣép-e; 122 kúpÁ kródh-e; 123 gúpÁ vy-ā-kula-tv-é; 124 yúpÁ 125 rúpÁ 126 lúpÁ vi-móh-ane; (127 ṣṭū́pÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é); 128 lúbhÁ gā́rd-dhy-e; 129 kṣúbhÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 130 ṇábhÁ 131 túbhÁ hiṁsā-y-ām; 132 klídÙ ārdrī-bhāv-é; 133 ÑI-míd-À snéh-an-e; 134 ÑI-kṣvíd-À [1]snéh-ana-[2]móc-anay-oḥ; 135 ṛ́dhÚ vṛ́d-dh-au; 136 gṛ́dhÚ abhi-kāṅkṣā́-y-ā́m; vṛt.

V. Su=āday=aḥ

V.A. ánudāttāḥ

V.A.1. ubha-ya-pad-ín-aḥ

1 ṣuÑ abhi-ṣav-é; 2 ṣiÑ bándh-an-e; 3 śiÑ ni-śā́n-e; 4 ḌU-miÑ pra-kṣép-aṇ-e; 5 ciÑ cáy-an-e; 6 stṛÑ ā-cchā́d-an-e; 7 kṛÑ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 8 vṛ́Ñ vár-aṇ-e (udā́tta-ḥ); 9 dhuÑ kámp-an-e;

V.A.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

10 ṬU-du upa-tāp-é; 11 hi gá-t-au vṛ́d-dh-au ca; 12 pṛ prī́-t-au; 13 spṛ [1]prī́-ti-[2]pā́l-anay-oḥ; [1]prī́-ti-[2]cál-anay-or ity ány-e; smṛ ity ék-e; 14 āpḶ vy-ā́p-t-au; 15 śakḶ śák-t-au; 16 rādhÁ 17 sādhÁ saṁ-síd-dh-au;

V.B. udā́ttāḥ

V.B.1. án-udātta=IT-au

18 áśŪ vy-ā́p-t-au saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 19 ṣṭíghA ā-skánd-an-e;

V.B.2. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

20 tíkÁ/tígÁ gá-t-au; 21 ṣághÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 22 ÑI-dhṛ́ṣ-À prā́-galbhy-e; 23 dánbhÚ dambh-é; 24 ṛ́dhÚ vṛ́d-dh-au; 25 tṛ́pÁ prī́ṇ-an-e;

V.B.3. chándas-i

26 áhÁ vy-ā́p-t-au; 27 dághÁ ghā́t-an-e pā́l-an-e ca; 28 cámÚ bháks̩-aṇ-e; 29 rí 30 kṣí 31 círi 32 jíri 33 dā́śÁ 34 dṛ́ hiṁsā́-y-ām; vṛt.

VI. Tudà=āday-aḥ

VI.A. án-udattāḥ svaríta=IT=aḥ

1 tudÀ vyáth-an-e; 2 ṇudÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 3 diśÀ ati-sárj-an-e; 4 bhrasjÀ pāk-é; 5 kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 6 kr̥ṣÀ vi-lékh-an-e;

VI.B. udā́ttāḥ

VI.B.1. udātta=IT

7 ŕ̥ṣĪ́ gá-t-au;

VI.B.2. án-udatta=IT-aḥ

8 júṣĪ [1]prī́-ti-[2]sév-anay-oḥ; 9 O-víj-Ī [1]bhay-á-[2]cál-anay-oh; 10 O-láj-Ī/O-lásj-Ī vrīḍ-é;

VI.B.3. udātta=IT-aḥ

11 O-vráśc-Ū̀ chéd-an-e; 12 vyácÁ vyājī-kár-aṇ-e; 13 úchÍ uñch-é; 14 úchĪ́ vi-vās-é; 15 ŕ̥chÁ [1]gá-ti-[2]indr-iya-pra-lay-á-[3]mūrti-bhāve-ṣu; 16 míchÁ ut-kleś-é; 17 járjÁ/cárcÁ/jhárjhÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-a-[2]bhárts-anay-oḥ; 18 tvácÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 19 ŕ̥cÁ stú-t-au; 20 úbjÁ ārjav-é; 21 údjhÁ ut-sárg-e; 22 lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e; 23 ríphÁ [1]kátth-ana-[2]yuddhá-[3]nindā́-[4]hiṁsā́=[5]ā-dāné-ṣu; 24 tŕ̥phÁ 25 tŕ̥nphÁ tŕ̥p-t-au; 26 túpÁ/túnpÁ/ 27 túphÁ/túnphÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 28 dŕ̥phÁ 29 dŕ̥nphÁ ut-kléś-e; 30 ŕ̥phÁ/ŕ̥nphÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 31 gúphÁ/gúnphÁ granth-é; 32 úbhÁ/únbhÁ pū́r-aṇ-e; 33 śúbhÁ/śúnbhÁ śobhā́=arth-e; 34 dŕ̥bhĪ́ granth-é; 35 cŕ̥tĪ́ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gránth-anay-oḥ; 36 vídhÁ vidhān-é; 37 júḍÁ gá-t-au; 38 mŕ̥ḍÁ súkh-an-e; 39 pŕ̥ḍÁ ca; 40 pŕ̥ṇÁ prīṇ-an-e; 41 mŕ̥ṇÁ hiṁsā́-y-am; 42 dúṇÁ kaúṭil-y-e; 43 púṇA kár-maṇ-i śubh-é; 44 múṇÁ prati-jñā́n-e; 45 kúṇÁ [1]śábda=[2]upa-tāpay-óḥ; 46 śunÁ gá-t-au; 47 drúṇÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gá-ti-[3]kaúṭilye-ṣu; 48 ghúṇÁ 49 ghū́rṇÁ bhrám-aṇ-e; 50 ṣúrÁ [1]aíśvarya-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ; 51 kúrÁ śábd-e; 52 khúrÁ chéd-an-e; 53 múrÁ saṁ-véṣṭ-an-e; 54 kṣúrÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 55 ghúrÁ [1]bhīmá=artha-[2]śábday-oḥ; 56 púrÁ agra-gamane; 57 vŕ̥hŪ̀ ud-yám-an-e; 58 tŕ̥hŪ̀/stŕ̥hŪ̀/tŕ̥ṇhŪ̀ hiṁsā́=arthāḥ; 59 íṣÁ icchā́-y-ām; 60 míṣÁ spardhā́-y-ām; 61 kílÁ śváity-e; 62 tílÁ snéh-an-e; 63 cílÁ vás-an-e; 64 cálÁ vi-lás-an-e; 65 ílÁ [1]sváp-na-[2]kṣép-aṇay-oḥ; 66 vílÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 67 bílÁ bhéd-an-e; 68 ṇílÁ gáh-an-e; 69 hílÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e; 70 śílÁ ṣílÁ uñch-é; 71 mílÁ sléṣ-aṇ-e; 72 líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é.

VI.C. kúṭÁ=āday-aḥ (1.2.1)

VI.C.1. udā́ttāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

73 kúṭÁ kaúṭily-e; 74 púṭÁ saṁ-śleṣ-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ śábd-e; 77 gúḍÁ rakṣā́-y-ām; 78 ḍípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphúṭÁ vi-kás-an-e; 81 múṭÁ [1]ā-kṣep-á-[2]pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trúṭÁ chéd-an-e; 83 túṭÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i; 84 cúṭÁ/chúṭÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júḍÁ bándh-an-e; 86 káḍÁ mad-é; 87 lúṭÁ saṁ-śleṣ-aṇ-e; 88 kŕ̥ḍÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúḍÁ bā́ly-e; 90 púḍÁ ut-sárg-e; 91 ghúṭÁ prati-ghāt-é; 92 túḍÁ tóḍ-an-e; 93 thúḍÁ 94 sthúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 97 sphúḍÁ 98 cúḍÁ 99 vrúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; (100 krúḍÁ 101 bhŕ̥ḍÁ ni-májj-an-e; 102 húḍÁ saṁ-ghā-té); 103 gúrĪ́ ud-yám-an-e; 104 ṇú stú-t-au; 105 dhú vi-dhū́n-an-e; 106 gú purīṣa=ut-sargé; 107 dhru [1]gáti-[2]sthaíryay-oḥ (ánudātta-ḥ).

VI.C.2. ātmane-pad-ī́

108 kúṄ śábd-e;

VI.D. ánudāttāḥ

VI.D.1. ātmane-pad-ín-au

109 pr̥Ṅ vy-ā-yām-é; 110 mr̥Ṅ prāṇa-tyāg-é;

VI.D.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

111 ri 112 pi gá-t-au; 113 dhi dhā́r-aṇ-e; 114 kṣi [1]ni-vās-á-[2]gá-ty-oḥ; 115 ṣū́ pr-ér-aṇ-e (udā́tta-ḥ);

VI.D.3. kir-āday-aḥ (7.2.75)

116 kṝ́ vi-kṣép-e; 117 gṝ́ ni-gár-aṇ-e; 118 dr̥Ṅ ā-dar-é; 119 dhr̥Ṅ ava-sthā́n-e; 120 prachA jñīpsā́-y-ām; [116-17 udā́tt-au; 118-19 ātmane-pad-in-au].

VI.D.4. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

121 sr̥jÁ vi-sárg-e; 122 ṬU-masj-Ó śúd-dh-au; 123 rujÓ bhaṅg-é; 124 bhujÓ kaúṭily-e; 125 chupÁ sparśé; 126 ruśÁ/riśÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 127 liśÁ gá-t-au; 128 spr̥śÁ saṁ-spárś-an-e; 129 vichÁ gá-t-au; 130 viśÁ pra-vés-an-e; 131 mr̥ṣÁ ā-márṣ-aṇ-e; 132 ṇudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 133 ṣadĹ̥ [1]vi-śár-aṇa-[2]gá-ti=[3]ava-sā́d-ane-ṣu; 134 śadĹ̥ śā́t-an-e;

VI.D.5. svar-íta=IT

135 mílÀ saṁ-gám-an-e (udā́tta-ḥ);

VI.D.6. muc=āday-aḥ (7.1.59)

VI.D.6.a. svar-ita-it-aḥ

136 mucL̥̀ mokṣ-aṇ-e; 137 lupL̥̀ chéd-an-e; 138 vidL̥̀ lābh-é; 139 lipÀ upa-déh-e; 140 ṣicÀ kṣár-aṇ-e;

VI.D.6.b. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

141 kr̥tÍ̄ chéd-an-e; 142 khidÁ pari-ghāt-é; 143 písÁ ava-yav-é. vrt.

VII. Rudh=āday-aḥ

VII.A. ánudattāḥ svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 rudhÌR ā-vár-aṇ-e; 2 bhidÌR vi-dā́r-aṇ-e; 3 chidÌR dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e; 4 ricÌR vi-réc-an-e; 5 vicÌR pr̥thag-bhāv-é; 6 kṣudÌR sam-pr-éṣ-aṇ-e; 7 yujÌR yóg-e;

VII.B. udā́ttāḥ

VII.B.1. svar-íta=IT-au

8 Uchr̥̄dÌR [1]dī́p-ti-[2]dév-anay-oḥ; 9 Utr̥̄dÌR [1]hiṁsā́=[2]án-ā-dar-ay-oḥ;

VII.B.2. udā́tta=IT

10 kṛ́tĪ veṣṭ-an-e;

VII.B.3. ánudātta=IT

11 ÑI-índh-Ī dī́p-t-au;

VII.C. ánudāttāḥ

VII.C.1. ánudātta=IT-au

12 khidA daíny-e; 13 vidA vi-cā́r-aṇ-e;

VII.C.2. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

14 śiṣḶ́ vi-śeṣ-aṇ-e; 15 piṣḶ́ saṁ-cū́rṇ-an-e; 16 bhanjÓ ā-márd-an-e; 17 bhujÁ [1]pāl-ana=[2]abhy-ava-hār-áy-oḥ;

VII.D. udā́ttāḥ udā́tta=IT-aḥ

18 tṛ́hÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 19 hísÍ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 20 úndĪ́ kléd-an-e; 21 ánjŪ̀ [1]vy-ák-ti-[2]mrákṣ-aṇa-[3]kā́n-ti-[4]gá-ti-ṣu; 22 táncŪ̀ sam-kóc-an-e; 23 O-víj-Ī́ [1]bhayá-[2]cál-anay-oḥ; 24 vṛ́jĪ́ várj-an-e; 25 pṛ́cĪ́ sam-park-é; vṛt.

VIII. Tan-āday-aḥ

VIII.A. udā́ttāḥ

VIII.A.1. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 tánÙ vi-stār-é; 2 ṣánÙ dān-é; 3 kṣáṇÙ hiṁsā-y-ām; 4 kṣíṇÙ ca; 5 ṛ́ṇÙ gá-t-au; 6 tṛ́ṇÙ ád-an-e; 7 ghṛ́ṇÙ dī́p-t-au;

VIII.A.2. ánudātta=IT-au

8 vánU yā́c-an-e; 9 mánU ava-bódh-an-e;

VIII.B. ánudāttaḥ=ubha-ya-to-bhāṣá-ḥ

10 ḌU-kṛ-Ñ kár-aṇ-e.

IX. Krī=aday-aḥ

IX.A. ánudāttāḥ svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 ḌU-krī-Ñ dravya-vi-ni-may-é; 2 prīÑ tárp-aṇ-e kā́n-t-au ca; 3 śrīÑ pāk-é; 4 mīÑ mā́n-e; 5 ṣiÑ bándh-an-e; 6 skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e; (7 stanbhÙ stunbhÙ 8 skanbhÙ skunbhÙ ródh-an-e); 9 yuÑ bándh-an-e;

IX.B. udā́ttāḥ

IX.B.1. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

10 knū́Ñ śábd-e; 11 drū́Ñ hiṁsā́-y-ām;

IX.B.2. pū́=āday-aḥ (7.3.80)

IX.B.2.a. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

12 pū́Ñ páv-an-e; [12-33: pū=aday-ah].

IX.B.2.b. lū́=āday-aḥ (8.2.44: 13-33)

13 lū́Ñ chéd-an-e; 14 stṝN ā-cchād-an-e; 15 kṝÑ hiṁsā-y-ām; 16 vṝÑ vár-aṇ-e; 17 dhūÑ kámp-an-e;

IX.B.3. udā́tta=IT-aḥ

18 śṝ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 19 pṝ [1]pāl-ana-[2]pū́r-aṇay-oḥ; 20 vṝ vár-aṇ-e; 21 bhṝ bhárts-an-e; 22 mṝ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 23 dṝ vi-dā́r-aṇ-e; 24 jṝ vayo-hā-n-áu; 25 nṝ nay-é; 26 kṝ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 27 ṝ gá-t-au; 28 gṝ śábd-e;

IX.C. ánudāttāḥ udā́tta-it-aḥ

29 jyā vayo-hā-n-aú; 30 rī-[1]gá-ti-[2]réṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 31 lī śleṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vlī vár-aṇ-e; 32a plī gá-t-au; vṛt. 33 vrī vár-aṇ-e; 34 bhrī bhay-é; 35 kṣīṢ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 36 jñā ava-bódh-an-e; 37 bandhÁ bándh-an-e;

IX.D. udāttāḥ

IX.D.1. ātmane-pad-ī́

38 vr̥̄Ṅ sáṁ-bhák-t-au;

IX.D.2. udā́tta=it-aḥ

39 śránthÁ [1]vi-móc-ana-[2]prati-harṣáy-oḥ; 40 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-ane; 41 gránthÁ saṁ-darbh-é; 42 kúnthÁ sam-śleṣ-aṇ-e; 43 mr̥̄dÁ kṣód-e; 44 mr̥̄ḍÁ ca; 45 gúdhÁ róṣ-e; 46 kúṣÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 47 kṣúbhÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 48 ṇábhÁ 49 túbhÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 50 klíśŪ̀ vi-bā́dh-an-e; 51 áśÁ bhój-an-e; 52 údhrasÁ uñch-é; 53 íṣÁ ā́bhīkṣṇy-e; 54 víṣÁ vi-pra-yog-é; 55 prúṣÁ 56 plúṣÁ [1]snéh-ana-[2]sév-ana-[3]pūraṇe-ṣu; 57 púṣÁ púṣ-ṭ-au; 58 múṣÁ sté-y-e; 59 khácÁ bhūta-prādur-bhāv-é; (60) héḍhÁ ca;

IX.D.3. svar-íta=it

61 gráhÀ up-ā-dān-é.

X. Cur-āday-aḥ

X.A. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

1 curÁ ste-y-é; 2 citÍ smr̥̄-ty-ām; 3 yatrÍ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 4 sphuḍÍ pari-hās-é; 5 lakṣÁ [1]dárś-ana=[2]ánk-ánay-oh; 6 kudrÍ an-r̥ta-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 7 laḍÁ upa-sevā́-y-ām; 8 midÍ snéh-an-e; 9 olaḍÍ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e; 10 jalÁ apa-vā́r-aṇ-e; 11 pīḍÁ ava-gā́h-an-e; 12 naṭÁ ava-syánd-an-e; 13 śrathÁ pra-yat-n-é; 14 badhÁ saṁ-yám-an-e; 15 pr̥̄ pū́r-aṇ-e; 16 ūrjÁ [1]bála-[2]pr-ā́ṇ-anay-oḥ; 17 pakṣÁ pari-gráh-e; 18 varṇÁ cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 19 prathÁ pra-khyā́n-e; 20 pr̥thA pra-kṣep-é; 21 ṣambÁ sam-bándh-an-e; 22 bhakṣÁ ád-an-e; 23 kuṭṭÁ [1]chéd-ana-[2]bhárts-anay-oḥ; 24 puṭṭÁ cuṭṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é; 25 aṭṭÁ 26 suṭṭÁ án-ā-dar-e; 27 luṇṭhÁ sté-y-e; 28 śaṭhÁ 29 śvaṭhÁ [1]á-saṁ-s-kār-a-[2]gá-ty-oh; 30 tujÍ 31 pijÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]bála=[3]ā-dāná-[4]ni-két-ane-ṣu; 32 pisA gá-t-au; 33 ṣāntvÁ sāma-pra-yog-é; 34 śvalkÁ 35 valkÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 36 ṣnihÁ snéh-an-e; 37 smiṭÁ án-ā-dar-e; 38 śliṣÁ śleṣ-aṇ-e; 39 pathÍ ga-t-au; 40 pichÁ kúṭṭ-an-e; 41 chadÍ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 42 śraṇÁ dān-é; 43 taḍÁ ā-ghāt-é; 44 khaḍÁ khaḍÍ kaḍÍ kháṇḍ-an-e; 45 kuḍÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 46 guḍÍ véṣṭ-an-e; 47 khuḍÍ kháṇḍ-an-e; 48 vaṭÍ

vi-bhā́j-an-e; 49 maḍÍ bhūṣā́-y-ām; 50 bhaḍÍ kalyā́ṇ-e; 51 chardÁ vám-an-e: 52 pustÁ bustÁ [1]ā-dará=[2]án-ā-daray-oḥ; 53 cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e; 54 nakkÁ 55 dhakkÁ nā́ś-an-e; 56 cakkÁ cukkÁ vyáth-an-e; 57 kṣalÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i; 58 talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā́-y-ām; 59 tulÁ un-mā́n-e; 60 dulÁ ut-kṣep-é; 61 pulA mahat-tv-é; 62 culÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é; 63 mūlÁ róh-aṇ-e; 64 kalÁ 65 vilÁ kṣép-e; 66 bilÁ bhéd-an-e; 67 tilÁ snéh-an-e; 68 calÁ bhṛ́-t-au; 69 palÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 70 lūṣÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 71 śulbÁ mā́n-e; 72 cuṭÁ chéd-an-e; 73 muṭÁ saṁ-cū́rṇ-an-e; 74 paḍÍ pasÍ nā́ś-an-e; 75 vrajÁ [1]mārga-saṁ-s-kā́r-a-[2]gá-ty-oh; 76 śulkÁ ati-sárj-an-e; 77 capÍ gá-ty-ām; 78 kṣapÍ kṣā́n-ty-ām; 79 kṣajÍ kṛcchra-jī́v-an-e; 80 svartÁ gá-ty-ām; 81 jñapÁ M-IT=ca jñapÁ [1]jñāna-[2]jñā́p-ana-[3]mā́r-aṇa-[4]tóṣ-aṇa-[5]ni-śāna-[6]ni-śā́m-ane-ṣu 82 yamÁ ca pari-véṣ-aṇ-e; 83 cahÁ pari-kálk-an-e; 84 rahÁ tyāg-é; 85 balÁ pr-ā́ṇ-an-e; 86 ciÑ cáy-an-e; na-ány-e M-IT-aḥ.

87 ghaṭṭÁ cál-an-e; 88 mustÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 89 khaṭṭÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 90 ṣaṭṭÁ 91 sphiṭṭÁ 92 cubÍ hiṁsā́-y-ām; (93 pusÁ) 94 pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 95 puṁsÁ abhi-várdh-an-e; (96 vyapÁ kṣép-e); 97 takÍ bándh-an-e; 98 dhūsÁ kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e; 99 kīṭÁ várṇ-e; 100 cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 101 pūjÁ pūjā́-y-ām; 102 arkÁ stáv-an-e; 103 śuṭhÁ ā́-lasy-e; 104 śuṭhÍ śóṣ-aṇ-e; 105 juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 106 gajÁ 107 mārjÁ śábda-arth-au; 108 ghṛ pra-sráv-aṇ-e; 109 pacÍ vi-stāra-vác-an-e; 110 tijÁ ni-śā́n-e; 111 kṛ́tÁ saṁ-śábd-an-e; 112 vardhÁ [1]chéd-ana-[2]pū́r-aṇay-oḥ; 113 kubÍ chā́d-an-e; 114 lubÍ 115 tubÍ á-darś-an-e; 116 hlapÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 117 cuṭÍ chéd-an-e; (118 mṛḍÍ tuḍÍ) 119 ilÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 120 mrakṣÁ mlécch-an-e; 121 mlechÁ á-vy-ak-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í; 122 brūsÁ 123 barhÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; (124 garjÁ gardÁ śábd-e; 125 gardhÁ abhi-kāṅkṣā́-y-ām); 126 gurdÁ 127 pūrvA ni-két-an-e; 128 jasÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 129 īḍÁ stú-t-au; 130 jasÚ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 131 piḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é; 132 ruṣÁ róṣ-e; 133 ḍipÁ kṣép-e; 134 ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é.

X.B. ātmane-pad-in-aḥ

ā́ kusm-āt=ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ: 135 citA saṁ-cét-an-e: 136 daśI dáṁś-an-e; 137 dasI [1]dárś-ana-[2]dáṁs-anay-oḥ; 138 ḍapA ḍipA saṁ-ghāt-é; 139 tatrI kuṭumba-dhā́r-aṇ-e; 140 matrI gup-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-é; 141 spaśA [1]gráh-aṇa-[2]saṁ-śléṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 142 tarjA 143 bhartsA saṁ-tárj-an-e; 144 hastA 145 gandhA árd-an-e; 146 viṣkA hiṁsā́-y-ām; 147 niṣkA pari-mā́ṇ-e; 148 lalA īp-sā́-y-ām; 149 kūṇA saṁ-kóc-an-e; 150

tūṇA pū́r-aṇ-e; 151 bhrūṇA āśā́-y-ām; 152 śaṭhA ślāghā́-y-ā́m; 153 yakṣA pūjā́-y-ām; 154 syamA vi-tárke: 155 gūrA ud-yám-an-e; 156 śamA 157 lakṣA ā-lóc-an-e; 158 kutsA ava-kṣép-aṇ-e; 159 truṭA chéd-an-e; 160 galA sráv-aṇ-e; 161 bhalA ā-bháṇḍ-an-e; 162 kūṭA á-pra-dān-e; 163 vancU pra-lámbh-an-e; 164 vr̥ṣA śak-ti-bándh-an-e; 165 madA tr̥p-ti-yog-é; 166 divU pari-kū́j-an-e; 167 gr̥̄ vi-jñan-é; 168 vidA [1]cét-ana=[2]ā-khyā́-na-[3]ni-vāsé-ṣu; 169 manA stambh-é; 170 yu jugup-sā́-y-ām; 171 kusmA nāmn-aḥ vā [kuts-ita-smáy-an-e].

X.C. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

172 carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e; 173 bukkÁ bhaṣ-aṇ-e; 174 śabdÁ śabda-kriy-ā́-y-ām; upa-sarg-ā́t=āviṣ-kār-é ca; 175 kaṇÁ ni-mī́l-an-e; 176 jabhÍ nā́ś-an-e; 177 ṣūdÁ kṣár-aṇ-e; 178 jasÚ tā́ḍ-an-e; 179 paśÁ bándh-an-e; 180 amÁ róg-e; 181 caṭÁ 182 sphuṭÁ bhéd-an-e; 183 ghaṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é: 184 hán-ti=arth-ās=ca; 185 divÚ márd-an-e; 186 arjÁ pra-yat-n-é; 187 ghuṣÍR vi-śábd-an-e; 188 ā́Ṅ-aḥ krandÁ sā́-ta-ty-e; 189 lasA śilpa-yog-é; 190 tasÍ bhūṣÁ alaṁ-kār-é: 191 mokṣA ás-an-e; 192 arhÁ pūjā́-y-ām; 193 jñā ni-yog-é; 194 bhajÁ vi-śrā́ṇ-an-e; 195 śr̥dhÚ pra-sáh-an-e; 196 yatÁ [1]ni-kār-á=[2]upa-s-kār-áy-oḥ; 197 rakÁ lagÁ ā-svā́d-an-e; 198 ancÚ vi-śéṣ-aṇ-e; 199 ligÍ citrī-kár-aṇ-e; 200 mudÁ saṁ-sarg-é; 201 trasÁ dhā́r-aṇ-e; 202 udhrasÁ uñch-é; 203 mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca; 204 vasÁ[1]sneh-á=[2]ched-á=[3]apa-hár-aṇe-ṣu; 205 carÁ saṁ-śay-é; 206 cyu-hás-an-e; sáh-an-e ca ity ék-e; 207 bhuv-aḥ ava-kálk-an-e; 208 kr̥peś ca.

X.C.1. ā́ svad-aḥ sa-kar-ma-k-āt

209 grasÁ gráh-aṇ-e; 210 puṣÁ dhā́r-aṇ-e; 211 dalÁ vi-dā́r-aṇ-e; 212 paṭÁ 213 puṭÁ 214 luṭÁ 215 tujÍ 216 mijÍ 217 pijÍ 218 lujÍ 219 bhajÍ 220 laghÍ 221 trasÍ 222 pisÍ 223 kusÍ 224 daśÍ 225 kuśÍ 226 ghaṭÁ 227 ghaṭÍ 228 br̥hÍ 229 barhÁ 230 balhÁ 231 gupÁ 232 dhupÁ 233 vichÁ 234 cīvÁ 235 puthÁ 236 lokŔ̥ 237 locŔ̥ 238 ṇadÁ 239 kupÁ 240 tarkÁ 241 vr̥tÚ 242 vr̥dhÚ bhāṣā́=arth-āḥ; (243 ruṭÁ 244 lajÍ 245 ajÍ 246 dasÍ 247 bhr̥śÍ 248 ruśÍ 249 śīkÁ 250 naṭÁ 251 puṭÍ 252 jucÍ 253 raghÍ 254 laghÍ 255 ahÍ 256 rahÍ 257 mahÍ bhāṣā́=arth-āḥ; 258 laḍÍ 259 taḍÁ 260 nalÁ ca); 261 pūrÍ̄ ā-pyáy-an-e; 262 rujÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 263 ṣvadÁ ā-svā́d-an-e; svād-Á ity ék-e.

X.C.2. ā́ dhṛṣ-āt vā

264 yujÁ 265 pṛcÁ saṁ-yám-an-e; 266 arcÁ pūjā́-y-ā́m; 267 ṣahÁ márṣ-aṇ-e; 268 īrÁ kṣép-e; 269 lī dravī-kár-aṇ-e; 270 vṛÑ ā-vár-aṇ-e; 271 vṛjĪ́ várj-an-e; 272 jṝ vayo-hā-n-aú: 273 ricÁ [1]vi-yój-ana-[2]sam-párc-anay-oḥ; 274 śiṣÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e: 275 tapÁ dāh-é; 276 tṛpÁ tṛ́p-t-au; 277 chṛdĪ́ saṁ-dī́p-an-e; 278 dṛbhĪ́ bhay-é: 279 dṛbhÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 280 śrathÁ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 281 mī gá-t-au; 282 granthÁ bándh-an-e; 283 śīkÁ ā-márṣ-aṇ-e; 284 cīkÁ ca; 285 ardÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām; 286 hisÍ hiṁsā́-y-ām; (287 arhÁ pūjā́-y-ām); 288 āṄ-ah ṣad-Á padi=arth-é; 289 śundhÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i; 290 chadÁ apa-vā́r-aṇ-e; 291 juṣÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e; 292 dhūÑ kámp-an-e; 293 prīÑ tárp-aṇ-e; 294 śranthÁ granthÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 295 āpḶ lámbh-an-e (svar-it=IT ca); 296 tanÚ [1]śrad-dhā́=[2]upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ; upa-sárg-āt ca daírghy-e; 297 vadÁ saṁ-deśa-vác-an-e; 298 vacÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e: 299 mānÁ pūjā́-y-ām; 300 bhū pr-ā́p-t-au ātmane-pad-ī́ vā; 301 garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e; 302 mārgÁ anv-éṣ-aṇ-e; 303 kaṭhÍ śók-e; 304 mṛjÁ [1]saucá=[2]alaṁ-kār-áy-oḥ; 305 mṛṣA titik-ṣā́-y-ām (ánudātta=IT/mṛṣÁ svar-ita=IT); 306 dhṛṣÁ pra-sáh-an-e.

X.D. aT=ant=āḥ

X.D.1. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

307 katha vāk-ya-pra-bándh-e; 308 vara īp-sā́-y-ām; 309 gaṇa saṁ-khyā́n-e; 310 śaṭha śvaṭha samyag-ava-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e; 311 paṭa vaṭa gránth-e; 312 raha tyāg-é; 313 stana 314 gadī deva-sabd-é; 315 pata gá-t-au vā; 316 paṣa án-upa-sarg-āt; 317 svara ā-kṣep-é; 318 raca prati-yat-n-é; 319 kala gá-t-au saṁ-khyā́n-e ca; 320 caha pari-kálk-an-e; 321 maha pūjā́-y-ām; 322 sara 323 kṛpa 324 śratha daur-bal-y-e; 325 spṛha īp-sā́-y-ām; 326 bhāma kródh-e; 327 sūca paíśuny-e; 328 kheṭa bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 329 kṣoṭa kṣép-e; 330 goma upa-lép-an-e; 331 kumāra krīḍā́-y-ām; 332 śīla upa-dhā́r-a-ṇ-e; 333 sāma sāntva-pra-yog-é; 334 vela kāla=upa-deś-é; 335 palyūla [1]láv-ana-[2]páv-anay-oḥ; 336 vāta [1]sukhá-[2]sév-anay-oḥ; 337 gaveṣa mā́rg-aṇ-e; 338 vāsa upa-sév-ā́-y-ām; 339 nivāsa ā-cchā́d-an-e; 340 bhāja pṛthak-kár-maṇ-i; 341 sabhāja [1]prī́-ti-[2]dárś-anay-oḥ; 342 ūna pari-hā-ṇ-é; 343 dhvana śábd-e; 344 kūṭa pari-tāp-é; 345 saṁketa 346 grāma 347 kuṇa guṇa ca ā-mántr-aṇ-e; (348 kūṇa saṁ-kóc-an-e); 349 ste-na caúry-e.

X.D.2. ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

X.D.2.a. ā́ garv-āt ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

350 pada gá-t-au; 351 gr̥ha gráh-aṇ-e; 352 mr̥ga anv-éṣ-aṇ-e; 353 kuha vi-smā́-p-an-e; 354 śūra 355 vīra vi-krā́n-t-au; 356 sthūla pari-bŕ̥ṁh-aṇ-e; 357 artha upa-yac-ñā́-y-ām; 358 sattra saṁ-tāna-kriyā́-y-ām; 359 garva mā́n-e;

360 sūtra véṣṭ-an-e; 361 mūtra pra-sráv-aṇ-e; 362 rūkṣa pā́ruṣy-e; 363 pāra 364 tīra kar-ma-sam-āp-t-aú; 365 puṭa sam-sarg-é; 366 kattra śaíthily-e.

368 prātipadik-ā́t dhātv-arth-é bahulám iṣṭa-vát=ca; tát kar-ó-ti tád ā́-caṣ-ṭe; t-éna áti-krām-a-ti; dhātu-rūpá-ṁ ca; kartr̥-kar-aṇ-ā́t dhātv=arth-é.

369 baṣka dárś-ane; 370 citra citrī-kár-aṇ-e; kadā́-cid dárś-an-e; 371 aṁsa sam-ā-ghāt-é; 372 vaṭa vi-bhā́j-an-e; (373 raṭa pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e); 374 laja pra-kā́ś-an-e; 375 miśra sam-park-é; 376 saṁ-grāma yud-dh-é; 377 stoma ślāgh-ā́-y-ām; 378 chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e; (379 karṇa bhéd-an-e); 380 andha dr̥ṣ-ṭi=upa-ghāt-é; 381 daṇda daṇda-ni-pāt-é; 382 aṅka pad-é lákṣ-aṇ-e ca; 383 sukha 384 duḥkha tat-kriyā́-y-ām; 385 rasa [1]ā-svā́d-ana-[2]snéh-anay-oḥ; 386 vyaya vitta-sam-ut-sarg-é; 387 rūpa rūpa-kriyā́-y-ām; 388 cheda dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e; 389 lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e; 390 vraṇa gātra-vi-cū́rṇ-an-e; 391 varṇa [1]varṇa-kriyā-[2]vistār-á-[3]guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu; bahulám étad ni-dárś-an-am; 392 parṇa harita-bhāv-é; viṣka dárś-an-e; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e; vasa ni-vā́s=e; tuttha ā-vár-aṇ-e.

393 ṆiṄ áṅg-āt nir-ás-an-e; 394 [1]śveta=aśvá=[2]aśva-tará-[3]gāloḍi-tá=[4]ā-hvar-akā-ṇ-ām [1]áśva-[2]tará=[3]itá-[4]ká-lop-a-ś ca; 395 púccha=ādi-ṣu dhātv=arthá ity evá siddhám.

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ā́chÍ (āñch) ā-yām-é I 224: āpḶ lámbh-an-e X 295; āpḶ vy-ā́p-t-au V 14; ā́sA upa-véś=an-e II 11; āhvara X 394.

I

iK smár-aṇ-e II 35; iṄ adhy-áy-an-e II 37; iṆ gá-t-au II 36; íkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 144; (iṅkh) = íkhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 145; (iṅg) = ígÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 163; íṭÁ gá-t-au I 340; (ind) = ídÍ parama=aiśvary-é I 64; ÑI-índh-Ī dīp-t-au VIII 11; (inv) = ívÍ vy-ā́p-t-au I 618; ílÁ [1]svap-ná-[2]kṣép-aṇay-oḥ VI 65; ilA pr-ér-aṇ-e X 119; íṣá ā́bh-ī-kṣṇy-e IX 53; íṣÁ icchā́-y-ām VI 59; íṣÁ gá-t-au IV 19.

Ī

īṄ gá-t-au IV 35 ī́kṣA dárś-an-e I 641; ī́khÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 146; (īṅkh) ī́khÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 146; ī́jA [1]gá-ti-[2]kúts-anay-oḥ I 196; ī́ḍA stú-t-au II 9; īḍÁ stú-t-au X 129; īrÁ kṣép-e X 268; ī́rA gá-t-au kámp-an-e ca II 8; ī́rkṣyÁ īrṣyā́=artha-ḥ I 543; ī́rṣyÁ īrṣyā́-artha-ḥ I 544; ī́śA aíś-var-y-e II 10; ī́ṣÁ uñch-é I 715; īṣA [1]gá-ti-[2]hiṁsā́-[3]dárś-ane-ṣu I 642; ī́hA ceṣṭā́-y-ām I 663.

U

uṄ śábd-e I 1001; úkṣÁ séc-an-e I 687; úkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 132; (uṅkh) = úkhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 133; úcÁ sam-av-āy-é IV 114; úchÍ vi-vās-é I 231; VI 14; ujjhA (= údjhÁ) ut-sarg-é VI 21; (uñch) = úchÍ uñch-é I 230, VI 13; úṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 361; údhrasÁ uñch-é IX 52; udhrasÁ uñch-é X 202; úndÍ kléd-an-e VII 20; úbjÁ ārjav-é VI 20; úbhÁ pū́r-aṇ-e VI 32; (umbh) = únbhÁ pū́r-aṇ-e VI 32; úrdA mā́n-e krīḍā́-y-āṁ ca I 20; úrvÍ hiṁsā-y-am I 600; (ulaṇḍ/olaṇḍ) = (ulaḍÍ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9); úhÍR árd-an-e I 775.

Ū

(ū́ṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 361); ūna pari-hā-ṇ-é X 342; ū́yĪ tantu-saṁ-tā́n-é I 512; ūrjÁ [1]bála-[2]pr-ā́ṇ-anay-oḥ X 16; ū́rṇuÑ ā-cchā́d-an-e II 30; ūṣÁ rujā́-y-ām I 714; ū́hA vi-tark-é I 679; (ū́hÍR árd-an-e I 775).

R̥

r̥ gá-t-au III 16; r̥ [1]gá-ti-[2]pr-ā́p-aṇay-oḥ I 983; ŕ̥cÁ stú-t-au VI 19; r̥chÁ [1]gá-ti=[2]indriyá-[3]pra-lay-á-[4]mūrti-bhāvé-ṣu VI 15; ŕ̥jA [1]gá-ti-[2]sthāna=[3]árj-ana=[4]upa=árj-ane-ṣu I 189; (ŕ̥ñj) = ŕ̥jI bhárj-an-e I 190; ŕ̥ṇÙ gá-t-au VIII 5; ŕ̥dhÚ vŕ̥d-dh-au IV 135; V 34; ŕ̥phÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 30; (ŕ̥mph) = ŕ̥nphÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 30; ŕ̥ṣĪ́ gá-t-au VI 7.

R̥̄

r̥̄ gá-t-au IV 27.

E

éjR̥ kámp-an-e I 253; éjR̥ dī́p-t-au I 192; éṭhA vi-bādhā́-y-ām I 286; édhA vŕ̥d-dh-au I 2; éṣR̥ gá-t-au I 649.

O

ókhŔ̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇ-a=[2]álaṁ-arthay-oḥ I 125; óṇR̥ apa-náy-an-e I 482; (olaṇḍ) = olaḍĪ́ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9.

K

(káṁs) = kásI [1]gá-ti-[2]śā́s-anay-oḥ II 14; kákA lauly-e I 90; kákhÁ hás-an-e I 124; kákhÉ hás-an-e I 821; kágÉ ná=uc-yá-te I 828; (káṅk) = kákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 94; kácA bándh-an-e I 181; (kañc) = kácI [1]dī́p-ti-[2]bándh-anay-oḥ I 182; (kájÁ mád-e 1.251); káṭĪ́ gá-t-au I 342; káṭÉ [1]varṣá=[2]ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 315; káṭhÁ kr̥cchra-jīv-an-é I 356; káḍÁ mád-e I 383; VI 86; káḍḍÁ kā́rkaś-y-e I 372; káṇÁ gá-t-au I 831; kaṇÁ ni-mī́l-an-e X 175; káṇÁ śábda-artha-ḥ I 476; (kaṇḍ) = kaḍÍ bhéd-an-e X 44; (káṇḍ) = káḍI mád-e I 302; kattra śáithily-e X 367; kátthA ślāghā́-y-ām I 37; katha vāk-ya-pra-bandh-é X 307; kánĪ́ [1]dī́p-ti-[2]kānt-i-[3]gá-ti-ṣu I 488; (kánd) = kádÍ ā-hvā́-n-e ród-an-e ca I 70; (kánd) = kádI vaí-klav-y-e I 809; kábR̥ várṇ-e I 405; kámU kā́n-t-au I 470, 869; (kámp) = kápI cál-an-e I 400; kárjÁ vyáth-ane I 246; (karṇa bhéd-an-e X 367); kárdÁ kuts-it-é śábd-e I 60; kárbÁ gá-t-au I 447; kárvÁ dárp-e I 612; kalÁ kṣép-e X 64; kala gá-t-au saṁ-khyā́n-e ca X 319; kállA á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 527; káṣÁ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 716; kásÁ gá-t-au I 913; (kā́ṅkṣ) =

kā́kṣI kāṅkṣā́-y-ām I 698; (kā́ñc) = kā́cI [1]dī́p-ti-[2]bándh-anay-oḥ I 183; kāla upa-deś-é X 334; kā́śR̥ dī́p-t-au I 678; IV 53; kā́sR̥ [1]śábda=[2]kutsā́-y-ām I 654; ki jñā́n-e III 19; kíṭA gá-t-au I 314: kíṭá trās-é I 323; kitÁ ni-vās-é I 1042; (kitÁ jñā́n-e III 20); kitA varṇ-e X 99; kilA śvaity-e VI 61; kílÁ śvaíty-e X 65; kīṭÁ várṇ-e X 99; kī́lÁ bánd-an-e I 557; ku śábd-e II 33; kúṄ śábd-e I 999; VI 108; (kuṁś) = kuśÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 225; (kuṁs) = kusÍ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 223; kúkA ád=an-e I 91' kúcÁ śábd-e tār-é I 199; kúcÁ [1]sam-párc-ana-[2]kaúṭilya-[3]prati-stambhá-[4]vi-lékh-ane-ṣu I 910; kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e VI 75; kújÚ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 214; kúncÁ [1]kaúṭilya=[2]alpī-bhāv-áy-oḥ I 200; (kunj) = kújÍ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 241; kúṭÁ kaúṭily-e VI 73; kuṭṭÁ [1]chéd-ana-[2]bhárts-anay-oḥ X 23; kuṭṭA pra-tāp-an-e X 162; kúḍÁ bā́ly-e VI 89; kúṇÁ [1]śábda=[2]upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ VI 45; kuṇa ā-mánt-an-e X 347; (kúṇṭ) = kúṭÍ vaí-kaly-e I 345; (kúṇṭh) = kúṭhÍ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é I 365; (kúṇḍ) = kúḍI dāh-é I 289; (kuṇḍ) = kuḍÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 45; kutsA ava-kṣép-aṇ-e X 158; kúthÁ pūtī-bhāv-é IV 11; (kúnth) = kúthÍ saṁ-śleṣ-aṇ-e IX 42; kúthÍ hiṁsā-saṁ-pleśay-oḥ I 44; kunthÁ sam-śleṣ-aṇ-e IX 42; (kundr) = kudrÍ an-r̥ta-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 6; kúpÁ kródh-e IV 122; kupa bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 339; kumāra krīḍā́-y-ām X 331; (kúmb) = kúbÍ chā́d-an-e I 453; kubÍ chā́d-an-e X 113; kúrÁ śábd-e VI 51; kúrdA guda-krīḍā́-y-ām I 21; kúlÁ saṁ-styān-e bándhu-ṣu ca I 895; kuṣÁ niṣ-karṣ-é IX 46; kúśA śléṣ-aṇ-e IV 109; kusmA nāmno vā X 171; kuha vi-smā́p-an-e X 353; kū́jÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śabd-e I 240; kūṭa pari-tāp-é X 344; kūṭÁ ā-pra-dān-e X 162; kūṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e X 149; kūṇa saṁ-kóc-an-e X 348; kū́lÁ ā-vár-aṇ-e I 558; ḌU-kr̥-Ñ kar-aṇ-e VIII 10; kr̥Ñ hiṁsā́-y-ām V 7; (kr̥Ñ kár-aṇ-e I 949); kr̥ḍÁ ghana-tv-é VI 88; (kŕ̥nv) = kŕ̥vÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]kár-aṇay-oḥ I 629; kr̥tÍ chéd-an-e VI 141; kŕ̥tÍ véṣṭ-an-e VII 10; kŕ̥pŪ sā́marthy-e I 799; kŕ̥pA kr̥pā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au I 808; kr̥pa daúr-baly-e X 323; kr̥śÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV 117; kr̥ṣÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 1039; VI 6. kr̥̄ vi-kṣep-é VI 116; kr̥̄ hiṁsā́-y-ām IX 26; kr̥̄Ñ hiṁsā́-y-ām IX 15; kr̥̄tÁ saṁ-śábd-an-e X 111; képR̥ kámp-an-e I 392; kélR̥ cál-an-e I 570; (kévR̥ sév-an-e I 539); kai śábd-e I 964; knásÚ [1]hvár-aṇa-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ IV 6; I 864; (knáthÁ hiṁsā́=arth=aḥ I 837); knū́Ñ śábd-e IX 10; knū́yĪ śábd-e únd-e ca I 514; kmárÁ hū́rch-an-e I 587; kráthÁ hiṁsā́=artha-ḥ I 838; (kránd) = krádÍ ā-hvā́n-e ród-an-e ca I 71; (kránd) = krádI vaí-klavy-e I 810; ā́Ṅ-aḥ krandÁ sā́taty-e X 188; krápA kr̥pā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au I 808; krámÚ pād-a-vi-kṣep-é I 502; ḌU=krī-Ñ drav-ya-vi-ni-may-é IX 1; krī́ḍR̥ vi-hār-é I 373; krúncÁ [1]kaúṭilya=[2]alpī-bhāv-ay-oḥ I 201; (krúḍÁ ni-májj-an-e VI 100); krudhÁ

kóp-e IV 80; (kruśÁ ā-hvā́n-e ród-an-e ca I 909); kláthÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 839; (klánd) = kládÍ ā-hvā́n-e ród-an-e ca I 72; (klánd) = kládI vaí-klavy-e I 811; klámÚ glān-aú IV 98; klídŪ̀ ārdrī-bhāv-é IV 132; (klínd) = klídI pari-dév-an-e I 15; (klind) = klídÍ pari-dév-an-e I 73; klíśA upa-tāp-é IV 52a; klíśŪ̀ vi-bā́dh-an-e IX 50; klī́bR̥ á-dhārṣṭy-e I 406; kléśA á-vy-ak-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 638; kváṇÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 477; kvathE niṣ-pāk-e I 899; (kṣañj) = kṣajÍ kr̥cchra-jī́v-an-e X 79; (kṣanj) = kṣájI [1]gá-ti-[2]dān-áy-oḥ I 806; kṣáṇÙ hiṁsā́-y-ām VIII 3; (kṣapi) I 860; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e X 392; kṣámŪ̀ sáh-an-e IV 97; kṣámŪṢ sáh-an-e I 469; (kṣamp) = kṣapÍ kṣā́n-ty-ām X 78; kṣárÁ saṁ-cál-an-e I 904; kṣalÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i X 57; kṣí kṣay-é I 225; kṣi [1]ni-vās-á-[2]gá-ty-oḥ VI 114; kṣí hiṁsā́-y-ām V 30; kṣiS hiṁsā-y-ām IX 35; kṣíṇÙ hiṁsā-y-ām VIII 4; kṣípÁ pr-ér-an-e IV 14; kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 5; kṣívÚ nir-ás-an-e I 599; kṣīṢ himsā-y-ām IX 35; kṣī́jÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 256; kṣī́bR̥ mád-e I 407; kṣī́vÚ nir-ás-an-e I 599; ṬU-kṣú śábd-e- II 27; kṣudÍR sam-pr-éṣ-aṇ-e VII 6; kṣudhÁ bubhukṣā́-y-ām IV 81; kṣúbhÁ saṁ-cál-an-e IV 129; IX 47; kṣúrÁ vi-lékh-an-e VI 54; kṣai kṣay-e I 961; kṣoṭa kṣép-e X 329; kṣṇú téj-an-e II 28; kṣmā́yÍ vi-dhū́n-an-e I 515; kṣmī́lA ni-méṣ-aṇ-e I 553; ÑI-kṣvidÀ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 1027; ÑI-kṣvídĀ [1]snéh-ana-[2]móh-anay-oḥ I 780; IV 134; kṣvélR̥ cál-an-e I 527.

KH

khácÁ bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é IX 59; khájÁ manth-é I 250; (khánj) = khájÍ ga-ti-vai-kaly-é I 252; kháṭÁ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām I 331; khaṭṭÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e X 89; khaḍÁ bhéd-an-e X 44; (khaṇḍ) = khaḍÍ bhéd-an-e X 44; (kháṇḍ) = kháḍI manth-é I 303; khádÁ sthaíry-e I 51; khánÙ ava-dā́r-aṇ-e I 927; khárjÁ pū́j-an-e ca I 247; khárdÁ dandaś-ū́k-e I 61; khárbÁ gá-t-au I 448; khárvÁ dárp-e I 613; khálÁ saṁ-cay-é I 578; kháṣÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 717; khā́dR̥ bhakṣ-aṇ-e I 50; khíṭÁ trās-é I 324; khidA daíny-e IV 61; VII 12; khidÁ pari-ghāt-é VI 142; khújÚ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 215; (khuṇḍ) = khuḍÍ kháṇḍ-an-e X 47; khúrÁ chéd-an-e VI 52; khúrdA guda-krīḍā́-y-ām I 22; kheṭa bhā́kṣ-aṇ-e X 328; khélR̥ cál-an-e I 571; (khévR̥ sév-an-e I 537); khai khád-an-e I 960; khórR̥ ga-ti-pra-ghāt-é I 584; khólR̥ ga-ti-pra-ghāt-é I 584; khyā pra-káth-an-e II 51.

G

gájA śábda-artha-ḥ I 265, gajÁ śábda-arthaḥ X 106; (gañj) = gájÍ śábda-artha-ḥ I 266; gáḍA séc-an-e I 814; gaṇa saṁ-khyā́n-e X 309; (gáṇḍ) = gáḍÍ vad-ana-eka-deś-é I 65a, 384; gádA vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 53; gada deva-śabd-é X 314; gandhÁ árd-an-e X 145; gamḶ gá-t-au I 1031; gárjA śábd-e I 244, X 124; gárdA śábd-e I 58, X 124; gardhA abhi-kāṅkṣā́-y-ām X 125; gárbA gá-t-au I 449; gárvA dárp-e I 614; garva mā́n-e X 359; gárhA kutsā́-y-ām I 667; garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e X 301; gálA ád-an-e I 579; galA sráv-aṇ-e X 160; gálbhA dhā́rṣṭy-e I 419; gálhA kutsā́-y-ām I 668; gaveṣa mā́rg-aṇ-e X 337; gā stú-t-au III 25; gāṄ ga-t-au I 998; gādhṚ [1]pra-tiṣṭhā́-[2]lipsáy-oḥ I 4; gāloḍa X 394; gā́hŪ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 680; gú purīṣa-ut-sarg-é VI 106; guṄ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 997; gújA á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e VI 76; (gúñj) = gújÍ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 218; gúḍA rakṣā́-y-ām VI 77; guṇa ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 347; (guṇḍ) = guḍÍ véṣṭ-an-e X 46; gúdhA pari-veṣṭ-an-e IV 13; gúdhA róṣ-e IX 45; gúnphA granth-é VI 31; gupA góp-an-e I 1019; gupA bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 231; gúpA vy-ā-kula-tv-é IV 123; gúpŪ rákṣ-aṇ-e I 422; gúphA granth-é VI 31; (gumph) = gún-phA granth-é VI 31; gúrĪ ud-yám-an-e VI 103, X 155; gúrdA guda-krīḍā́-y-ām I 23; gurdA ni-két-an-e X 126; gúrvĪ ud-yám-an-e I 605; gúhŪ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 944; gū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā-[2]gáty-oḥ IV 46; gūrA ud-yám-an-e X 155; gṛ vi-jñān-e X 167; gṛ́jA śábda-artha-ḥ I 267; (gṛ́ñj) = gṛjÍ śábda-artha-ḥ I 268; gṛ́dhU abhi-kāṅkṣā́-y-ām IV 136; gṛ́hŪ gráh-aṇ-e I 681; gṛha gráh-aṇ-e X 351; gṝ ni-gár-aṇ-e VI 117; gṝ śábd-e IX 28; gépṚ kámp-an-e I 393; gévṚ séc-an-e I 531; géṣṚ anv-icchā́-y-ām I 645; gai śábd-e I 965; goma upa-lép-an-e X 339; góṣṭA saṁ-ghāt-é I 276; (gránth) = gráthI kaúṭily-e I 36; gránthA saṁ-darbh-é X 41, 294; granthA bándh-an-e X 282; grasA gráh-aṇ-e X 209; grásU ád-an-e I 661; gráhA up-ā-dān-é IX 61; grāma ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 346; grúcU ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 212; glásU ád-an-e I 662; glúcU ste-ya-kár-an-e I 213; glúncA gá-t-au I 216; glépṚ kámp-an-e I 394; glépṚ daíny-e I 390; glévṚ sév-an-e I 532; glai harṣa-kṣay-é I 868, 952.

GH

ghághA hás-an-e I 170; gháṭA ceṣṭā́-y-ām I 800; ghaṭA bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 226; ghaṭA saṁ-ghāt-é X 163; gháṭṭA cál-an-e I 278, X 87; (ghaṇṭ) = ghaṭÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 227; ghásḶ ad-an-e I 747; (ghiṇṇ) = ghíṇI gráh-an-e I 461; ghuṄ śábd-e I 1000; (ghúṁṣ) = ghúṣI kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e I

682; ghúṭA pari-várt-an-e I 782; ghúṭÁ prati-ghāt-é VI 91; ghuṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 464; ghúṇA bhrám-aṇ-e VI 47; (ghúṇṇ) = ghúṇI gráh-aṇ-e I 462; ghúrÁ [1]bhīmá-artha-[2]śábday-oḥ VI 55; ghúṣÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e I 683; ghuṣÍR vi-śábd-an-e X 187; ghūrĪ [1]hiṁsā-[2]vayo-hā-ny-óḥ IV 48; ghūrṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 465; ghūrṇÁ bhrám-aṇ-e VI 49; ghr̥ [1]kṣár-aṇa-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ III 14; ghr̥ pra-sráv-aṇ-e X 108; ghŕ̥ṇÙ dī́p-t-au VIII 7; (ghŕ̥ṇṇ) = ghŕ̥ṇÍ gráh-aṇ-e I 463; ghŕ̥ṣÚ saṁ-ghárṣ-e I 740; ghrā gandha-up-ā-dān-é I 973.

Ṅ

ṅuṄ śábd-e I 1002.

C

cákA tŕ̥p-t-auprati-ghāt-é ca I 93; cákÁ tŕ̥p-t-au I 820; cákāsR̥ dī́p-t-au II 65; cakkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cakṣIṄ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í II 7; cáñcÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 205; caṭÁ bhéd-ane X 181; cáṭÉ varṣá-ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 833; cáṇÁ dān-é I 316; (cáṇḍ) = cáḍI kóp-e I 298; cátÈ yā́c-an-e I 918; cádÈ yā́c-an-e I 918; cánÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 840; (cánd) = cádÍ ā-hlād-é I 68; cáncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 205; cápÁ sā́ntv-an-e I 426; cámÚ ád-an-e I 497, 869; cámÚ bháks-aṇ-e V 28; (camp) = capÍ gá-ty-ām X 77; cáyA gá-t-au I 507; cárÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 591; carÁ saṁ-śay-é X 205; carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e X 172; cárcÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]bhárts-anay-oḥ VI 17; cárcÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́-[3]tárj-ane-ṣu I 749; cárbÁ gá-t-au I 452; cárvÁ ád-an-e I 610; cálÁ kámp-an-e I 850,885; calÁ bhŕ̥-t-au X 68; cálÁ vi-lás-an-e VI 64; cáṣÀ bháks-aṇ-e I 938; cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e I 765; cahA pari-kálk-an-e X 83; caha pari-kálk-an-e X 320; cā́yR̥̀ [1]pūjā-[2]ni-śā́m-anay-oḥ I 929; ciÑ cáy-an-e V 5, X 86; ciṭa para-praiṣy-é I 337; citÁ saṁ-cét-an-e X 135; cítĪ́ saṁ-jñā́n-e I 39; citra citrī-kár-aṇ-e X 370; (cint) = citi smŕ̥-ty-ām X 2; círi hiṁsā́-y-ām V 31; cílÁ vás-an-e VI 63; cíllÁ śaíthily-e bhāva-kár-aṇ-e ca I 566; cīkÁ ā-márs-aṇ-e X 284; cīvÁ bhā́ṣā́-artha-ḥ X 234; cī́vR̥ [1]ā-dāná-[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 928; cukkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; cuṭÁ chéd-an-e X 72; cuṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cuṭṭA alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 98; cúḍḍA bhāva-kár-aṇ-e I 370; (cuṇṭ) = cuṭÍ chéd-an-e X 117; (cúṇṭ) = cúṭÍ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; (cúṇḍ) = cúḍÍ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e X 53; cúpÁ mandā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au I 430; (cúmb) = cúbÍ vak-tra-saṁ-yog-é I 456; (cumb) = cubÍ hiṁsa-y-ām X 92; curÁ ste-y-é X 1; culÁ

sam-uc-cchrāy-é X 62; cúllÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e I 564; cū́rĪ dāh-é IV 50; cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e X 100; cū́ṣÁ pā́n-e I 704; cŕ̥tĪ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gránth-anay-oḥ VI 35; cr̥pÁ saṁ-dī́p-an-e X 277; célR̥ cál-an-e I 569; céṣṭA ceṣṭā́-y-ām I 275; cyu hás-an-e X 206; cyuṄ gá-t-au I 1004; cyútÍR ā-séc-an-e X 206.

CH

chadÀ apa-vā́r-aṇ-e X 290; chadi̱ ūrj-an-e I 851; chadÁ apa-vā́r-aṇ-e X 290; (chand) = chadÍ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e X 41; chámÚ ád-an-e I 498; chardÁ vám-an-e X 51; cháṣÀ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 939; chidÌR dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e VIII 3; chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e X 378; chúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; chupÁ sparś-é VI 125; chúrÁ chéd-an-e VI 79; U-chŕ̥dÌR [1]dī́p-ti-[2]dév-anay-oh VII 8; chr̥di̱ saṁ-dī́p-ane X 277; cheda dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e X 388; cho chéd-an-e IV 38; (chyuṄ gá-t-au I 1005).

J

(jaṁs) = jasÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 128; jákṣÁ [1]bhákṣa-[2]hás-anay-oḥ II 62; jájÁ yud-dh-é I 261; (jáñj) = jájÍ yud-dh-e I 262; jáṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 327; jánÁ ján-an-e III 24; jánĪ prādur-bhāv-é IV 41; I 862; jápÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 424; jámÚ ád-an-e I 499; (jámbh) = jábhI gātra-vi-nām-é I 176; (jambh) = jabhÍ nāś-an-e X 176; járjÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsa-[3]tárj-ane-ṣu I 748; jalÁ apa-vā́r-aṇ-e X 10; jálÁ ghā́t-an-e I 886; jálpÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 425; jáṣÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 719; jasÚ tā́ḍ-an-e X 178; jásÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e IV 102; jasÚ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 130; jā́gr̥ nidrā-kṣay-é II 63; ji abhi-bhav-é I 993; jí jay-é I 59; (jínv) = jívÍ prī́ṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 625; (jinv) = (jivÍ bhā́ṣā́-artha-ḥ X 252); jírí hiṁsā́-y-ām V 32; jíṣÚ séc-an-e I 728; jī́vÁ pr-āṇa-dhā́r-an-e I 594; ju sautró dhā́tuḥ gá-ty-artha-ḥ; vega-vác-ana ity ánye I 1005; (júng) = júgÍ várj-an-e I 168; (juñc) = jucÍ bhā́ṣā́-artha-ḥ X 252; júḍÁ gá-t-au VI 37; juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 105; júḍÁ bándh-an-e VI 85; jútR̥ bhā́s-an-e I 32; juṣÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e X 291; júṣĪ [1]prī́-ti-[2]sév-anay-oḥ VI 8; jū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]vayo-hāny-óḥ IV 48; jū́ṣÁ hiṁsā́-y-am I 711; (jŕ̥mbh) = jŕ̥bhI gātra-vi-nām-é I 416; jr̥̄ vayo-hā-n-aú IX 24; jr̥̄ vayo-hā-n-aú X 272; jr̥̄́Ṣ vayo-hā-n-aú I 863, IV 22; jéṣR̥ gá-t-au I 647; jéhR̥ pra-yat-n-é I 675; jai kṣay-é I 962; jñapÁ M-IT ca X 81; jñā ava-bódh-an-e IX 36; jñā ni-yog-é X 193; jñā́ [1]mā́r-aṇa-[2]tóṣ-aṇa-[3]ni-śā́m-ane-ṣu I 849; jyā vayo-hā-n-aú IX 29; jyuṄ gá-t-au I 1005; jri abhi-bhav-é I 994; jvárÁ róg-e I 813, jválÁ dī́p-t-au I 842, 867, 884.

JH

jháṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 328; jhámŪ ád-an-e I 501; jhárjhÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]bhárts-anay-oḥ VI 17; jhárjhÁ [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́-[3]tárj-ane-ṣu I 750; jháṣÀ [1]ā-dānā-[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 940; jháṣÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 720; jhr̥̄́Ṣ vayo-hā-n-aú IV 23.

Ṭ

(ṭaṅk) = ṭakÍ bándh-an-e X 97; ṭálÁ vaí-klavy-e I 887; ṭíkR̥ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 103; ṭī́kR̥ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 104; ṭválÁ vaí-klavy-e I 888.

Ḍ

ḍapÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 138; ḍípÁ kṣép-e IV 121; VI 78; ḍipÁ kṣép-e X 133; ḍipÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 138; ḍī́Ṅ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au I 1017; IV 27.

ḌH

ḍhaúkR̥ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 98.

Ṇ

ṇákṣÁ gá-t-au I 692; ṇákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 138; (ṇáṅkh) = ṇákhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 139; ṇáṭÁ nŕ̥t-au I 332; ṇadÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 238; ṇádÁ śábd-e I 55; ṇábhA hiṁsā́-y-ām I 788; ṇábhÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām IV 130; IX 48; ṇamÁ pra-hva-tv-é śábd-e ca I 867, 1030; ṇáyA gá-t-au I 509; ṇáśÁ á-darś-an-e IV 85; ṇásA kaúṭily-e I 658; ṇahÀ bándh-an-e IV 57; ṇā́thR̥ I 7 ṇā́dhR̥ I 6 bándh-an-e; ṇā́sR̥ śábd-e I 656; ṇíkṣÁ cúmb-an-e I 687; ṇijÌR [1]śaucá-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 11; ṇijI śúd-dh-au II 16; ṇídR̥ [1]kutsā́-[2]saṁ-ni-kárṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; ṇílÁ gáh-an-e VI 68; ṇíśÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 758; ṇīÑ pr-ā́p-aṇ-e I 950; ṇī́lÁ várṇ-e I 555; ṇī́vÁ sthaúly-e I 598; ṇú stú-t-au II 26; ṇudÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 2; ṇudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 132; ṇū stáv-an-e VI 104; ṇédR̥̀ [1]kutsā́-[2]saṁ-ni-kárṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; ṇesR̥ gá-t-au I 648. [See under N: cf. 6.4.65 for ṇ---n].

(taṁs) = tasÍ alaṁ-kār-é X 190; (táṁs) = (tásÍ alaṁ-kār-e I 713); tákÁ hás-an-e I 120; tákṣÁ tvác-an-e I 695; tákṣŪ tanū-kár-aṇ-e I 685; (táṅK) = tákÍ kṛcchra-jī́v-an-e I 121; (táṅg) = tágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 158; (táñc) = táncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 206; táncŪ saṁ-kóc-an-e VII 22; táṭÁ uc-chrāy-é I 330; taḍÁ ā-ghāt-é X 43; (taḍÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 259); tánÙ vi-stār-é VIII 1; tanÚ [1]srad-dhā́-[2]upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ X 296; (tantr) = tatrÍ kuṭumba-dhā́r-aṇ-e X 139; tapA aíśvary-e IV 51; tapÁ dāh-e X 275; tapÁ saṁ-tāp-e I 1034; támÚ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām IV 93; táyA gá-t-au I 508; tarkÁ bhāṣā́-arth-aḥ X 240; tárjÁ bhárts-an-e I 245; tarjÁ saṁ-tárj-an-e X 142; tárdÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 59; talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā́-y-ām X 58; tásÚ upa-kṣay-é IV 103; tā́yṚ [1]saṁ-tāná-[2]pā́l-anay-oḥ I 518; tíkÁ ā-skánd-an-e V 20; tíkṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 105; tígÁ ā-skánd-an-e V 20; tijA ni-śā́n-e I 1020; X 110; típṚ kṣár-aṇa-artha-ḥ I 385; tímÁ ārdrī-bhāv-é IV 16; tílÁ gá-t-au I 567; tilÁ snéh-an-e X 67; tīra kar-ma-sam-ā́p-t-au X 364; tī́vÁ sthaúly-e I 597; (tu vṛ́d-dhy-artha-ḥ II 25), tújÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 263; (tuñj) = tújÍ pāl-an-e I 264; (tuñj) = tujÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]bála-[3]ā-dāná-[4]ni-két-ane-ṣu X 30; (tuñj) = tujÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 215; túṭÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i VI 83; túḍÁ tóḍ-an-e VI 92; túḍṚ tóḍ-an-e I 374; túṇÁ kaúṭily-e VI 42; (tuṇḍ) = (túḍI chéd-an-e X 118); (túṇḍ) = túḍI tóḍ-an-e I 295; tuttha ā-vár-aṇ-e X 392; tudÀ vyáth-ane VI 1; túpÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 26; túpÁ hiṁsā-artha-ḥ I 431; túphÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 27; túphÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 435; túbhA hiṁsā́-y-ām I 789; túbhÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām IV 131; IX 49; (tump) = túnpÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 26; (tump) = túnpÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 432; (tumph) = túnphÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ VI 27; (tumph) = túnphÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 436; (tumb) = tubÍ á-darś-an-e X 115; (tumb) = túbÍ árd-an-e I 455; túrÁ tvár-aṇ-e III 21; túrvĪ́ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 601; tulÁ un-mā́n-e X 59; tuṣÁ prī́-t-au IV 75; túsÁ śábd-e I 742; túhÍR árd-an-e I 773; tūṇÁ pū́r-aṇ-e X 150; tū́rĪ [1]ga-ti-tvár-aṇa-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ IV 44; tūlÁ niṣ-karṣ-é I 560; tū́ṣÁ túṣ-ṭ-au I 705; (tṛṁh) = tṛ́nhŪ hiṁsā-artha-ḥ VI 58; (tṛṁh) = tṛ́hÍ hiṁsā-artha-ḥ VII 18; tṛ́kṣÁ gá-t-au I 690; tṛ́ṇÚ ád-an-e VIII 6; U-tṛ́d-ÌR [1]hiṁsā́-[2]án-ā-dar-ay-oḥ VII 9; tṛ́pÁ tṛ́p-t-au VI 24; trpÁ tṛ́p-t-au X 276; tṛpÁ prī́ṇ-an-e IV 86; (tṛ́pÁ prī́ṇ-an-e V 25); (tṛ́mph) = tṛ́nphÁ tṛ́p-t-au VI 25; ÑI-tṛ́ṣ-Á pipāsā́-y-ām IV 118; tṛ́hÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VII 18; tṛ́hŪ hiṁsā-artha-ḥ VI 58; tṝ [1]pláv-ana-[2]tár-aṇay-oḥ I 1018; téjÁ pā́l-an-e I 249; tépṚ kámp-an-e I 389; tepṚ kṣár-aṇa-artha-ḥ X 221; tévṚ dév-an-e I 528; tyajÁ hā-n-aú I 1035; (traṁs) = trasÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 221; (trákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 148); (tráṅk) = trakÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 97; (traṅkh)

= (trákhI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 149); (traṅg) = trágI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; (tránd) = trádI ceṣṭā́-y-ām I 69; (trapi śábd-e I 859); trápūṢ lajjā́-y-ām I 399; trasÁ dhā́r-aṇ-e X 201; trásĪ ud-veg-é IV 10; trúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 82; truṭÁ chéd-an-e X 159; trúpÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 433; trúphÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 437; (trump) = trúnpÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 434; (trumph) = trúnphÁ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 438; traiṄ pā́l-an-e I 1014; traúkṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 99; tvákṣŪ tanū-kár-aṇ-e I 686; (tvaṅg) = tvágI kámp-an-e ca I 166; (tvaṅg) = tvágI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; tvácÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 18; (tvañc) = tváncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 207; ÑI-tvár-Ā sam-bhram-é I 812; tviṣÀ dī́p-t-au I 1050; tsárÁ chad-ma-gá-t-au I 586.

TH

(thaṅkh) = thákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 147; thúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 93; thúrvĪ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 602.

D

(daṁś) = daśI dáṁś-an-e X 136; (daṁś) = danśÁ dáś-an-e I 1038; (daṁś) = daśI bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 224; (daṁs) = dasI [1]dárś-ana-[2]dáṁś-anay-oḥ X 137; (daṁs) = dasI bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 246; dákṣA [1]gá-ti-[2]śā́s-anay-oḥ I 807; dákṣA vṛ́d-dh-au I 639; dághÁ ghā́t-an-e V 27; daṇḍa daṇḍa-ni-pā́t-an-e X 381; dádA dān-é I 17; dádhA dhā́r-aṇ-e III 8; dámÚ upa-śam-é IV 94; (dámbh) = dánbhÚ dámbh-an-e V 23; dáyA [1]dāná-[2]gá-ti-[3]rákṣ-aṇa-[4]hiṁsā́-[5]ā-dāné-ṣu I 510; dáridrā dur-gá-tau II 64; dalÁ vi-dā́r-aṇ-e X 211; dálÁ vi-śár-aṇ-e I 581; (dali śábd-e I 856); dásÚ upa-kṣay-é IV 104; dahÁ bhasmī-kár-aṇ-e I 1040; ḌU-dā-Ñ dān-é III 9; dāṆ dān-é I 977; dāP láv-an-e II 50; dānÁ khánḍ-an-e I 1043; dā́śÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām V 33; dā́śṚ dān-é I 931; dā́sṚ dān-é I 942; (dínv) = dívI prī́ṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 623; dívÚ [1]krīḍā́-[2]vi-ji-gī-ṣā́-[3]vy-ava-hār-á-° . . . IV 1; divÚ pari-kū́j-an-e X 166; divÚ márd-an-e X 185; díśÁ ati-sárj-an-e VI 3; dihÀ upa-cay-é II 5; dīṄ kṣay-é IV 26; dī́kṣA [1]mauṇḍá-[2]ijyā́-[3]upa-náy-ana-° . . . I 640; dī́dhīṄ [1]dī́p-ti-[2]dév-anay-oḥ II 67; dī́pĪ dī́p-t-au IV 42; du gá-t-au I 991; ṬU-du upa-tāp-é V 10; duḥkha tat-kri-yā́-y-ām X 384; dúrvĪ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ I 603; dulÁ ut-kṣep-é X 60; duṣÁ vaí-kṛ-t-y-e IV 76; duhÀ pra-pū́r-aṇ-e II 4; dúhĪR árd-an-e I 774; dū́Ṅ pari-tāp-é IV 25; dṝ hiṁsā́-y-ām V 34; dṛṄ ā-dar-é VI 118; (dṛ́ṁh) = dṛ́hI vṛ́d-dh-au I 770; dṛpÁ [1]hárṣa-[2]móh-anay-oḥ IV 87; dṛphA ut-kleś-é VI 28; dṛbhÁ

saṁ-darbh-é X 279; dr̥̄bhĪ granth-é VI 34; dr̥bhĪ bhay-é X 278; (dr̥̄mph) = dr̥̄nphÁ ut-kleś-é VI 29; dr̥śÍR pr-ékṣ-aṇ-e I 1037; dŕ̥̥hÁ vŕ̥̥d-dh-au I 769; dr̥̄ bhay-é I 846; dr̥̄ vi-dā́r-aṇ-e IX 23; deṄ rákṣ-aṇ-e I 1011; dévR̥ dév-an-e I 529; daiP śódh-an-e I 971; do ava-kháṇḍ-an-e IV 40; dyu abhi-gám-an-e II 31; dyútA dī́p-t-au I 777; dyai nyak-kár-aṇ-e I 954; drámÁ gá-t-au I 494; drā kutsā́-y-āṁ gá-t-au II 45; drā́khR̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇa-[2]álam-arthay-oḥ I 128; drā́ghR̥ ā-yām-é ca I 117; (drā́ghR̥ sā́m-arthy-e I 115); (drā́ṅkṣ) = drā́kṣÍ ghora-vāś-i-té I 701; drā́ḍR vi-śár-aṇ-e I 307; drā́hR̥ nidrā-kṣay-é I 677; dru gá-t-au I 992; (dru hiṁsā́-y-ām V 34); drúṇÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gá-ti-[3]kaúṭilye-ṣu VI 47; drúhÁ jighāṁsā́-y-ām IV 88; drūÑ hiṁsā́-y-ām IX 11; drékR̥ [1]śábda-[2]ut-sāháy-oḥ I 78; drai sváp-n-e I 955; dviṣÁ á-prī-t-au II 3; (dvr̥ vár-aṇ-e I 981).

DH

dhakkÁ nā́ś-an-e X 55; (dháṇÁ śábd-e I 481); dhánÁ dhā́ny-e III 23; (dhánv) = dhávÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 628; ḌU-dhā-Ñ [1]dhā́r-aṇa-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 10; dhā́vÚ [1]gá-ti-[2]śúd-dhy-oḥ I 632; dhi dhā́r-aṇ-e VI 113; dhíkṣA [1]saṁ-dī́p-ana-[2]kléś-ana-[3]jī́v-ane-ṣu I 634; (dhínv) = dhívÍ prī́ṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 624; dhíṣÁ śábd-e III 22; dhīṄ ā-dhār-é IV 28; dhuÑ kamp-an-e V 9; dhukṣA [1]saṁ-dī́p-ana-[2]kléś-ana-[3]jī́v-ane-ṣu I 633; dhúrvĪ́ hiṁsā́-artha-h I 604; dhū́ vi-dhū́n-an-e VI 105; dhū́Ñ kámp-an-e (V 9); IX 17; dhūÑ kámp-an-e X 292; dhūpÁ bhā́ṣā-artha-ḥ X 232; dhū́pÁ saṁ-tāp-é I 423; dhū́rĪ hiṁsā́-artha-ḥ IV 45; dhūsÁ kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e X 98; dhr̥Ṅ ava-dhváṁs-an-e I 1009; dhr̥Ṅ ava-sthā́n-e VI 119; dhr̥Ñ dhā́r-aṇ-e I 948; dhŕ̥̥jÁ gá-t-au I 236; (dhŕ̥̥ñj) = dhŕ̥̥jÍ gá-t-au I 237; dhr̥ṣÁ pra-sáh-an-e X 306; ÑI-dhŕ̥̥s-À prā́-galbhy-e V 22; dheṬ pā́n-e I 951; dhórR̥ ga-ti-cātury-é I 585; dhmā [1]śábda-[2]agni-saṁ-yog-áy-oḥ I 974; dhyai cintā́-y-ām I 957; dhrájÁ gá-t-au I 232; (dhrā́ñj) = dhrájÍ gá-t-au I 233; dhraṇÁ śábd-e I 487; ÚdhrasÁ uñch-é IX 52; UdhrasÁ uñch-é X 202 (cf. udhrasA under U above); drā́khR̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇa-[2]álam-arthay-oḥ I 129; (dhrā́ghR̥ sā́m-arthy-e I 116); (dhrāgR̥ ā-yām-é ca I 117); (dhrā́ṅkṣ) = dhrā́kṣÍ ghora-vāś-i-t-é I 702; dhrā́ḍR̥ vi-śár-aṇ-e I 308; dhru [1]gá-ti-[2]sthaíryay-oḥ VI 107; dhru sthaíry-e I 990; dhrékR̥ [1]śábda-[2]ut-sāháy-oḥ I 79; dhrai tŕ̥̥p-t-au I 956; (dhváṁs) = dhvánsU ava-sráṁs-an-e I 791; (dhváṁs) = dhvánsU gá-t-au ca I 793; dhvájÁ gá-t-au I 238; (dhvā́ñj) = dhvájÍ gá-t-au I 239; dhváṇÁ śábda-artha-ḥ I 480; dhvánÁ śábd-e I 854, 881; dhvanÁ śábd-e X 33; (dhvā́ṅkṣ) = dhvā́kṣI ghora-vāś-i-t-é I 703; dhvr̥ hū́rch-an-e I 986.

N

nakkÁ nā́ś-an-e X 54; naṭÁ ava-syánd-an-e X 12; (naṭÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 250) ṬU-nád-Í sam-ṛ́d-dh-au I 67; nárdÁ śábd-e I 57; (nalÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 260) nā́thṚ [1]yā́c-ñā-[2]upa-tāpá-[3]aíśvarya-[4]āśī́ḥ-ṣu I 7; nā́dhṚ [1]yā́c-ñā́-[2]upa-tāpá-[3]aíśvarya-[4]āśī́ḥ-ṣu I 6; nídÍ kutsā́-y-ām I 66; nivāsa ā-cchā́d-an-e X 339; nṛ́tÍ gātra-vi-kṣep-é IV 9; nṝ nay-é I 847; IX 25; (cf. under Ṇ above).

P

(paṁs) = pasÍ nā́ś-an-e X 74; (pákṣÁ pari-grah-é I 696); pakṣÁ pari-grah-é X 17; ḌU-pac-ÀṢ pā́k-é I 1045; (pañc) = pacÍ vi-stāra-vác-an-e X 109; (pañc) = pácI vy-ak-tī-kár-aṇ-e I 187; páṭÁ gá-t-au I 318; paṭÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 212; paṭa gránth-e X 311; páṭhÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vā́c-í I 466; páṇA vy-ava-hār-é stú-t-au ca I 466; (páṇḍ) = páḍI gá-t-au I 301; (paṇḍ) = paḍÍ nā́ś-an-e X 74; pata gá-t-au X 315; pátḶ gá-t-au I 898, páthÉ gá-t-au I 900; padA gá-t-au IV 60; pada gá-t-au X 350; pánA stú-t-au I 467; páyA gá-t-au I 505; parṇa harita-bhāv-é X 392; párdA kuts-i-t-é śábd-e I 29; párpÁ gá-t-au I 439; párbÁ gá-t-au I 443; párvÁ pū́r-aṇ-e I 608; pálÁ gá-t-au I 892, palyūla [1]lávana-[2]páv-anay-oḥ X 335; paśÁ bándh-an-e X 179; paṣa gá-t-au X 316; pasÁ bándh-an-e X 179; pā pā́n-e I 972; pā rákṣ-aṇ-e II 47; pāra kar-ma-sam-ā́p-t-au X 363; pālÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 69; pi gá-t-au VI 112; (piṁs) = pisÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 222; pichÁ kúṭṭ-an-e X 40; (piñj) = pijÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 217; (piñj) = píjI várṇ-e II 18; (piñj) = pijÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]bála-[3]ā-dāná-[4]ni-két-ane-ṣu X 31; píṭÁ [1]śábda-[2]saṁ-gharṣ-áy-oḥ I 333; píṭhÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-kléś-anay-oḥ I 362; (píṇḍ) = píḍI saṁ-ghā́t-e I 293; (piṇḍ) = piḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é X 131; (pínv) = pívÍ séc-an-e I 619; píśÁ ava-yav-é VI 143; piṣḶ saṁ-cū́rṇ-an-e VII 15; pisÁ gá-t-au X 32; písṚ gá-t-au I 751; pīṄ pā́n-e IV 33; pīḍA ava-gā́h-an-e X 11; pī́lÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é I 554; pī́vÁ sthaúly-e I 595; puṁsÁ abhi-várdh-an-e X 95; puccha X 395; puṭÁ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 213; púṭÁ saṁ-śléṣ-aṇ-e VI 74; puṭa saṁ-sarg-é X 365; puṭṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; puḍÁ ut-sarg-e VI 90; púṇÁ kár-maṇ-i śubh-é VI 43; (punṭ) = puṭÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 251; puthÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 235; puthA hiṁsā́-y-ām IV 12; (púnth) = púthÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-kléś-anay-oḥ I 45; púrÁ agra-gám-an-e VI 56; púrvÁ pū́r-aṇ-e I 607; púlÁ mahat-tv-é I 894; pulÁ mahat-tv-é X 61; puṣA dhā́r-aṇ-e X 210; púṣÁ púṣ-ṭ-au I 732; IX 57; puṣÁ púṣ-ṭ-au IV 73; púṣpÁ vi-kás-an-e IV 15; (pusÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X

93); pustÁ [1]ā-dará-[2]án-ā-daray-oḥ X 52; pū́Ṅ páv-an-e I 1015; pū́Ñ páv-an-e IX 12; pūjÁ pūjā́-y-ām X 101; pū́yĪ vi-śár-aṇe dur-gandh-é ca I 513; pū́rĪ ā-pyā́y-an-e IV 43; pūrÍ ā-pyā́y-an-e X 261; pūrvÁ ni-két-an-e X 127; pū́lÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 561; pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 94; pūṣÁ vŕ̥d-dh-au I 706; pr̥ prī́-t-au V 12; pr̥Ṅ vy-ā-yām-é VI 109; pr̥cÁ saṁ-yám-an-e X 265; pŕ̥cÍ sam-park-é VII 25; pŕ̥cĪ sam-párc-an-e II 20; pŕ̥ḍÁ súkh-an-e VI 39; pŕ̥ṇÁ prī́n-an-e VI 40; pr̥thÁ pra-kṣ-ep-é X 20; pŕ̥ṣÚ séc-an-e I 737; pr̥̄ [1]pā́l-ana-[2]pū́r-aṇay-oḥ III 4, IX 19; pr̥̄ pū́r-aṇ-e X 15; pélŔ̥ gá-t-au I 574; pévR̥ sév-an-e I 533; péṣR̥ gá-t-au I 752; pai śóṣ-aṇ-e I 968; paíṇŔ̥ [1]gá-ti-[2]pr-ér-aṇa-[3]śléṣ-aṇe-ṣu I 486; O-pyā́y-Ī vŕ̥d-dh-au I 517; pyaiṄ vŕ̥d-dh-au I 1013; prachÁ jñīpsā́-y-ām VI 120; práthA pra-khyā́n-e I 802; prathÁ pra-khyā́n-e X 19; prásA vi-stār-é I 803; prā pū́r-aṇ-e II 52; prīṄ prī́-t-au IV 36; prīÑ tárp-aṇ-e IX 2; X 293; pruṄ gá-t-au I 1006; prúṣÁ [1]snéh-ana-[2]sév-ana-[3]pū́r-aṇe-ṣu IX 55; prúṣÚ dāh-é I 735; próthŔ̥ pary-ā́p-t-au I 919; plíhA gá-t-au I 673; plī gá-t-au IX 32; pluṄ gá-t-au I 1007; plúṣÁ dāh-é IV 8,107; plúṣÁ [1]snéh-ana-[2]sév-ana-[3]pū́r-aṇe-ṣu IX 56; (plévR̥ gá-t-au I 538); psā bhákṣ-aṇ-e II 46.

PH

phákkÁ nīcair-gá-t-au I 119; pháṇÁ gá-t-au I 873; phálÁ niṣ-pát-t-au I 563; ÑI-phál-Ā vi-śár-aṇ-e I 549; phúllÁ vi-kás-an-e I 565; phélŔ̥ gá-t-au I 575.

B

(báṁh) = báhI vŕ̥d-dh-au I 664; bádÁ sthaíry-e I 52; badhA bándh-an-e I 1022; badhÁ bándh-an-e X 14; badhÁ saṁ-yám-an-e X 14; bandhÁ bándh-an-e IX 37; bárbÁ gá-t-au I 445; bárhA prā́-dhāny-e I 669; barhÁ bhāṣā́=arth-aḥ X 229; barhÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 123; bálÁ pr-ā́ṇ-an-e I 893; balÁ pr-āṇ-an-e X 85; bálhA prā́-dhāny-e I 670; balhÁ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 230; baṣka dárś-an-e X 369; bastÁ árd-an-e X 144; bā́ḍR̥ a-plāvy-è I 306; bādhR̥ lóḍ-an-e I 5; bāhR̥ ā-kroś-é I 676; bíṭÁ a-kroś-é I 339; (bínd) = bídÍ ava-yav-é I 65; bílÁ bhéd-ane VI 67; bilÁ bhéd-ane X 66; bísÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e IV 108; búkkÁ bháṣ-aṇ-e I 122; bukkÁ bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 173; búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e I 911; budhA ava-gám-an-e IV 63; búdhÌR bódh-ane I 924; U-búnd-ÌR ni-śā́m-an-e I 925; búsÁ ut-sarg-é IV 110; bustÁ [1]ā-dará=[2]án-ā-daray-oḥ X 52; (br̥ṁh) = br̥hÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 228;

(br̥̍ṁh) = br̥̍hÍ vr̥̍d-dh-au I 772; br̥̍hÁ vr̥̍d-dh-au I 771; (béśÁ gá-t-au I 756); brūÑ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í II 35; brūsÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 122.

BH

bhakṣÁ ád-an-e X 22; bhákṣÁ ád-an-e I 941; bhajÁ vi-śrā́ṇ-an-e X 194; bhajÀ sevā́-y-ām I 1047; (bhañj) = bhajÍ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 219; bhanjÓ ā-márd-an-e VII 16; bháṭÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 817; bháṭÁ bhŕ̥-t-au I 329; bháṇÁ śábda-artha-ḥ I 474; *(bhaṇṭ) =*bhaṭÍ pra-tā́r-aṇ-e X 50; (bháṇḍ) = bháḍI pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 292; (bhaṇḍ) = bhaḍÍ kalyā́ṇ-e X 50; (bhánd) = bhádI kalyā́n-e I 12; bhartsÁ saṁ-tárj-an-e X 143; bhárvÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 611; bhalÁ ā-bháṇḍ-an-e X 161; bhálA [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́=[3]ā-dané-ṣu I 524; bhállA [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā=[3]ā-dāné-ṣu I 525; bháṣÁ bhárts-an-e I 726; bhásÁ [1]bhárts-ana-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ III 18; bhā dī́p-t-au II 42; bhāja pr̥thak-kár-aṇ-e X 340; bhā́mA kródh-e I 468; bhāma kródh-e X 326; bhā́ṣA vy-àk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 643; bhā́sR̥ dī́p-t-au I 655; bhíkṣA bhikṣā́-y-ām I 637; bhidÌR vi-dā́r-aṇ-e VII 2; ÑI-bhī bhay-é III 2; bhujÁ [1]pā́l-ana=[2]abhy-ava-hāráy-oḥ VIII 17; bhujO kaúṭily-e VI 124; bhū ava-kalk-an-e X 207; bhū pr-ā́p-t-au X 300; bhū́ sattā́-y-ām I 1; bhū́ṣÁ alaṁ-kār-é I 712; bhūṣÁ alaṁ-kār-é X 190; bhr̥Ñ bhár-aṇ-e I 946; ḌU-bhr̥-Ñ [1]dhā́r-aṇa-[2]póṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 5; (bhr̥ṁś) =(bhr̥śÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 247); bhŕ̥jĪ bhárj-an-e I 191; (bhŕ̥ḍÁ ni-májj-an-e VI 101); bhŕ̥śU adhaḥ-pát-an-e IV 115; bhr̥̄ bhárts-an-e IX 21; bhéṣŔ̥ bhay-é I 932; bhyásA bhay-é I 659; (bhráṁś) = bhránśÚ adhaḥ-pát-an-e IV 115; *(bhraṁś) = *bhránsÚ ava-sráṁs-an-e I 792; (bhráṁs) = bhransÚ ava-sráṁs-an-e I 792; (bhrajj) = bhrasjÀ pāk-é VI 4; bhráṇÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 479; bhrámÚ án-ava-sthān-e IV 96; bhrámÚ cál-an-e I 903; ṬU-bhrā́j-R̥ dī́p-t-au I 875; bhrā́jR̥ dī́p-t-au I 194; bhrī bhay-é IX 34; bhrūṇA āśā́-y-ām X 151; bhréjR̥ dī́p-t-au I 193; bhréṣR̥ gá-t-au I 933; bhlákṣÁ ád-an-e I 941; ṬU-bhlā́ś-R̥ dī́p-t-au I 877; bhléṣR̥ gá-t-au I 933.

M

(maṁh) = mahÍ vŕ̥d-dh-au I 665; (maṁh) = mahÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 257; mákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 136; (máṅk) = mákI máṇḍ-an-e I 89; (máṅkh) = mákhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 137; (máṅg) = mágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 157; (máṅgh) = mághI káitav-e ca I 112; (máṅgh) = mághI ga-ti=ā-kṣep-e I 111; (máṅgh) = mághÍ máṇḍ-an-e I 173; mácA kálk-an-e I 184; (majj) =

ṬU-masj-Ó śúd-dh-au VI 122; (mañc) = mácI [1]dhā́r-aṇa=[2]uc-chrāyá-[3]pū́j-ane-ṣu I 186; máṭhÁ [1]máda-[2]ni-vāsáy-oḥ I 355; máṇÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 457; (máṇṭh) = máṭhI śók-e I 282; (máṇḍ) = máḍÍ bhūṣā́-y-ām I 344; (maṇḍ) = maḍÍ bhūṣā́-y-ām X 49; (máṇḍ) = máḍI vi-bhā́j-an-e I 291; máthÉ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 901; madÁ tr̥p-ti-yog-é X 165; mádĪ́ [1]hárṣa-[2]glép-anay-oḥ I 853; mádĪ́ hárṣ-e IV 99; manA jñā́n-e IV 67; manÁ stambh-é X 169; mánU ava-bódh-an-e VIII 9; (mantr) = matrÍ gup-ta-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 140; (mánth) = máthÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]kléś-anay-oḥ I 47; mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 43; manthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e X 40; (mánd) = mádI [1]stú-ti-[2]móda-[3]máda-[4]sváp-na-[5]gá-ti-ṣu I 13; mábhrÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 590; máyA gá-t-au I 506; márbÁ gá-t-au I 446; márvÁ pū́r-aṇ-e I 609; málA dhā́r-aṇ-e I 522; mállA dhā́r-aṇ-e I 523; mávÁ bándh-an-e I 630; mavyÁ bándh-an-e I 541; máśÁ śábd-e I 760; máṣÁ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 723; másĪ́ pari-mā́ṇ-e IV 112; máskA gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 102; máhÁ pūjā́-y-ām I 766; maha pūjā́-y-ām X 321; mā mā́n-e II 53; māṄ mā́n-e IV 34; māṄ mā́n-e śábd-e ca III 6; (mā́ṅkṣ) = mā́kṣÍ kāṅkṣā́-y-ām I 700; mānA pūjā́-y-ām I 1021; mānÁ pūjā́-y-ām X 299; mārgÁ anv-éṣ-aṇe X 302; mārgÁ [1]saṁ-s-kār-á-[2]gá-ty-oḥ X 75; mārjÁ śábda=artha-ḥ X 107; māhR̥̀ mā́n-e I 943; ḌU-mi-Ñ pra-kṣép-aṇ-e V 4; míchÁ ut-kleś-é VI 16; (miñj) = mijÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 216; ÑI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e I 799; ÑI-míd-Ā sneh-an-e IV 133; mídR̥̀ [1]medhā́-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ I 920; (mind) = midÍ snéh-an-e X 8; (mínv) = mívÍ séc-an-e I 620; mílÁ śléṣ-aṇ-e VI 71; mílÀ saṁ-gám-an-e VI 135; míśÁ śábd-e I 759; miśra sam-park-é X 375; míṣÁ spardhā́-y-ām VI 60; míṣÚ séc-an-e I 730; mihÁ séc-an-e I 1041; mī gá-t-au X 281; mīṄ hiṁsā́-y-ām IV 29; mīÑ hiṁsā́-y-ām IX 4; mī́mR̥̀ gá-t-au I 496; mī́lÁ ni-meṣ-aṇ-e I 550; (múṅkh) = (múkhÍ gá-ty-arth-aḥ I 147); mucL̥̀ mókṣ-aṇ-e VI 136; mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca X 203; mújÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 269; (múñc) = múcI kálk-an-e I 185; (múñj) = mújÍ śábda=artha-ḥ I 270; múṭÁ [1]ā-kṣepá-[2]pra-márd-anay-oḥ VI 81; muṭÁ saṁ-cū́rṇ-an-e X 73; múṇÁ prati-jñā́n-e VI 44; (múṇṭh) = múṭhI pā́l-an-e I 284; (múṇḍ) = múḍÍ kháṇḍ-an-e I 348; (múṇḍ) = múḍI mā́rj-an-e I 294; múdA hárṣ-e I 16; mudÁ saṁ-sarg-é X 200; múrÁ saṁ-véṣṭ-an-e VI 53; múrchĀ̀ [1]móha-[2]sam-uc-chrāyáy-oḥ I 227; múrvĪ́ bándh-an-e I 606; múṣÁ sté-y-e IX 58; músÁ kháṇḍ-an-e IV 11; mustÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 88; múhÁ vái-citty-e IV 89; mūtra pra-sráv-aṇ-e X 361; mū́lÁ pra-tiṣṭhā́-y-ām I 562; mūlÁ róh-aṇ-e X 63; mū́ṣÁ sté-y-e I 707; mr̥Ṅ pr-āṇa-tyāg-é VI 110; mŕ̥kṣÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 694; mŕ̥gÁ anv-éṣ-aṇ-e IV 137; mr̥ga anv-éṣ-aṇ-e X 352; mŕ̥jÙ śúd-dh-au II 57; mr̥jÙ [1]śaucá=

[2]alaṁ-kār-áy-oḥ X 304; mŕ̥ḍÁ kṣód-e IX 44; mŕ̥ḍÁ súkh-an-e VI 38; mŕ̥ṇÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 41; (mr̥ṇḍ = mr̥ḍÍ chéd-an-e X 118); mŕ̥ṇÁ kṣód-e IX 43; mŕ̥dhÙ únd-an-e I 923; mr̥śÁ ā-márṣ-aṇ-e VI 131; mr̥ṣÀ titikṣā́-y-āṃ X 305; mr̥ṣÚ séc-an-e sáh-an-e ca I 739; meṄ pra-ṇi-dān-é I 1010; (méṭŔ̥ un-mād-é I 314); méḍŔ̥ [1]medhā́-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ I 920; méḍhŔ̥ [1]medhā́-[2]híṁs-anay-oḥ I 920; mépR̥ gá-t-au I 395; (mévR̥ sév-an-e I 534); mokṣÁ ás-an-e X 191; mnā abhy-ās-é I 976; mrakṣÁ mlécch-an-e X 120; (mrákṣÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 694); mrádA márd-an-e I 804; mrúcÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 210; mrúncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 208; mréḍŔ̥ un-mād-é I 313; mlúcÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 211; mlúncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 209; mléchÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 220; mlechÁ á-vy-ak-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í X 121; mléṭŔ̥ un-mād-é I 312; mlévR̥ sév-an-e I 535; mlai harṣa-kṣay-é I 953.

Y

yakṣÁ pūjā́-y-ām X 153; yajÀ [1]deva-pūjā́-[2]saṁ-ga-ti-kár-aṇa-[3]dāné-ṣu I 1051; yatA [1]ni-kārá=[2]upa-s-kāráy-oḥ X 196; yátĪ pra-yat-n-é I 30; (yantr) = yatrÍ saṁ-kóc-an-e X 3; yabhA vi-par-ī-ta-maithun-é I 1029; yamÁ á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e I 871; yamA pari-véṣ-aṇ-e X 82; yamÁ upa-ram-é I 1033; yásÚ pra-yat-n-é IV 101; yā pr-āp-aṇ-e II 40; ṬU-yā́c-Ŕ̥ yāc-ñā́-y-ām I 916; yu jugupsā́-y-ām X 170; yu míśr-aṇ-e II 23; yuÑ bándh-an-e IX 9; (yúṅg) = yúgÍ várj-an-e I 167; yúchÁ pra-mād-é I 229; yujA saṁ-yám-an-e X 264; yujA sam-ā-dh-aú IV 68; yujÌR yóg-e VII 7; yútŔ̥ bhā́s-an-e I 31; yudhA sam-pra-hār-é IV 64; yúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 124; yū́ṣÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 711; yéṣR̥ pra-yat-n-é I 646; yaúṭŔ̥ bandh-é I 311.

R

(ráṁh) = ráhÍ gá-t-au I 768; (raṁh = rahÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 256); rakÁ ā-svā́d-an-e X 197; rákṣÁ pā́l-an-e I 688; rákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 140; rágÉ śaṅkā́-y-ām I 822; (ráṅkh) = rákhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 141; (raṅg) = rágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 153; (ráṅgh) = rághÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 107; (raṅgh = raghÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 253); raca pra-yat-n-é X 318; (rañj) = ranjÀ rāg-é I 865,1048; IV 58; ráṭÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 319; (raṭa pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 373); ráṭhÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 357; ráṇÁ gá-t-au I 832; ráṇÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 855; (raṇv) = rávÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 627; rádÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 54; rádhÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-rā́d-dhyo-ḥ IV 84; rápÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 428; ráphÁ gá-t-au I 440; rabhÁ rā́bhas-y-e I 1023; ramA krīḍā́-y-ām I 906; (ramph)

= ráphÍ gá-t-au I 441; (rámb) = rábÍ śábd-e I 401; (rámbh = rábhI śábd-e I 412); ráyA gá-t-au I 511; rásÁ śábd-e I 745; rasa [1]ā-svā́d-ana-[2]snéh-anay-oḥ X 385; ráhÁ tyāg-é I 767; rahÁ tyāg-é X 84; raha tyāg-é X 312; rā dan-e II 48; rā́khŔ̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇa=[2]álam-arthay-oḥ I 126; rā́ghR̥ sā́m-arthy-e I 113; rā́jR̥ dī́p-t-au I 874; rādhA vŕ̥d-dh-au IV 71; rādhÁ saṁ-síd-dh-au V 16; rā́sR̥ śábd-e I 657; ri gá-t-au VI 111; (ríkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 151); (riṅg) = rígÍ ga-ty-artha-ḥ I 164; ricA [1]vi-yój-ana-[2]sam-párc-anay-oḥ X 273; ricÌR vi-réc-an-e VII 4; (ríṇv) = rívÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 626; ríphÁ [1]kátth-ana-[2]yuddhá-[3]nindā́-[4]hiṁsā́-[5]ā-dāné-su VI 23; ríśÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 126; ríṣÁ hiṁsā́=artha-ḥ I 725; rī [1]gá-ti-[2]réṣ-aṇay-oḥ IX 30; rīṄ śráv-aṇ-e IV 30; ruṄ [1]gá-ti-[2]réṣ-aṇay-oḥ I 1008; rú śábd-e II 24; rúcA dī́p-t-au abhi-prī́-t-au ca I 781; rujÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 262; rujÓ bhaṅg-é VI 123; rúṭA prati-ghāt-é I 783; rúṭhÁ apa-ghāt-é I 359; (rúṇṭ) = rúṭI sté-y-e I 349; (rúṇṭh) = rúṭhÍ gá-t-au I 368; rúdÍR aśru-vi-móc-an-e II 58; áno(ḥ) rudhA kām-é IV 65; rudhÍR ā-vár-aṇ-e VII 1; rúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 125; ruśÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām VI 126; rúṣÁ róṣ-e IV 120; ruṣÁ róṣ-e X 132; ruhÁ bīja-ján-man-i I 912; rūkṣa pā́ruṣy-e X 362; rūpa rūpa-kri-yā́-y-ām X 387; (rū́ṣÁ bhūṣā́-y-ām I 709); rékR̥ śaṅkā́-y-ām I 80; (réjR̥ dī́p-t-au I 195); réṭR̥ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 917; répR̥ gá-t-au I 396; rébhR̥ śábd-e I 410; révR̥ plava-gá-t-au I 540; réṣR̥ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 651; rai śábd-e I 958; róḍŔ̥ un-mād-é I 378; raúḍŔ̥ án-ā-dar-e I 377.

L

lakṣÁ ā-lóc-an-e X 157; lakṣÁ [1]dárś-ana=[2]ā-kāṅksáy-oḥ X 5; lákhÁ gá-ty artha-ḥ I 142; lagA ā-svā́d-an-e X 197; lágÉ sáṅg-e I 823; (láṅkh) = lákhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 143; (láṅg) = lágÍ gá-ty-arth-aḥ I 154; (laṅgh) = laghI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 108; (laṅgh) = laghÍ bhāṣā́-artha-ḥ X 220 (254); (láṅgh) = lághÍ śóṣ-aṇ-e I 172); láchÁ lákṣ-aṇ-e I 221; lájÁ bhárts-an-e I 257; (lajj) = O-lásj-Ī vrīḍ-é VI 10; (láñj) = lájÍ bhárts-an-e I 258; (lañj = lajÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 244); (lañj) = *lajÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]bála=[3]ā-daná-[4]ni-két-ane-ṣu X 39; láṭÁ bā́ly-e I 320; laḍÁ upa-sevā́-y-ām X 7; láḍÁ vi-lā́s-é I 381; laḍi jihvā=un-máth-an-e I 852; (laṇḍ) = O-laḍ-Í ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9; (laṇḍ = laḍÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 258); lapA vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 429; ḌU-labh-A-Ṣ pr-ā́p-t-au I 1024; (lámb) = lábI ava-srā́ṁs-an-e I 404; (lámb) = lábI śábd-e I 402; lárbÁ gá-t-au I 444; lalÁ īp-s-ā́-y-ām X 148; (lálÁ vi-lā́s-é I 382); lā́śÀ kā́n-t-au I 937; lasÁ śilpa-yog-é X 189; lásÁ [1]śléṣ-aṇa-[2]krī́ḍ-anay-oḥ I 746; lā ā-dan-é II 49; lā́khŔ̥ [1]śóṣ-aṇa=[2]álam-arthay-oḥ I

127; lā́ghR̥ sā́m-arthy-e I 114; lā́jÁ bhárts-an-e I 259; (lā́ñch) = lā́chÍ lákṣ-aṇ-e I 222; (lā́ñj) = lā́jÍ bhárts-an-e I 260; lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e X 389; líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é VI 72; (líṅg) = lígÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 165; (liṅg) = ligÍ citrī-kár-aṇ-e X 199; lipÀ upa-deh-é VI 139; liśÁ alpī-bhāv-e IV 70; liśÁ gá-t-au VI 127; lihÀ ā-svā́d-an-e II 6; lī dravī-kár-aṇ-e X 269; lī śléṣ-aṇ-e IX 31; līṄ śléṣ-aṇ-e IV 31; (lúñc) = lúncÁ apa-náy-an-e I 202; (luñj) = lujÍ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 218; lúṭA prati-ghāt-é I 784; lúṭÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 336; IV 113; lúṭÁ saṁ-śléṣ-aṇ-e VI 87; luṭÁ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 214; lúṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 360; lúṭhA prati-ghāt-é I 785; (lúṇṭ) = lúṭÍ sté-y-e I 350; (luṇṭÁ sté-y-e X 27); (lúṇṭh) = lúṭhÍ ā́-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca I 366; (lúṇṭh) = lúṭhÍ gá-t-au I 369; luṇṭhA sté-y-e X 27; (lúnth) = lúthÍ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]saṁ-kléś-anay-oḥ I 46; lúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 126; lupL̥ chéd-an-e IV 137; lúbhÁ gā́rddhy-e IV 128; lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e VI 22; (lúmb) = lúbÍ árd-an-e I 454; (lumb) = lubÍ á-dars-an-e X 144; lūÑ chéd-an-e IX 13; (lū́ṣÁ bhūṣā́-y-ām I 708); lūṣA hiṁsā́-y-ām X 70; lépR̥ gá-t-au I 397; lókŔ̥ dárś-an-e I 76; lokŔ̥ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 236; lócR̥ dárś-an-e I 177; locŔ̥ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 237; lóḍR̥ un-mād-é I 379; lóṣṭa saṁ-ghāt-é I 277.

V

vákṣÁ róṣ-e I 693; vákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 134; (váṅk) = vákI kaúṭily-e I 88; (váṅk) = vákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 95; (váṅkh) = vákhÍ gá-ty artha-ḥ I 135; (váṅg) = vágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 156; (váṅgh) = vághI ga-ti=ā-kṣep-é I 110; vacÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e II 54; vájÁ gá-t-au I 271; (vajÁ [1]mārga-saṁ-s-kārá-[2]ga-ty-oḥ X 75); váncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 204; vancÚ pra-lámbh-an-e X 163; váṭÁ véṣṭ-an-e I 322; váṭÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 816; vaṭa gránth-e X 311; vaṭa vi-bhā́j-an-e X 372; váṭhÁ sthaúry-e I 354; váṇÁ śábda=artha-ḥ I 473; (vaṇṭ) = vaṭÍ vi-bhā́j-an-e X 48; (váṇṭ = váṭÍ vi-bhā́j-an-e I 351); (vaṇṭ = vaṭI vi-bhā́j-an-e X 372); (váṇṭh) = váṭhI eka-caryā́-y-ām I 281; (váṇḍ) = váḍI vi-bhā́j-an-e I 290; (vaṇḍ) = vaḍÍ vi-bhā́j-an-e X 48; vádÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 1058; vadÁ saṁ-deś-a-vā́c-an-e X 297; vánÁ śábd-e I 490; vánÁ saṁ-bhák-t-au I 491; vánU yā́c-an-e VIII 8; vánÚ ca ná=úpa-labh-ya-te I 841, 868; vanA [1]śrad-dhā́=[2]upa-hán-anay-oḥ X 296; (vánd) = vádI [1]abhi-vā́d-ana-[2]stú-ty-oḥ I 11; ḌU-vap-À bīja-saṁ-tān-é I 1052; vábhrÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 589; ṬU-vam-Á ud-gír-aṇ-e I 868, 902; váyA gá-t-au I 504; vara īp-sā́-y-ām X 308; várcA dī́p-t-au I 175; varṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; varṇa [1]varṇa-kri-yā́-[2]vi-stārá-[3]guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu X 391; vardhÁ [1]chéd-ana-

[2]pū́r-aṇay-oḥ X 112; várṣA snéh-an-e I 644; várhA [1]pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́=[3]ā-dāné-ṣu I 671; válA saṁ-vár-an-e I 520; (vali śábd-e I 857); valkÁ pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 35; válgÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 152; válbhA bhój-an-e I 418; vállA saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 521; válhA [1]pari-bhā́ṣ-aṇa-[2]hiṁsā́=[3]ā-dāné-ṣu I 672; (válhA prā́-dhāny-e I 670); váśÁ kā́n-t-au II 70; váṣÁ hiṁsā́=artha-ḥ I 722; vásA ā-cchā́d-an-e II 13; vasÁ ni-vās-é I 1054; vasÁ [1]snehá=[2]chedá=apa=hár=aṇe=ṣu X 204; vásÚ stambh-é IV 105; váskA gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 101; vahÀ pr-ā́p-aṇ-e I 1053; vā [1]ga-ti-[2]gándh-anay-oḥ II 41; (vā́ṅkṣ) = vā́kṣÍ kāṅksā́-y-ām I 699; (vā́ñch) = vā́chÍ icchā́-y-ām I 223; vāta [1]sukhá-[2]séc-anay-oḥ X 336; vā́śṚ śábd-e IV 54; vāsa upa-sevā́-y-ām X 338; vicÌR pṛthg-bhāv-é VII 5; víchÁ gá-t-au VI 129; vichÁ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 233; vijÌR pṛthag-bhāv-é III 12; O-víj-Ī [1]bhayá-[2]cál-anay-oḥ VI 9; O-víj-Ī́ [1]bhayá-[2]cál-anay-oḥ VII 23; víṭÁ śábd-e I 338; víthṚ yā́c-an-e I 33; vidÁ [1]cet-ana=[2]ā-khyā́na-[3]ni-vāsé-ṣu X 168; vídÁ jñā́n-e II 55; vidA vi-cā́r-aṇ-e VII 13; vidA sattā́-y-ām IV 627; vidḶ lābh-é VI 138; vídhÁ vidhān-é VI 36; vilÁ kṣép-e X 65; vílÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 66; viśÁ pra-véś-an-e VI 130; viṣÁ vi-pra-yog-é IX 54; viṣÚ séc-an-e I 729; viṣḶ vy-ā́p-t-au III 13; (vísÁ gá-t-au I 753); vī [1]gá-ti-[2]pra-janá-[3]kā́n-ti=[4]ás-ana-[5]khā́d-ane-ṣu II 39; (vī́jA gá-t-au I 197); vīra vi-krā́n-t-au X 355; (vúṅg) = vúgÍ várj-an-e I 169; vṛṄ sam-bhák-t-au IX 38; vṛÑ vár-aṇ-e V 8; vṛÑ ā-vár-aṇ-e X 271; vṛ́kA ád-an-e I 92; vṛ́kṣA vár-aṇ-e I 635; vṛ́jĪ várj-an-e II 19; vṛ́jĪ́ várj-an-e VII 24; vṛjĪ várj-an-e X 270; vṛtÚ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 241; vṛ́tU vár-aṇ-e IV 52; vṛ́tU várt-an-e I 795; vṛdhÚ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 242; vṛ́dhU vṛ́d-dh-au I 796; vṛ́ṣÁ vár-aṇ-e IV 116; vṛṣÁ śak-ti-bándh-an-e X 164; vṛ́ṣÚ séc-an-e I 738; vṛ́hÜ ud-yám-an-e VI 57; vṝ vár-aṇ-e IX 20; vṝÑ vár-aṇ-e IX 16; veÑ tan-tu-saṁ-tān-é I 1055; (vekṣá dárś-an-e X 392); véṇṚ [1]gá-ti-[2]jñāna-[3]cintā́-[4]ni-śā́m-ana-[5]vā́d-itra-[6]gráh-aṇe-ṣu I 926; véthṚ yā́c-an-e I 34; ṬU-vép-Ṛ kámp-an-e I 391; vela kāla=upa-deś-é X 334; vélṚ cál-an-e I 568; véllÁ cál-an-e I 573; vevīṄ vé-ti-nā túly-e (= [1]gá-ti-[2]pra-janá-[3]kā́n-ti=[4]ás-ana-[5]khā́d-ane-ṣu) II 68; véṣṭA véṣṭ-an-e I 274; (vésÁ gá-t-au I 754); véhṚ pra-yat-n-é I 674; O-vai śóṣ-aṇ-e I 969; vyácÁ vyājī-kár-aṇ-e VI 12; vyáthA [1]bhayá-[2]sam-cál-anay-oḥ I 801; vyadhÁ tā́ḍ-an-e IV 72; (vyapÁ kṣay-é X 96); vyáyÀ gá-t-au I 930; vyaya [1]vittá-[2]sam-ut-sarg-áy-oḥ X 386; vyúṣÁ dāh-é IV 7; vyúṣA vi-bhāg-é IV 106; vyeÑ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 1056; vrájÁ gá-t-au I 272; (vrájÁ gá-t-au I 234); vrajÁ [1]mārga-saṁ-s-kārá-[2]gá-ty-oḥ X 75; (vrā́ñj = vrā́jÍ gá-t-au I 235); vráṇÀ śábda=artha-ḥ I 478; vraṇa gātra-vi-cū́rṇ-an-e X 390; O-vrásc-Ū̀ chéd-an-e VI 11; vrī vár-aṇ-e IX 33;

vrīṄ vṛ-ṇó-ti=arth-e IV 32; vrī́ḍÁ cód-an-e VI 18; vrúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 99; vrūsA hiṁsā́-y-ām X 122; vlī vár-aṇ-e IX 32.

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(ā́+śaṁs) = ā́Ṅaḥ śā́sI icchā́-y-ām I 660; (śáṁs) = śánsU stú-t-au I 764; śakÀ márṣ-an-e IV 78; śakḶ śák-t-au V 15; (śáṅk) = śákI śaṅkā́-y-ām I 86; śacA vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í I 178; śáṭÁ [1]rujā́-[2]vi-śár-aṇa-[3]gá-ti=[4]ava-sā́d-ane-su I 321· śaṭhÁ [1]á-saṁ-s-kāra-[2]gá-tyo-ḥ X 28; śáṭhÁ kaítav-e ca I 363; śaṭhÁ ślāghā́-y-ām X 152; śaṭha samyag-ava-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śáṇÁ dān-é I 834; (śáṇḍ) = śáḍI rujā́-y-ām I 299; śadḶ śā́t-an-e I 908; VI 134; śapÀ ā-kroś-é I 1049; śapÀ ā-kroś-é IV 59; śabdÁ śabda-kri-yā́-y-ām X 174; śamA ā-lóc-an e X 156; śámÚ upa-śam-é IV 92; śámÁ dárś-an-e I 870; (śambÁ sam-bándh-an-e X 21); śárbÁ gá-t-au I 450; śárvÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām I 616; śálÁ gá-t-au I 896; śálA [1]cál-ana-[2]saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 519; śálbhA kátth-an-e I 417; śávÁ gá-t-au I 761; śáṣÁ hiṁsā́=artha-ḥ I 721; śásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au I 762; śásÚ himsa-y-ām I 763; śākhṚ vy-ā́p-t-au I 130; śā́ḍṚ ślaghā́-y-ām I 309; śānÀ téj-an-e I 1044; śāsÚ anu-śíṣ-ṭ-au II 66; ā́Ṅ-aḥ śā́sU icchā́-y-ām II 12; śiÑ ni-śā́n-e V 3; śíkṣA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é I 636; (śiṅkh) = śíkhÍ ga-ti=artha-ḥ I 150; (śíṅgh) = śíghÍ ā-ghrāṇ-é I 174; (śíñj) = śíjI á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e II 17; śíṭÁ án-ā-dar-e I 325; śílÁ uñch-é VI 70; śiṣÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e X 274; śíṣÁ hiṁsā́=artha-ḥ I 718; śiṣḶ vi-śéṣ-aṇ-e VII 14; śī́Ṅ sváp-n-e II 22; śīkÁ ā-márṣ-aṇ-e X 283; śī́kṚ séc-an-e I 75; (śīkÁ bhāṣā́=artha-ḥ X 249); śī́bhṚ kátth-an-e I 408; śī́lÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 556; śīla upa-dhā́r-aṇ-e X 332; (śúkÁ gá-t-au I 123); śúcÁ śók-e I 198; Ī-śúc-ÌR pūtī-bhāv-é IV 56; śúcyÁ abhi-ṣav-é I 546; śuṭhÁ ā́-lasy-e X 103; śúṭhÁ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é I 364; (śúṇṭh) = śúṭhÍ śóṣ-aṇ-e I 367; (śuṇṭh) = śuṭhÍ śoṣ-aṇ-e X 104; śúnÁ gá-t-au VI 46; śúdhÁ śauc-é IV 82; śúndhÁ śúd-dh-au I 74; śundhÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i X 289; śúbhÁ dī́p-t-au I 459; śúbhÁ śobhā́=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = śúnbhÁ śobhā́=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = śunbhA bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e I 460; śulkÁ ati-spárś-an-e X 76; śulbÁ mān-é X 71; śuṣÁ śoṣ-aṇ-e IV 74; śūra vi-krā́n-t-au X 354; śū́rĪ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]stámbh-anay-oḥ IV 49; śū́lÁ rujā́-y-ām I 559; śū́ṣÁ pra-sav-é I 710; śṛ́dhÙ únd-an-e I 922; śṛ́dhU pra-sáh-an-e X 195; śṛdhÚ śabda-kutsā́-y-ām I 797; śṝ́ hiṁsā́-y-am IX 18; śélṚ gá-t-au I 576; (śévṚ sév-an-e I 536); śai pāk-é I 906; śo tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV 37; śóṇṚ [1]várṇa-[2]gá-ty-oḥ I 483; śaúṭṚ garv-é I 310; ścyútÍR kṣár-aṇ-e I 41; śmī́lÁ ni-méṣ-aṇ-e I 551; śyaiṄ gá-t-au I 1012;

(śráṅK) = śrákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 84; (śráṅg) = srágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 160; śráṇÁ dān-é I 835; śraṇÁ dān-é X 42; śrathÁ pra-yat-n-é X 13; śrathÁ mókṣ-aṇ-e X 280; sráthÁ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 836; śratha daúr-baly-e X 324; (śṛánth) = śráthÍ śaíthily-e I 35; śránthÁ [1]vi-móc-ana-[2]prati-harṣáy-oḥ IX 39; śranthÁ saṁ-darbh-é X 294; śrámÚ táp-as-i khed-é ca IV 95; (śrámbh) = śránbhU pra-mād-é I 420; śrā pāk-é I 848; II 44; śriÑ sevā-y-ām I 945; śríṣÚ dāh-e I 733; śrīÑ pāk-é IX 3; śru śráv-aṇ-e I 989; śrai pāk-é I 966, 967 (cf. śrā pak-e I 848); śróṇṚ saṁ-ghāt-e I 484; (śláṅk) = ślákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 85; (śláṅg) = ślágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 162; ślākhṚ vy-āp-t-au I 131; ślāghṚ kátth-an-e I 118; śliṣÁ ā-líṅg-an-e IV 77; śliṣA śléṣ-aṇ-e X 38; śliṣÚ dāh-é I 734; ślókṚ saṁ-ghāt-é I 77; ślóṇṚ saṁ-ghāt-é I 485; (śváṅk) = śvákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 96; (śváṅg = śvágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 161); śvácA gá-t-au I 179; (śváñc)=śvácI gá-t-au I 180; śvaṭhÁ [1]á-saṁ-s-kārá-[2]gá-ty-oḥ X 29; śvaṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śválÁ āśu-gám-an-e I 582; (śvalkÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 34); švállÁ āśu-gám-an-e I 583; śvásÁ pr-āṇ-an-e II 60; ṬU-O-śví [1]gá-ti-[2]vṛ́d-dhy-oḥ I 1059; śvítĀ várṇ-e I 778; (śvínd) = śvídI śvaíty-e I 10; śveta=(aśva) X 394.

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ṣágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 826; ṣághÁ hiṁsā-y-ām V 21; ṣácÀ sam-av-āy-é I 1046; ṣácA séc-an-e I 176; (sájj) = ṣásjÁ gá-t-au I 217; (sañj) = ṣanjÁ sáṅg-e I 1036; ṣáṭÁ ava-yav-é I 335; ṣaṭṭÁ hiṁsā-y-ām X 99; ṣadḶ́ [1]vi-śár-aṇa-[2]gá-ti=[3]ava-sād-ane-ṣu I 907; ṣadḶ́ [1]vi-śár-aṇa-[2]gá-ti=[3]ava-sād-ane-ṣu VI 133; (āṄ-aḥ ṣad-aḥ padi=arth-e X 288); ṣáṇÁ sam-bhák-t-au I 492; ṣáṇÙ dān-e VIII 2; ṣápÁ sam-av-āy-ē I 427; ṣámÁ vaí-klavy-e I 882; ṣambÁ sam-bándh-an-e X 21; ṣárjÁ árj-an-e I 243; ṣárbÁ gá-t-au I 451; ṣárvÁ hiṁsā-y-ām I 617; ṣálÁ gá-t-au I 580; ṣásÁ sváp-n-e II 69; ṣáhA márṣ-aṇ-e I 905; ṣahÁ márṣ-aṇ-e X 267; (ṣáhÁ caki-arth-e IV 20); ṣādhÁ saṁ-síd-dh-au V 17; ṣāntvÁ sāma-pra-yog-é X 33; ṣiÑ bándh-an-e V 12; IX 5; ṣicÀ kṣar-aṇ-e VI 140; ṣíṭÁ án-ā-dar-e I 326; ṣidhÁ gá-ty-ām I 48; ṣídhÚ saṁ-rād-dh-au IV 83; ṣílÁ uñch-é VI 70; ṣívÚ tan-tu-saṁ-tān-é IV 2; ṣu [1]pra-savá=[2]aíśvaryay-oḥ I 988; II 32; ṣuÑ abhi-ṣav-é V 1; ṣuṭṭÁ án-ā-dar-e X 26; ṣúrÁ [1]aíśvarya-[2]dī́p-ty-oḥ VI 50; ṣúhÁ caki=arth-e IV 21; ṣū pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 115; ṣūṄ prāṇi-garbha-vi-móc-an-e II 21; ṣūṄ prāṇi-pra-sav-é IV 24; ṣūdA kṣar-aṇ-e I 25; ṣūdÁ kṣár-aṇ-e X 177; ṣūrksyÁ īrṣyā=artha-ḥ I 542; ṣévṚ sév-an-e I 530; ṣai kṣay-é I 963; ṣo anta-kár-maṇ-i IV 39; ṣṭákÁ

prati-ghāt-é I 819; ṣṭánÁ vaí-klavy-e I 883; ṣṭíghA ā-skánd-an-e V 19; ṣṭípṚ kṣár-aṇa=artha-ḥ I 387; ṣṭímÁ ārdrī-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭīmÁ ārdrī-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭuÑ stú-t-au II 34; ṣṭúcA pra-sād=é I 188; ṣṭúbhU stambh-é I 421; ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é IV 127; ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é X 134; ṣṭṛ́kṣÁ gá-t-au I 691; ṣṭṛ́hÙ hiṁsā=artha-h VI 58; ṣṭṝÑ ā-cchād-an-e IX 14; ṣṭépṚ kṣár-ana=artha-ḥ I 388; ṣṭai véṣṭ-an-e I 970; ṣṭyai [1]śábda-[2]saṁ-ghātáy-oḥ I 959; ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e I 592; ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e IV 4; ṣṇásÚ ád-an-e IV 5; ṣṇíhÁ prī-t-au IV 91; ṣṇihÁ snéh-an-e X 36: ṣṇú pra-sráv-aṇ-e II 29; snúsU ad-an-e IV 5; ṣmiṄ īṣad-dhás-an-e I 996; ṣvádA ā-svā́d-an-e I 18; ṣvadÁ ā-svā́d-an-e X 263; ÑI-ṣvap-Á śay-é II 59; ṣváskA ǵa-ty-arth-h I 100; ÑI-ṣvíd-Ā gātra-pra-sráv-aṇ-e I 780; ṣvíd-Ā gātra-pra- kṣár-aṇ-e IV 79.

S

saṁ-keta ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 345; saṁ-grāma yud-dh-é X 376; sattra saṁ-tāna-krí-yā́-y-ām X 358; sa-bhāja [1]prī́-ti-[2]dárś-anay-oḥ X 341; sāma sāntva-pra-yog-é X 333; sukha tat-kri-yā́-y-ām X 383; sūca paíśuny-e X 327; sūtra véṣṭ-an-e X 360; sū́rkṣÁ ā-dar-é I 697; sū́ṣÁ pra-sav-é I 710; sṛ gá-t-au I 982; III 17; sṛjÁ vi-sarg-é VI 121; sṛpḶ gá-t-au I 1032; sṛ́bhÚ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 457; (sṛ́mbh) = sṛ́nbhÚ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 458; sékṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 81; sélṚ gá-t-au I 576; skandÍR [1]gá-ti-[2]śóṣ-aṇay-oḥ I 1028; (skámbh) = skábhÍ prati-bandh-é I 414; (skambh) = skanbhÙ ródh-an-e IX 8; skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e IX 6; (skúnd) = skúdI ā-práv-aṇ-e I 9; (skumbh = skunbhÙ ródh-an-e IX 8); skhádA skhád-an-e I 805; skhadiṟ [1]áva-[2]pári-bhyāṁ ca I 872; skhálÁ saṁ-cál-an-e I 577; skháli̱ śábd-e I 858; stana deva-śabd-é X 313; (stambh = stanbhÙ ródh-an-e IX 7); stṛÑ ā-cchā́d-an-e V 6; stṝÑ ā-cchā́d-an-e IX 14; stena caúry-e X 349; stoma ślāghā́-y-ām X 377; sthálÁ sthān-é I 889; sthā ga-ti-ni-vṛ́t-t-au I 975; sthúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 94; sthūla pari-bṛ́ṁh-aṇ-e X 356; snā śauc-e I 868; II 43; spárdhA saṁ-gharṣ-é I 3; spaśÁ [1]gráh-aṇa-[2]saṁ-ślés-aṇay-oḥ X 141; spásÀ [1]bándh-ana-[2]spárś-anay-oḥ I 936; spṛ [1]prī́-ti-[2]pāl-anay-oḥ V 13; spṛśÀ saṁ-spárś-an-e VI 128; spṛha īp-sā́-y-ām X 325; (spháṭA vi-sar-aṇ-e I 352); sphā́y-Ī vṛ́d-dh-au I 516; sphiṭṭÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 91; sphuṭÁ bhéd-an-e X 182; sphúṭA vi-kás-an-e VI 80; sphúṭ-ÍR vi-śár-aṇ-e I 352; sphúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 97; (sphuṇḍ) = sphuḍÍ pari-hās-é X 4; (sphúṇḍ) = sphúḍI vi-kás-an-e I 297; sphúrÁ saṁ-cál-an-e VI 95; sphúrchÀ vi-stṛ́-t-au I 228; ṬU-O-sphū́rjÁ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é I 254; sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-an-e VI 96; smiṭÁ án-ā-dar-e X 37; smīlÁ ni-méṣ-aṇ-e I 552; smṛ́

ā-dhyān-é I 845; smr̥ cintā́-y-ām I 980; syándŪ pra-sráv-aṇ-e I 798; syamÁ vi-tark-é X 154; syámÚ śábd-e I 878; (sráṁs) = sránsU ava-sráṁs-an-e I 790; (sraṁs) =*sránsU pra-mad-e I 420; (sraṅk) = srákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 83; (srambh) = sránbhU pra-mād-é I 420; srívÚ [1]gá-ti-[2]śóṣ-aṇay-oḥ IV 3; sru gá-t-au I 987; srékR̥ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 82; srai pāk-é I 967; svánÁ śábd-e I 879; (svánÁ ava-táṁs-an-e I 861); svara ā-kṣep-é X 317; svā́dA ā-svā́d-an-e I 18; svādÁ ā-svā́d-an-e X 263.

H

haṭÁ dī́p-t-au I 334; háṭhÁ [1]plú-ti-[2]ṣaṭha-tváy-oḥ I 358; hadA purīṣa=ut-sarg-é I 1027; hanÁ [1]hiṁsā́-[2]gá-ty-oḥ II 2; hámmÁ gá-t-au I 465; háyÁ gá-t-au I 545; háryÁ [1]gá-ti-[2]kā́n-ty-oḥ I 547; hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 890; hásÉ hás-an-e I 757; O-hā-K tyāg-é III 8; O-hā-Ṅ gá-t-au III 7; hi gá-t-au vr̥̄d-dh-au ca V 11; (hiṁs) = hísÍ hiṁsā́-y-ām VII 19; (hiṁs) = hisI hiṁsā́-y-ām X 286; híkkÀ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 914; (híṇḍ) = híḍI [1]gá-ti-[2]án-ā-daray-oḥ I 287; (hínv) = hívÍ prī́ṇ-ana=artha-ḥ I 622; hílÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e VI 69; (hiskÁ hiṁsā́-y-ām X 146); hu [1]dāná-[2]ád-anay-oḥ III 1; húḍR̥ gá-t-au I 375; (húṇḍ) = húḍI vár-aṇ-e I 226; (húṇḍ) = húḍI saṁ-ghāt-é I 288; húrchÀ kaúṭily-e I 226; húlÁ gá-t-au I 897; hū́ḍR̥ gá-t-au I 375; hr̥ pr-sah-ya-kár-aṇ-e III 15; hr̥Ñ hár-aṇ-e I 947; hr̥̄ṣÁ túṣ-ṭ-au IV 119; hr̥ṣU álīk-e I 741; héṭhA vi-bādhā́-y-ām I 285; (héṭhA vi-bādhā́-y-ām I 343); héḍÁ véṣṭ-an-e I 815; héḍR̥ án-ā-dar-e I 304; (héḍhÁ ca [bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é] IX 60); héṣR̥ á-vy-vk-t-e śábd-e I 652; hóḍR̥ án-ā-dar-e I 305; hóḍR̥ gá-t-au I 376; hnuṄ apa-náy-an-e II 72; hmálÁ cál-an-e I 844,867; hrágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 824; hrásÁ śábd-e I 743; hrā́dA á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 26; hrī lajjā́-y-ām III 3; hrī́chÁ lajjā́-y-ām I 225; hlágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 825; hlapÁ vy-àk-tā-y-āṁ vāc-í X 116; hlásÁ śábd-e I 744; hlā́d-Ī sukh-é I 27; hválÁ cál-an-e I 843, 867; hvr̥ kaúṭily-e I 978; hveÑ spardhā́-y-āṁ śábd-e ca I 1057.

Verbal Stems According to Meanings

A

akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é: líkhÁ VI 72

°-agni-sam-yog-áy-oḥ: dhmā I 974

agra-gám-an-e: púrÁ VI 56

°aṅk-ánay-oḥ: lakṣÁ X 5

ati-sárj-an-e: diśÀ VI 3, śulkÁ X 76

ád-an-e: kúkA I 91, gálÁ I 579, grásU I 661, ghásĹ̥ I 747, cámÚ I 497, cárvÁ I 610, chámÚ I 498, jámÚ I 499, jímÚ I 500, tŕ̥ṇÙ VIII 6, bhákṣÀ I 941, bhakṣÁ X 22, vŕ̥kA I 92, snúsÚ IV 5

°-ád-anay-oḥ: hu III 1

á-darś-an-e: ṇásÁ IV 85, tubÍ X 115, snúsÚ IV 5

adhaḥ-pát-an-e: bhŕ̥nśÚ/bhŕ̥śÚ IV 115

á-dhār̥ṣṭ-y-e: klī́bR̥ I 406

adhy-áy-an-e: (ádhi+)iṄ II 37, carcA X 172

án-ava-sthān-e: bhrámÚ IV 96

án-ā-dar-e: aṭṭÁ X 25, raúḍR̥ I 377, śíṭÁ I 325, ṣíṭÁ I 326, ṣuṭṭÁ X 26, smiṭÁ X 37, héḍR̥ I 304, hóḍR̥ I 305

°-án-ā-daray-oḥ: U-tŕ̥d-ÌR VII 9, pustÁ/bustÁ X 52, híḍÍ I 257

anu-śíṣ-t-au: śāsÚ II 66

an-r̥-ta-bhā́ṣ-aṇ-e: kudrÍ X 6

anv-icchā́-yām: géṣR̥ I 645

anv-éṣ-aṇ-e: mārgÁ X 302, mr̥ga X 352

apa-náy-an-e: óṇR̥ I 482, kúncÁ I 202, hnuṄ II 72

apa-vā́r-aṇ-e: chadÁ X 290, jalÁ X 10

°-apa-hár-aṇe-ṣu: vasÁ X 204

á-pra-dān-e: kūṭA X 162

á-prī-t-au: dviṣÀ II 3

abhi-kāṅkṣā́-yām: (gardÁ X 125), gṛ́dhÚ IV 136

abhi-gám-an-e: dyu II 31

abbi-prī́-t-au: rúcA I 781

abhi-bhav-é: ji I 983, jri I 984

abhi-yog-é: áḍḍÁ I 371

abhi-várdh-an-e: puṁsÁ X 95

abhi-vā́d-ana-°: vádI I 11

abhi-ṣav-é: śúcyÁ I 546, ṣuÑ V 1

°-abhy-ava-hār-áy-oḥ: bhujÁ VII 17

abhy-ās-é: mnā I 976

árj-an-e: árjÁ I 242, ṣárjÁ I 243

°-árj-ana-°: ṛ́jA I 189

árd-an-e: úh-ÍR I 775, gandlhA X 145, túbÍ I 455, túh-ÍR I 773, dúh-ÍR I 774, lúbÍ I 454, vastA X 14

°-álam-arthay-oḥ: ókhṚ́ I 125, drā́khṚ́ I 128, dhrā́khṚ́ I 129, rā́khṚ́ I 126, lā́khṚ́ I 127

alaṁ-kār-é: (tásÍ I 713), tasÍ X 190, bhū́ṣÁ I 712

°-alaṁ-kāráy-oḥ: mṛjÁ X 304

á-lábh-e: bhíkṣA I 637

álīk-e: hṛ́ṣÚ I 741

alpī-bhāv-é: cuṭṭÁ/puṭṭÁ X 24, cúḍÍ I 347, liśA IV 70

°alpī-bhāváy-oḥ: kúncÁ/krúncÁ I 200

ava-kálk-an-e: bhū X 207, kr̥pi̱ X 208

ava-kṣép-aṇ-e: kutsA X 158

ava-kháṇḍ-aṇ-e: do IV 40

°-ava-gam-á-°: ávÁ I 631

ava-gam-áne: búdhÁ I 911, **budhA IV 63**

ava-gáh-an-e: pīḍÁ X 11

ava-dhváṁs-an-e: dhr̥Ṅ I 1009

ava-bódh-an-e: jñā IX 36, mánU VIII 9

ava-yav-é: piśÁ VI 143, ṣátÁ I 335

ava-táṁs-an-e: svánÁ I 861

°-ava-sā́d-ane-ṣu: ṣáṭÁ I 321, ṣadĹ̥ VI 133, ṣadĹ̥ I 907

ava-syánd-an-e: naṭÁ X 12

ava-sráṁs-an-e: dhvánsU I 791, bhránśU I 792, sránsU I 790

ava-sthā́n-e: dhr̥Ṅ VI 119

°-av-ā́-p-ti-°: ávÁ I 631

á-vi-śabd-an-e: ghúṣ-ÍR I 683

á-vy-ak-tā-yāṁ vāc-í: kléśA I 638, mlechÁ X 121

a-vy-àk-t-e śábd-e: kállA I 527, kū́jÁ I 240, (kújÍ I 242), kṣī́jÁ I 256, ÑI-kṣvíd-À I 1027, guṄ I 997, gújÍ I 218, ṇádÁ I 55, bídÍ I 65, mléchÁ I 220, réṣR̥ I 651, śíjI II 17, híkkÀ I 914, héṣR̥ I 652, hrā́dA I 26, (hréṣR̥ I 653), hlā́d-Ī I 27

aśru-vi-móc-an-e: rud-ÍR II 58

á-saṁ-s-kār-a-°: śaṭhÁ X 28, śvaṭhÁ X 29

ás-an-e: mokṣÁ X 191

°-ás-ana-°: vī II 39

á-sarva=upa-yog-e: śīṣÁ X 274

Ā

ārjav-é: úbjÁ VI 20

ārdrī-bhāv-é: klídŪ̀ IV 132, tímÁ IV 16, stímá/stīmÁ IV 17

ā́-las-y-e: lúṭhÍ I 366, śuṭhÁ X 103

ā-líṅg-an-e: śliṣÁ IV 77

°-āl íṅg-ana-°: ávÁ I 631

ā-lóc-an-e: lakṣA X 157, śamA X 156

āvár-aṇ-e: kúlÁ I 558, tutthÁ X 392, rudh-ÌR VII 1, vṛÑ X 271

°-ā-vár-aṇay-oh: káṭÉ I 315, (cáṭÉ I 316)

āviṣ-kār-é: (upa-sarg-ā́t) śabdÁ X 174

āśā́-yām: bhrūṇA X 151

°-āśíḥ-ṣu: nā́thṚ I 7, nā́dhṚ I 6

āśu-gám-an-e: śválÁ I 582, śvállÁ I 583

ā-séc-an-e: cyút-ÍR I 40

ā-skánd-an-e: ṣṭíghA V 19

ā-svā́d-an-e: rakÁ/lagÁ X 197, lihÀ II 6, ṣvádA I 18, ṣvadÁ X 263, svā́dA I 28

ā-svā́d-ana-°: rasa X 385

ā-hlād-é: cádÍ I 68

ā-hvā́n-e: kádÍ I 70, krádÍ I 71, kruśÁ I 909, kládÍ I 72

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icchā́-yām: íṣÁ VI 59, vā́chÍ I 223, ā́Ṅ-aḥ śásI I 660, ā́Ṅ-aḥ śā́sU II 12

°-indriya-pra-layá-°: ṛchA VI 15

°-ij-yā́-°: dī́kṣA I 640

īp-sā́-yām: (lálÁ I 382), lalA X 148, vara X 308, spṛha X 325

īrṣyā́=arth-āḥ: ī́rkṣy-Á I 543, ī́rs.yÁ I 544, sū́rkṣyÁ I 542

īṣad-dhás-an-e: ṣmiṄ I 996

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uc-chrāy-é: táṭÁ I 330

°-uc-chrāy-á-°: mácI I 186

úñch-e: ī́ṣÁ I 715, úchĪ́ I 230, VI 13, UdhrásÁ/udhrásÁ IX 52, X 60

ut-kleś-e: dŕ̥nphÁ VI 29, dŕ̥phÁ VI 28, míchÁ VI 18

ut-kṣep-é: dulÁ X 60

ut-kṣép-aṇ-e: olaḍÍ X 9

ut-sarg-é: údjhÁ VI 21, púḍÁ VI 90, púsÁ IV 110

°-ut-sāháy-oḥ: drékR̥ I 78, dhrékR̥ I 79

ud-gír-aṇ-e: ṬU-vám-Á I 902, ṣnuhÁ IV 90

ud-yam-é: áḍÁ I 380

ud-yám-an-e: gúrĪ́ VI 103, gúrvĪ́ I 605, gūrA X 155, vŕ̥hÙ VI 57

ud-veg-é: trásī́ IV 10

und-é: knū́yI I 514

und-án-e: mŕ̥dhÙ I 922, śŕ̥dhÙ I 922

un-mād-é: mléṭR̥ I 312, mléḍR̥ I 313, (mléṭR̥ I 314), róḍR̥ I 378, lóḍR̥ I 378

un-mān-é: tulÁ X 59

°-upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ: tanÚ X 296

upa-kṣay-é: yásÚ IV 103, dásÚ IV 104

upa-ghāt-é: úṭhÁ I 361, rúṭhÁ I 359, lúṭhÁ I 360

upa-tāp-é: klíśA IV 52a, ṬU-du V 10

°-upa-tāpáy-oḥ: kúṇÁ VI 45, svŕ̥ I 979

upa-déh-e: lipÀ VI 139

upa-dhār-aṇ-e: śīla X 33

°-upa-náy-ana-°: dīkṣA I 640

upa-yāc-ñā́-yām: artha X 357

upa-ram-é: yamÁ I 1033

upa-lép-an-e: goma X 330

upa-véś-an-e: ā́sA II 11

upa-śam-é: dámÚ IV 94, śámÚ IV 92

upa-sév-ā-yām: laḍÁ X 7, vasa X 338

°-upa-s-kāráy-oḥ: yatÁ X 196

up-ā-dā-n-é: gráhÀ IX 61

ū́rj-an-e: chádi̱ I 851

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eka-car-yā́-yām: váṭhI I 281

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áiś-var-y-e: ī́śA II 10, tápÁ IV 51

aíś-var-ya-°: ṣúrÁ VI 50

°-aíś-var-yay-oḥ: ṣu I 988, II 32

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kátth-an-e: cī́bhR̥ I 409, śálbhA I 417, śī́bR̥ I 408

kámp-an-e: éjR̥ I 253, képR̥ I 392, gépR̥ I 393, glépR̥ I 394, cálÁ I 850, 885, tépR̥ I 389, tvágÍ I 166, dhūÑ V 9, dhū́Ñ IX 17, dhūÑ X 292, ṬU-vép-R̥ I 391

kár-aṇ-e: (kr̥Ñ I 949), ḌU-kr̥-Ñ VIII 10

°-kár-aṇay-oh: kr̥̄vÍ I 629

karṇa-bhéd-an-e: chid-ra- X 378

kár-maṇ-i śubh-é: púṇÁ VI 43

kar-ma-sam-āp-t-aú: tīra X 364, pāra X 363

kala-ha-kár-maṇ-i: túṭÁ VI 83

kákl-an-e: mácA I 184, múcI I 185

kalyā́ṇ-e: bhaḍÍ X 50, bháḍI I 12

kāṅkṣā́-yām: kā́kṣÍ I 698, kháṭÁ I 331, támÚ IV 93, drā́kṣÍ I 701, dhvā́kṣÍ I 702, dhvā́kṣÍ I 703, mā́kṣÍ I 700, vā́kṣÍ I 699

kā́n-t-au: kámU I 470, prīÑ IX 2, lásÀ I 937, vasÁ II 70

kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e: ghúṣI I 682

kām-é: ánu+rudhA IV 65

kā́rkaś-y-e: káḍḍÁ I 372

kāla=upa-deś-é: vela X 334

kiṁ-cit=cál-an-e: spádI I 14

kuṭilā́-yāṁ gá-t-au: ákÁ I 829, ágÁ I 830

kuṭumba-dhā́r-aṇ-e: tatrI X 139

kúṭṭ-an-e: pichÁ X 40

°-kúts-anay-oḥ: ī́jA I 196

kutsā́-yām: gárhA I 667, gálhA I 668, ṇídÍ I 66

kutsā́-°: ṇídR̥ I 921

kutsā́-yāṁ gá-t-au: drā II 45

kuts-i-té śábd-e: kárdÁ I 60, párdA I 29

kuts-ita-smáy-an-e: kusmA X 171

kr̥cchra-jīv-an-é: kaṭhA I 356, kṣaJÍ X 70, tákÍ I 121

kr̥p-ā́-yāṁ gá-t-au: krápA I 805

kaitav-é: mághI I 112, śáṭhÁ I 363

kóp-e: krudhÁ IV 80, cáḍI I 298

kaúṭil-y-e: kúṭÁ VI 73, gráthI I 36, ṇásA I 658, dúṇÁ VI 42, bhujÓ VI 124, vákI I 85, húrchÀ I 226, hvṛ I 978

°-kaúṭil-ya-°: kúcA I 910

°-kaúṭil-ye-ṣu: drúṇÁ VI 47

°-kri-yā́-°: ávÁ I 631

°-krī́ḍ-anay-oḥ: lásÁ I 746

krīḍ-ā́-yām: úrdA I 20, kumāra X 331, (gúdA I 24), ramA I 906

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stú-t-au: ī́ḍA II 9, īḍÁ X 129, ŕ̥cÁ VI 19, gā III 25, ṇu II 26, ṇū́ VI 104, śansÚ I 764, ṣṭuÑ II 34

°-stú-ty-oḥ: vádI I 11

°-stú-ti-°: dívŪ IV 1

ste-y-é: curÁ X 1, múṣÁ IX 58, mū́ṣÁ I 707, rúṭĪ I 349, lúṭĪ I 350, luṇṭhÁ X 27

ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e: kújŪ I 214, khújŪ I 215, grúcŪ I 212, glúcŪ I 213

sthā́-n-e: ṣthálÁ I 889

sthaír-y-e: khálÁ I 51, dhru I 990

°-sthaír-yay-oḥ: dhrú VI 107

sthaú-l-y-e: ṇī́vÁ I 598, tī́vÁ I 597, pī́vÁ I 595, mī́vÁ I 596, váṭhÁ I 354

sneh-an-e: tílÁ VI 62, tílÁ X67, ÑI-míd-Ā I 779, ÑI-míd-Ā̀ IV 133, midĪ X 8, várṣA I 644, ṣnihÁ X 36

°-snéh-anay-oḥ: rasa X 385

spardh-ā́-yām: míṣÁ VI 60, hveÑ I 1057

sparś-é: chupA VI 125

°-sparś-ánay-oḥ: spáśA I 936

smár-aṇ-e: iK II 38

smr̥̄́-ty-ām: citĪ X 2

sráv-aṇ-e: galA X 160, śru I 989

sváp-n-e: drai I 955, śī́Ṅ II 22, ṣasÁ II 69

sváp-na-°: ílÁ VI 65

°-sváp-na-°: dívŪ IV 1

H

hán-ty-artha-ḥ: ghaṭÁ X 184

hár-aṇ-e: hr̥Ñ I 947

har-ita-bhāv-é: parṇa X 392

hárṣ-e: mádĪ IV 99, múdA I 16

harṣ-s-kṣáy-e: glai I 952, mlai I 953

hás-an-e: kákhÁ I 124, kákhÉ I 821, ghághÁ I 170, cyu X 206, tákÁ I 120, hásÉ I 757

°-hás-anay-oḥ: jákṣÁ II 62

hā́-n-au: tyajÁ I 1035

°-híṁs-anay-oḥ: túrÍ IV 44, mídR̥ I 920, médR̥ I 921

hiṁs-ā́-yām: ardÀ X 285, árvÁ I 615, úrvĪ I 600, ŕ̥nphÁ/ŕ̥phÁ VI 30, káṣÁ I 716, kr̥Ñ V 7, kr̥̄ IX 26, kr̥̄Ñ IX 15, kṣaṇÙ VIII 3, kṣí V 30, kṣíṇÙ VII 4, kṣīṢ IX 35, kháṣÁ I 717, círí V 31, cubÍ X 92, cháṣA I 939, jáṣÁ I 719, jasÙ X 130, jírí V 32, jháṣÁ I 720, ṇábhA I 788, ṇábhÁ IV 130, IX 48, tárdA I 59, tújÁ I 263, túnphÁ/túpÁ VI 26, túnphÁ/túphÁ VI 27, túbhA I 789, túbhÁ IV 130, IX 49, tŕ̥hÁ VII 18, dā́śÁ V 33, drú V 34, drū́Ṅ IX 11, púthÁ IV 12, barhÁ X 123, brūsÁ X 122, bhárvÁ I 611, máṣÁ I 723, mīṄ IV 29, mīÑ IX 4, mŕ̥ṇÁ VI 41, mr̥̄́ IX 22, yū́ṣÁ I 711, rí V 29, ríṣÁ I 725, rujÁ X 262, riśÁ/ruśÁ VI 126, rúṣÁ I 724, lūṣÁ X 70, váṣÁ I 722, viṣkA X 146, śárvÁ I 616, śásÚ I 763, śáṣÁ I 721, ṣághÁ V 21, ṣaṭṭÁ X 90, ṣárvÁ I 617, ṣr̥̄ IX 8, sphiṭṭÁ X 91, hísÍ VII 19, hisÍ X 286

hiṁs-ā́-°: kúthÍ I 44, kŕ̥vÍ I 629, cŕ̥tĪ́ VI 35, tujÍ X 30, pijÍ X 31, píṭhÁ I 362, púthÍ I 45, pŕ̥ṣÚ I 737, lúthÍ I 46, vŕ̥ṣÚ I 738, śáṭhÁ I 363, śū́rĪ IV 49, húlÁ I 897

°-hiṁs-ā́-°: dáyA I 510, bhálA I 524, bhállA I 525

hiṁs-ā́-arth-āḥ: (knáthÁ I 837), kráthÁ I 838, kláthÁ I 839, cánÁ I 840, túnpÁ I 432, túphÁ I 436, túpÁ I 431, túphÁ I 435, tŕ̥nhÙ/tŕ̥hÙ VI 58, trúnpÁ I 434, trúnphÁ I 438, trúpÁ I 433, trúphÁ I 437, ṣŕ̥bhÚ I 458, ṣŕ̥bhÚ I 457

hū́rch-an-e: kmárÁ I 587, dhvr̥̄ I 986

Verbal Stems With Specific Markers Indicated in the Sūtras

ĀT=IT (7.2.16-17)

ÑI-kṣvid-Ā I 780, 1027, IV 134; ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, ÑI-phál-À I 549; ÑI-mid-Ā I 779, IV 133; śvit-Ā I 778, ÑI-ṣvid-Ā I 780, IV 79

IT=IT (7.1.58)

ákI I 87, ágÍ I 155, ághÍ I 109, ajI X 245, áṭhI I 280, átÍ I 62, ádÍ I 63, ábI I 403, ábhI I 411, ā́chÍ I 224, íkhÍ I 145, ígÍ I 163, ídÍ I 64, ívÍ I 618, úkhÍ I 133, uchI I 230, VI 14, ṛ̥jI I 190, olaḍI X 9, kákI I 94, kácI I 182, káḍI I 302, kaḍI X 44, kádÍ I 70, kádI I 809, kápI I 400, kásI II 14, kā́kṣÍ I 698, kā́cI I 183, kújI I 241, kúṭÍ I 345, kúṭhÍ I 365, kúḍI I 289, kúḍÍ I 345, kuḍI X 45, kúthÍ I 44, IX 42, kudrI X 6, kúbÍ I 453, kubI X 113, kubhI X 113, kúśÍ X 225, kusI X 223, kṛ̥́vÍ I 629, krádÍ I 71, krádI I 810, krúdÍ I 71, kládÍ I 72, kládI I 811, klídI I 15, klídÍ I 73, kṣájI I 806, kṣajI X 79, kṣapI X 78, khájÍ I 252, kháḍI I 303, khaḍI X 44, khuḍI X 47, gájÍ I 266, gáḍÍ I 65a, 384, gújI I 218, guḍI X 46, gṛ̥́jÍ I 268, gráthI I 36, ghaṭI X 227, ghíṇI I 461, ghúṇI I 462, ghúṣI I 682, ghṛ̥́ṇI I 463, cáḍI I 298, cádÍ I 68, capI X 77, citÍ X 2, cúṭÍ I 347, cuṭI X 92, 117, cúḍÍ I 347, cúbÍ I 456, cubI X 92, chadI X 41, jájÍ I 262, jábhI I 145, jabhI X 176, jasI X 128, jívÍ I 625, júgÍ I 168, jucI X 252, ṭakI X 97, ṇákhÍ I 139, ṇíjI II 16, ṇivI I 621, ṇísI III 15, tákÍ I 121, tágÍ I 158, táḍI I 300, tatrI X 139, (tasI) I 713, tasI X 190, tújÍ I 164, tujI X 215, túḍÍ I 295, tuḍI X 118, tuḍI I 69, túbÍ I 455, tubI X 115, tṛ̥́hÍ VII 18, trádI I 97, trákhÍ I 149, trágÍ I 159, trádÍ I 69, trasI X 221, tvágÍ I 159, 166, thákÍ I 147, dághI I 171, daśI X 136, 224, daśI X 137, 246, dívÍ I 623, dṛ̥́hÍ I 770, drā́kṣÍ I 701, dhávÍ I 628, dhívÍ I 624, dhṛ̥́jÍ I 237, dhrájÍ I 233, dhrā́skṣÍ I 702, dhvájÍ I 239, dhvā́ksI I 703, ṬU-nád-Í I 67, nídÍ I 66, pácI I 187, pacI X 109, páḍI I 301, paḍÍ X 74, pathI X 39, pasI X 74, píjI II 18, pijI X 31, 237, píḍI I 293, piḍI X 131, pívÍ I 619, pisI X 222,

puṭI X 251, púḍÍ I 346, 348, púthÍ I 45, pŕ̥cI II 20, báhI I 664, bídÍ I 65, bŕ̥hÍ I 772, bhajI X 219, bháḍI I 292, bhaḍI X 50, bhádI I 12, bhr̥śI X 247, mákI I 89, mákhÍ I 137, mágÍ I 157, mághI I 111, 112, mácI I 186, máṭhI I 282, máḍÍ I 344, máḍI I 291, maḍÍ X 49, matrI X 140, máthÍ I 47, mádI I 13, máhI I 665, mahI X 257, mā́kṣÍ I 700, mijI X 216, midI X 8, mívÍ I 620, múcI I 185, mújÍ I 270, múṭhI I 284, múḍI I 294, múḍÍ I 348, mr̥ḍI X 118, yatrÍ X 3, yúgÍ I 167, rákhÍ I 141, rágÍ I 153, rághI I 107, raghI X 253, ráphÍ I 441, rábI I 401, rábhI I 412, ráhÍ I 768, rahI X 256, rígÍ I 164, rívÍ I 626, rúṬÍ I 349, rúṭhÍ I 368, lákhÍ I 143, lágÍ I 154, lághI I 108, laghI X 172, lájÍ I 258, laḍI X 258, lábI I 402, 404; lā́chÍ I 222, lā́jÍ I 260, lígÍ I 165, ligI X 199, lujI X 218, lúṭÍ I 350, lúṭhÍ I 366, 369; lúṭhI I 46, lúbÍ I 454, lubI X 144, vákI I 88, 95; vákhÍ I 135, vágÍ I 156, vághI I 110, váṭÍ I 351, vaṭI X 372, váṭhI I 281, váḍI I 290, vaḍI X 48, vádI I 11, vā́kṣÍ I 699, vā́chÍ I 223, vúgÍ I 169, vrájÍ I 235, śákI I 86, śáḍI I 299, śásI I 660, śíkhÍ I 150, śíghÍ I 174, śíjI II 17, śúṭhÍ I 367, śuṭhI X 104, śrákI I 84, śrágÍ I 160, śráthI I 35, ślákI I 85, ślágÍ I 162, śvakI I 96, śvagI I 161, śvacI I 180, śvidI I 10, skábhÍ I 414, skúdI I 9, ṣṭábhI I 413, spádI I 14, sphúṭÍ I 352, sphúḍI I 297, sphuḍI X 4, srákI I 83, svákI I 96, híḍI I 287, hívÍ I 622, hísÍ VII 19, hisI X 286, húḍI 288, 296.

īT=IT (7.2.14)

ÑI-índh-Ī VII 11, úchÍ̄ I 231, VI 14; úndÍ̄ VII 20, úrvÍ̄ I 600, ū́yĪ I 512, ŕ̥ṣÍ̄ VI 7, káṭÍ̄ I 342, kŕ̥tĪ VI 141, VII 10, knū́yĪ I 514, kṣmā́yĪ I 515, gúrÍ̄ VI 103, gurĪ X 155; gū́rĪ IV 46, gúrvÍ̄ I 605, ghū́rĪ IV 47, cítĪ I 39, cū́rĪ IV 50, cŕ̥tÍ̄ VI 35, chr̥dĪ X 277, jánĪ I 862, jánĪ IV 41, júṣĪ VI 8, jū́rĪ IV 48, túrvĪ I 601, tū́rĪ IV 44, trásÍ̄ IV 10, thúrvÍ̄ I 602, dŕ̥pĪ IV 42, dúrvÍ̄ I 603, dŕ̥bhÍ̄ VI 34, dr̥bhĪ X 278, dhúrvÍ̄ I 604, dhū́rÍ̄ IV 45, nŕ̥tÍ̄ IV 9, pū́yĪ I 513, pū́rĪ IV 43, pūrĪ X 261, pŕ̥cĪ II 20, pŕ̥cĪ VII 25, O-pyā́y-Ī I 517, mádÍ̄ I 853, IV 99; másÍ̄ IV 112, múrvÍ̄ I 606, yátĪ I 30, O-láj-Ī/O-lásj-Ī VI 10, O-víj-Ī VI 9, O-víj-Í̄ VII 23, Ī-śúc-ÌR IV 56, śū́rĪ IV 49, sphā́yĪ I 516.

uT=IT (7.2.56)

áncÚ I 203, áncU I 915, ancU X 198, ásÚ IV 100, ṛ̥ṇÙ VII 5, ṛ̥dhÚ IV 135, V 24; kámU I 470, 869; kújÚ I 214, knásÚ I 864, IV 6; krámÚ I 502, klámÚ IV 98, kṣáṇÙ VIII 3, kṣíṇÙ VIII 4, kṣívÚ I 599, khánÙ I 927, grásU I 661, grúcÚ I 212, glúcÚ I 213, ghṛ̥́ṇÚ VIII 7, ghṛ̥́ṣÚ I 740, cáncÚ I 205, cámÚ I 497, 869, V 28, chámÚ I 498, U-chṛ̥́d-ÌkR VII 8, jámÚ I 499, jásÚ IV 102, jasU X 130, 178; jímÚ I 500, jíṣÚ I 728, jhámÚ I 501, ṇiṣÚ I 731, tánÙ VIII 1, tanU X 296, táncÚ I 206, támÚ IV 93, tásÚ IV 103, tṛ̥́ṇÙ VIII 6, U-tṛ̥́d-ÌR VII 9, tváncÚ I 207, dánbhÚ V 23, dámÚ IV 94, dásÚ IV 104, dívÚ IV 1, divU X 166, dhā́vÚ I 632, U-dhrás-Á IX 52, U-dhras-A X 202; pṛ̥́ṣÚ I 737, prúṣÚ I 735, plúṣÚ I 736, bhṛ̥́nśU IV 115, bhránśU I 792, IV 115, bhrámÚ I 903, IV 96; mánU VIII 9, míṣÚ I 730, mṛ̥́dhÙ I 923, mṛ̥́ṣÚ I 739, mrúcÚ I 210, mrúncÚ I 208, mlúcÚ I 211, mlúncÚ I 209; yásÚ IV 101; vánÚ I 841, 868; vánU VIII 8, váncÚ X 163, vásÚ IV 105, viṣÚ I 729, vṛ̥́tU I 794, IV 52, vṛ̥tU X 242, vṛ̥́dhU I 796, vṛ̥dhU X 242, vṛ̥́ṣÚ I 738, śánsÚ I 674, śásÚ I 763, āṄ+śāsU II 66, śṛ̥́dhÙ I 922, śṛ̥́dhU I 797, śṛ̥dhU X 195, śṛ̥́nbhÚ/śṛ̥́bhÚ I 457-8, śránbhU I 420, śríṣÚ I 733, ślíṣÚ I 734; ṣáṇÙ VIII 2, ṣṭhívÚ I 592, IV 4; ṣṭúbhU I 421; stunbhÙ IX 7, sránbhU I 420, 794; srívÚ IV 3, hṛ̥́ṣÚ I 741.

ūT=IT (7.2.44)

ákṣŪ̀ I 684, ánjŪ̀ VII 21, áśŪ V 18; kṛ̥́pŪ I 799, klídŪ̀ IV 132, klíśŪ̀ IX 50, kṣámŪ̀ IV 97, kṣámŪ-Ṣ I 469, gā́hŪ I 680, gúpŪ̀ I 422, gúhŪ̀ I 944, gṛ̥́hŪ I 681: tákṣŪ̀ I 585, táncŪ̀ VII 22, tṛ̥́ṇhŪ̀ VI 58, tṛ̥́hŪ̀ VI 58, trápŪ-Ṣ I 399, tvákṣŪ I 686; mṛ̥́jŪ̀ II 57, mṛ̥jŪ X 304; vṛ̥́hŪ̀ VI 57, O-vráśc-Ū̀ VI 11; ṣídhŪ̀ I 49, ṣṭṛ̥́hŪ̀ VI 58, syándŪ I 798.

ṛ̥T=IT (7.4.2)

éjṚ̥ I 192, éjṚ̥ I 253, éṣṚ̥ I 649, ókhṚ̥́ I 125, óṇṚ̥́ I 482, kábṚ̥ I 405, kāśṚ̥ I 678, IV 53; kā́sṚ̥ I 654, képṚ̥ I 392, kélṚ̥́ I 570, kévṚ̥ I 539, krī́dṚ̥́ I 373, klī́bṚ̥ I 406, kṣī́bṚ̥ I 407, kṣvélṚ̥́ I 527, khā́dṚ̥́ I 50, khélṚ̥́ I 571, khévṚ̥ I 537, khórṚ̥́/khólṚ̥́ I 584; gā́dhṚ̥ I 4, gépṚ̥ I 393, gévṚ̥ I 531, géṣṚ̥ I 645, glépṚ̥ I 390, 396; glévṚ̥ I 532; cákāsṚ̥́ II 65, cā́yṚ̥̀ I 929, cī́vṚ̥̀ I 928, célṚ̥́ I 569; jéṣṚ̥ I 647, jéhṚ̥ I 675;

ṇídR̥̀ I 921, ṇédR̥̀ I 921, ṇéṣR̥ I 648, ṭíkR̥ I 103, ṭī́kR̥ I 104, ḍhaúkR̥ I 98, tā́yR̥ I 518, tikR̥ I 105, típR̥ I 385, tī́kR̥ I 106, túḍŔ̥ I 374, tū́ḍŔ̥ I 374, tepR̥ I 389, tépR̥ X 221, tévR̥ I 528, dā́śR̥̀ I 931, dā́sR̥̀ I 942, dévR̥ I 529, drā́khŔ̥ I 128, drā́ghR̥ I 117, drā́ghR̥ I 115, drā́ḍR̥ I 307, drā́hR̥ I 677, drékR̥ I 78; dhépR̥ I 398, dhórŔ̥ I 585, dhrā́khŔ̥ I 129, dhrā́ghR̥ I 116, 117; dhrā́ḍR̥ I 308, dhrékR̥ I 79; nā́thR̥ I 7, nā́dhR̥ I 6; pélŔ̥ I 574, pévR̥ I 533, pésŔ̥ I 752, paíṇŔ̥ I 486, préṣR̥ I 650, próthR̥̀ I 919, plévR̥ I 538; bā́ḍR̥ I 306, bā́dhR̥ I 5, bā́hR̥ I 676; bhā́sR̥ I 655, bhésR̥̀ I 932, ṬU-bhrāj-R̥ I 875, bhrā́jR̥ I 194, ṬU-bhrā́ś-R̥ I 876, bhréjR̥ I 193, bhréṣR̥̀ I 933, TU-bhlā́ś-Ŕ̥ I 877, bhléṣR̥̀ I 933; mā́hR̥̀ I 943, mídR̥̀ I 920, mī́mŔ̥ I 496, méṭŔ̥ I 314, médR̥̀ I 920, médhR̥̀ I 920, (mépR̥) I 395, mévR̥ I 534, mréḍŔ̥ I 313, mléṭŔ̥ I 312, mlévR̥ I 535; ṬU-yā́c-R̥̀ I 916, yútR̥ I 31, yéṣR̥ I 646, yaúṭŔ̥ I 311; rā́khŔ̥ I 126, rā́ghR̥ I 113, rā́jR̥ I 874, rā́sR̥ I 657, rékR̥ I 80, réjR̥ I 195, réṭR̥̀ I 917, répR̥ I 396, rébhR̥ I 410, révR̥ I 540, réṣR̥ I 651, róḍŔ̥ I 378, raúḍŔ̥ I 377; lā́khŔ̥ I 127, lā́ghR̥ I 114, lókR̥ I 76, lokR̥ X 236, lócR̥ I 177, locR̥ X 237, laúḍŔ̥ I 379; vā́śR̥ IV 54, víthR̥ I 33, véṇR̥̀ I 926, véthR̥ I 34, ṬU-vép-R̥ I 391, vélŔ̥ I 568, véhR̥ I 674; śā́khŔ̥ I 130, śā́ḍR̥ I 309, śī́kR̥ I 75, śī́bhR̥ I 408, śélŔ̥ I 576, śóṇŔ̥ I 483, śaúṭR̥ I 310, śróṇŔ̥ I 484, ślā́khŔ̥ I 131, ślā́ghR̥ I 118, ślókR̥ I 77, ślóṇŔ̥ I 485; sévR̥ I 530, ṣṭípR̥ I 387, ṣṭépR̥ I 388; sékR̥ I 81, srékR̥ I 82, húḍR̥ I 375, hū́ḍŔ̥ I 376, héḍR̥ I 304, hóḍR̥ I 305, hóḍŔ̥ I 376.

L̥T-IT (3.1.55)

āpL̥ V 14, āpL̥ X 295, gamL̥ I 1031, ghásL̥ I 747, piṣL̥ VII 15, mucL̥ VI 136, lupL̥ VI 137, vidL̥ VI 138, viṣL̥ III 13, śakL̥ V 15, śadL̥ I 908, VI 134, śiṣL̥ VII 14, ṣadL̥ I 907, sr̥pL̥ I 1032.

eT=IT (7.2.5)

kákhÉ I 821, kágÉ I 828, káṭÉ I 315, kváthÉ I 899, cáṭÉ I 316, catÈ/ cadÈ I 918, páthÉ I 900, máthÉ I 901, rágÉ I 822, lágÉ I 823, ṣágÉ I 826, ṣṭhágÉ I 827.

oT=IT (8.2.45)

bhanjÓ VII 16, bhujÓ VI 124, ṬU-masj-Ó VI 122, rujÓ VI 123, O-vai I 969, ṬU-O-śví I 1059, ṬU-O-sphúrjÀ I 254; ḍīṄ IV 27, dīṄ IV 26, dūṄ IV 25, dhīṄ IV 28, mīṄ IV 29, rīṄ IV 30, līṄ IV 31, vrīṄ IV 32, ṣūṄ IV 24.

ṬU=IT (3.3.89)

ṬU-kṣu II 27, ṬU-dù V 10, ṬU-nád-Í I 67, ṬU-masj-Ó VI 122, ṬU-yāc-Ṛ̥ I 916, ṬU-vám-Á I 868, 902; ṬU-vép-Ṛ̥ I 391, ṬU-O-śví I 1059, ṬU-O-sphúrj-À I 254.

ḌU=IT (3.3.88)

ḌU-kr̥-Ñ VIII 10, ḌU-krī-Ñ IX 1, ḌU-dā-Ñ III 9, ḌU-dhā-Ñ III 10, ḌU-pac-ÀṢ I 1045, ḌU-bhr̥-Ñ III 5, ḌU-mi-Ñ V 4.

Ṣ-IT (3.3.104)

kṣámŪ-Ṣ I 469, kṣīṢ IX 35, jr̥̄Ṣ I 863, IV 22; jhr̥̄Ṣ IV 23, DU-pac-À-Ṣ I 1045, tráp-Ū-Ṣ I 399.

ÑI=IT (k3.2.187)

ÑI-indh-Ī VII 11, ÑI-kṣvíd-Ā I 780, ÑI-kṣvíd-À IV 134, ÑI-kṣvid-À I 1027, ÑI-tŕ̥ṣ-Á IV 118, ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, NI-dhŕ̥ṣ-À V 22, ÑI-phál-À I 549, ÑI-bhī III 2, ÑI-míd-Ā I 779, ÑI-ṣvap-Á II 59, ÑI-ṣvíd-Ā I 780, ÑI-ṣvid-À IV 79.

IR-IT (3.1.57)

úh-ÍR I 775, kṣud-ÌR VII 6, ghúṣ-ÍR I 683, ghuṣ-IR X 187, cyút-ÍR I 40, jyút-ÍR I 42, ṇij-IR III 11, túh-ÍR I 773, U-tŕ̥d-ÌR VII 9, dúh-ÍR I 774, dr̥ś-ÍR I 1037, búdh-ÌR I 924, U-búnd-ÌR I 925, bhid-ÌR VII 2, yuj-ÌR VII 7, ric-ÌR VII 4, rúd-ÍR II.58, rudh-ÌR VII 1, vic-ÌR VII 5, vij-IR III 12, Ī-śúc-ÌR IV 56, ścyút-ÍR I 41, skand-ÍR I 1028, sphúṭ-ÍR I 352.

Gaṇa-pāṭha

1. aṁśu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.193 práter aṁśú=āday-aḥ tatpuruṣe (ánta udā̆ttāḥ)]

1 aṁśu-, 2 jana-, 3 rājan-, 4 uṣṭra-, 5 kheṭaka-, 6 ajira-, 7 ārdrā, 8 śravaṇa-, 9 kr̥ttikā, 10 ardha-, 11 pura-.

2. akṣa-dyūta=āday-aḥ

[4.4.19 nir-vr̥t-t-e akṣa-dyūta=ādibhyaḥ (ṭhaK 1)]

1 akṣa-dyū-ta-, 2 jānu-pra-hr̥-ta-, 3 jaṅghā-pra-hr̥-ta-, 4 jaṅghā-pra-hata-*, 5 pāda-sved-ana-, 6 ' kaṇṭa-ka-mard-ana-, 7 ga-ta=anu-ga-ta-*, 8 ga-ta=ā-ga-ta-, 9 yā-ta=upa-yā-ta-, 10 anu-ga-ta-..

3. aṅguli=āday-aḥ

[5.3.108 aṅguli=ādi-bhyaṣ ṭhaK (ive 96)]

1 aṅguli-, 2 bharuja-, 3 babhru-, 4 valgu-, 5 maṇḍara-, 6 maṇḍala-, 7 śaṣkulī-, 8 hari-*, 9 kapi-, 10 muni-*, 11 ruha-*, 12 khala-*, 13 udaśvit-, 14 goṇī, 15 uras-, 16 kuliśa-, 17 śikhā.

4. aja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.4 aja=ādi=aT-aṣ ṬāP]

1 ajā, 2 eḍakā, 3 kokilā, 4 caṭakā, 5 aśvā, 6 mūṣikā, 7 bālā, 8 hoḍā, 9 pākā, 10 vatsā, 11 mandā, 12 vilātā, 13 pūrvāpahāṇā, 14 aparāpahāṇā, #[1]sam-[2]bhastra=[3]ajina-[4]śaṇa-[5]piṇḍe-bhyaḥ phal-āt: 15 sam-phalā, 16 bhastra-phalā, 17 ajina-phalā, 18 śaṇa-phalā, 19 piṇḍa-phalā#; 20 triphalā (dvig-au); #[1]sat-[2]prāk-[3]kāṇḍa-[4]prānta-[5]śata=éke-bhyaḥ puṣp-āt: 21 sat-puṣpā, 22 prāk-puṣpā, 23 kāṇḍa-puṣpā, 24 prānta-puṣpā, 25 śata-puṣpā, 26 eka-puṣpā#; 27 śūdrā ca a-mahat-pūrvā jāt-ḥ; 28 kruñcā; 29 uṣṇi-hā, 30 deva-viśā, 31 jyeṣṭthā, 32 kaniṣṭhā, 33 madhyamā puṁ-yog-e api; 34 #mūl-āt naÑ-aḥ: a-mūlā#; 35 daṁṣṭrā.

5. ajira=āday-aḥ

[6.3.119 matAU bahu=aC-aḥ an-ajira=ādī-n-ām (dīrghaḥ 111)]
1 ajira-, 2 khadira-, 3 pulina-, 4 haṁsa-, 5 kāraṇḍava-, 6 cakra-vāka-.

6. adi=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[2.4.72 adi-pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ (luK 58)]
= Dhp II 1-72.

7. anu-pra-vac-ana=āday-aḥ

[5.1.111 anu-pra-vac-ana=ādi-bhyaś chaḥ]
1 anu-pra-vác-ana-, 2 ut-thā́-p-ana-, 3 upa-sthā́-p-ana-, 4 saṁ-véś-ana-, 5 pra-véś-ana-, 6 anu-pra-véś-ana-, 7 anu-vás-ana-, 8 anu-vác-ana-, 9 anu-vā́c-ana-, 10 anu=ā=róh-aṇa-, 11 prā-rámbh-aṇa-, 12 ā-rámbh-aṇa-, 13 ā-róh-aṇa-.

8. anu-śatika=āday-aḥ

[7.3.20 anu-śat-ika=ādī-nāṁ ca]
1 anu-śat-ika-, 2 anu-hoḍa-, 3 anu-saṁ-var-aṇa- (anu-saṁ-car-aṇa), 4 anu-saṁ-vat-sara-, 5 aṅgāra-veṇu-, 6 asi-hat-ya- (asya-hat-ya-), 7 asya-he-ti-, 8 vadh=yoga-, 9 puṣkara-sad-, 10 anu-har-at-, 11 kuru-kata-, 12 kuru-pañcāla-, 13 uda-ka-śud-dha-, 14 iha-loka-, 15 para-loka-, 16 sarva-loka-, 17 sarva-puruṣa-, 18 sarva-bhūmi-, 19 pra-yoga-, 20 para-strī, 21 rāja-puruṣ-ā-t ṢyaÑ-i; 22 sūtra-naḍa-; *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

9. apūpa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.4 vibhāṣā havir=apūpa=ādi-bhyaḥ (yaT 2)]
1 apūpa-, 2 taṇḍula-, 3 abhy-ūṣa-, 4 abhy-oṣa-, 5 avoṣa-, 6 abhy-eṣa-, 7 pṛthuka-, 8 odana-, 9 sūpa-, 10 pūpa-, 11 kiṇva-, 12 pra-dīpa-, 13 musala-, 14 kaṭaka-, 15 karṇa-veṣṭa-ka-, 16 (*irgala-), 17 argala-; 18 #anna-vi-kāre-bhyaś ca#; 19 yūpa-, 20 sthūṇā, 21 dīpa-, 22 aśva-, 23 patra-.

10. ayas-maya-āday-aḥ

[1.4.20 ayas-maya-ādī-n-i chandas-i]
ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam.

11. arī-haṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 arī-haṇa-kṛśa=aśva- . . . vuÑ-chaṆ . . .]

1 arī-haṇa-, 2 dru-ghaṇa-, 3 *dru-haṇa-, 4 bhagala-, 5 ulanda-, 6 kiraṇa-, 7 sām-par-āy-aṇa-, 8 *auṣṭr-āyaṇa-, 9 trai-gart-āyana-, 10 maitr-āyaṇa-, 11 bhāstr-āyaṇa-, 13 vai-mat-āyana-, 14 gau-mat-āyana-, 15 sau-mat-āyana-, 16 saus-āyana-, 17 *dhau-mat-āyana-, 18 *saum-āyana-, 19 °aindr-āyaṇa, 20 *kaundr-āyaṇa-, 21 khāḍ-āyana-, 22 śāṇḍily-āyana-, 23 rāyas-poṣa-, 24 vi-patha-, 25 vipāśa-, 26 ud-daṇḍa-, 27 (ud-añc-ana-), 28 khāṇḍa-vīraṇa-, 29 vīraṇa-, 30 kāśa-kṛtsna-, 31 jāmba-vata-, 32 śiṁśapā, 33 raivata- (re-vata-); 34 bilva-, 35 su-yajña-, 36 śirīṣa-, 37 badhira-, 38 jambu-, 39 khadira-, 40 su-śarman-, 41 dala-tṛ-*, 42 *bhalandana-, 43 *khaṇḍu, 44 kalana- (kanala-), 45 yajña-datta.

12. ardha-rc-āḥ

[2.4.31 ardha-rc-āḥ puṁs-i ca]

1 ardha-rc-a-, 2 go-maya-, 3 kaṣāya-, 4 kārṣāpaṇa-, 5 ku-tapa-, 6 kusapa- (kuṇapa-), 7 kapāṭa-, 8 śaṅkha-, 9 gūtha-, 10 yūtha-, 11 dhvaja-, 12 kabandha-, 13 padma-, 14 gṛha-, 15 sar-aka-, 16 kaṁsa-, 17 divasa-, 18 yūṣa-, 19 andha-kāra-, 20 daṇḍa-, 21 kamaṇḍalu-, 22 maṇḍa-, 23 bhū-ta-, 24 dvī-pa-, 25 dyū-ta-, 26 cakra-, 27 dharma-, 28 kar-man-, 29 mod-aka-, 30 śata-māna-, 31 yāna-, 32 nakha-, 33 nakha-ra-, 34 car-aṇa-, 35 puccha-, 36 dāḍima-, 37 hima-, 38 rajata-, 39 saktu-, 40 pi-dhāna-, 41 sār-a-, 42 pātra-, 43 ghṛ-ta-, 44 saindhav-a-, 45 auṣadha-, 46 āḍhaka-, 47 caṣaka-, 48 droṇa-, 49 khalīna-, 50 pātrīva-, 51 ṣaṣṭi-ka-, 52 vāra-bāṇa-, 53 protha-, 54 kapi-ttha-, 55 (śuṣ-ka-), 56 *śāla-, 57 śīla-, 58 śulka- (śukla/śulba-), 59 sidhu-, 60 kavaca-, 61 reṇu-, 62 ṛṇa-, 63 kapaṭa-, 64 śī-kara-, 65 musala-, 66 su-varṇa-, 67 varṇa-, 68 pūrva-, 69 camasa-, 70 kṣīra-, 71 karṣa-, 72 ā-kāś-a-, 73 aṣṭā-pada, 74 maṅgala-, 75 ni-dhana-, 76 nir-yās-a-, 77 jṛmbha-, 78 vṛt-ta, 79 pusta-, 80 busta-, 81 kṣveḍ-i-ta-, 82 śṛṅga-, 83 ni-gaḍa-, 84 khala-, 85 madhu-, 86 mūla-, 87 mūla-ka-, 88 sthūla-, 89 śarāva-, 90 nāla-, 91 vapra-, 92 vi-māna-, 93

mukha-, 94 pra-grīva-, 95 śūla-, 96 vajra-, 97 kaṭaka-, 98 kaṇṭaka-, 99 (karpaṭa-), 100 śikhara-, 101 kalka- (valkala-), 102 nāṭa-, 103 mastaka-, 104 valaya-, 105 kusuma-, 106 tṛṇa-, 107 paṅka-, 108 kuṇḍala-, 109 kirīṭa-, 110 kumuda-, 111 arbuda-, 112 aṅkuśa-, 113 timira-, 114 ā-śray-a-, 115 bhūṣ-aṇa-, 116 iṣv-āsa- (ikkasa-), 117 mukula-, 118 vasanta-, 119 taṭāka- (taḍāga-), 120 piṭaka-, 121 viṭaṅka-, 122 viḍaṅga-, 123 piṇyāka-, 124 māṣa-, 125 kośa-, 126 phalaka-, 127 dina-, 128 daivata-, 129 pināka-, 130 samara-, 131 sthā-ṇu-, 132 anīka-, 133 upa-vās-a-, 134 śāka-, 135 karpāsa-, 136 vi-śāla-, 137 caṣāla-, 138 khaṇḍa-, 139 dara-, 140 viṭapa-, 141 raṇa-, 142 bala-, 143 maka (mala-), 144 mṛṇāla-, 145 hasta-, 146 ārdra-, 147 hala-, 148 sū-tra-, 149 tāṇḍava-, 150 gāṇḍī-va-, 151 maṇḍa-pa-, 152 paṭaha-, 153 saudha-, 154 yodha-, 155 pārśva-, 156 śarīra-, 157 phala-, 158 chala-, 159 pura-, 160 rāṣ-ṭra-, 161 bimba-, 162 ambara-, 163 kuṭṭ-ima-, 164 kukkuṭa-, 165 kuḍapa-, 166 kakuda-, 167 khaṇḍala-, 168 tomara-, 169 toraṇa-, 170 mañcaka-, 171 pañca-ka, 172 puṅkha-, 173 madhya-, 174 (vala-), 175 chala-, 176 valmīka-, 177 varṣa-, 178 vas-tra-, 179 vasu-, 180 deha-, 181 ud-yāna-, 182 ud-yog-a-, 183 sneh-a-, 184 ste-na-, 185 stana-, 186 svar-a-, 187 saṁ-gam-a-, 188 niṣka-, 189 kṣe-ma-, 190 śūka-, 191 kṣattra-, 192 pav-i-tra-, 193 yauvan-a-, 194 kala-ha-, 195 pāl-aka- (māl-aka-), 196 mūṣika-, 197 maṇḍala-, 198 valkala-, 199 kuñja-, 200 vi-hār-a-, 201 loh-i-ta-, 202 viṣāṇa-, 203 bhav-ana-, 204 araṇya-, 205 pul-ina-, 206 dṛ-ḍha-, 207 ās-ana-, 208 airā-vat-a-, 209 śūrpa-, 210 tīrtha-, 211 loma-śa-, 212 tamāla-, 213 loha-, 214 daṇḍaka-, 215 śap-atha-, 216 prati-sar-a-, 217 dāru-, 218 dhanus-, 219 māna-, 220 varc-as-ka-, 221 kūrca-, 222 taṇḍaka-, 223 maṭha-, 224 sahasra-, 225 odana-, 226 pra-vāl-a-, 227 śakaṭa-, 228 apara=ahṇa-, 229 nīḍa-, 230 śakala-, 231 taṇḍula-.

13. arśas=āday-aḥ

[5.2.127 arśas=ādi-bhyaḥ=áC]

1 arśas-, 2 uras-, 3 tunda-, 4 catura-, 5 palita-, 6 jaṭā, 7 (ghaṭā), 8 *ghāṭā, 9 abhra-, 10 agha-, 11 kardama-, 12 amla-, 13 lavaṇa-; 14 #sva=aṅg-āt=hī-n-āt#; 15 varṇ-ā-t.

14. aśman=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ra]

1 aśman-, 2 yūtha-, 3 ūṣa-, 4 mīna-, 5 nada-, 6 dar-bha-, 7 vr̥nda-, 8 guda-, 9 khaṇḍa-, 10 naga-, 11 śikhā-, 12 koṭa-, 13 pāma-, 14 kanda-, 15 kānda-, 16 kula-, 17 gah-va-, 18 guḍa-, 19 kuṇḍala-, 20 pīna-, 21 guha-.

15. aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.110 aśva=ādibhyḥ phaÑ]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 śūdraka-, 5 vida-, 6 puṭa-, 7 rohiṇa-, 8 kharjūra- (khajūra-), 9 (khañjāra-), 10 (vasta-), 11 pijūla- (pijūra-), 12 bhaḍila-, 13 bhaṇḍila-, 14 bhaḍita-, 15 bhaṇḍita-, 16 (pra-kr̥-ta-), 17 (rāmoda-), 18 kṣān-ta-, 19 (kāśa-), 20 (tīkṣṇa-), 21 (golāṅka-), 22 (arka-), 23 (svar-a-), 24 (sphuṭa-), 25 (cakra-), 26 (śraviṣṭha-), 27 pavinda-, 28 pav-itra-, 29 go-min-, 30 śyāma-, 31 dhūma-, 32 dhūm-ra-, 33 vāg-min-, 34 viśvā-nara-, 35 kuṭa-; 36 #śapa ātrey-e#; 37 jana-, 38 jaḍa-, 39 khaḍa-, 40 grīṣma-, 41 arha-, 42 kita-, 43 viśam-pa-, 44 viśāla-, 45 giri-, 46 capala-, 47 cupa-, 48 dāsa-ka-, 49 bailva- (bailya-), 50 prācya-, 51 (dharmya-), 52 ānaḍuh-ya-, 53 #puṁs-i jā-t-e#; 54 arjuna-, 55 (pra-hr̥-ta-), 56 su-manas-, 57 dur-manas-, 58 manas-, 59 (prānta-), 60 dhvana-, 61 #ātreya bhārd-vāj-e#; 62 #bharad-vāja ātrey-e#; 63 utsa-, 64 ātava-, 65 kitava-, 66 (vada-), 67 (dhan-ya-), 68 (pada-), 69 śiva-, 70 khadira-.

16. aśva=ādi-ḥ (yaT: 5.1.39)

[5.1.39 go-dvy-aca-ḥ a-saṁkhyā-parimāṇa-aśv=āder yaT]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman-, 3 gaṇa-, 4 ūrṇā, 5 umā, 6 bhaṅgā; (gaṅgā), 6 varṣā, 7 vasu-.

17. aśva-pati=āday-aḥ

[4.1.84 aśva-pati=ādi-bhyaś ca (aṆ 83)]

1 aśva-pati-, 2 (jñā-na-pati-), 3 śata-pati-, 4 dhana-pati-, 5 gaṇa-pati, 6 (sthāna-pati-), 7 (yajña-pati-), 8 rāṣṭra-pati-, 9 kula-pati-, 10 gr̥ha-pati-, 11 (paśu-pati-), 12 dhānya-pati-, 13 dhanva-pati-, 14 (bandhu-pati-), 15 (dharma-pati-), 16 sabhā-pati-, 17 prāṇa-pati-, 18 kṣetra-pati.

18. ā-karṣa=āday-aḥ (ā-kaṣa=āday=aḥ)

[5.2.64 ā-karṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 ā-karṣa-/(ā-kaṣa-), 2 tsaru-, 3 piśāca-, 4 picaṇḍa-, 5 aśani-, 6 aśman-, 7 ni-caya-, 8 cay-a- 9 (vi-jay-a-), 10 jay-a-, 11 ā-cay-a-, 12 nay-a-, 13 pada-, 14 dīpa-, 15 hrada-, 16 hrāda-, 17 (gadgada-), 18 śakuni-.

19. ā-ci-ta=āday-aḥ

[6.2.146 saṁ-jñā-y-ām an-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām]

1 ā-ci-ta-, 2 pari=ā-ci-ta, 3 ā-sthā-p-i-ta-, 4 pari-gṛh-ī-ta-, 5 nir-uk-ta-, 6 prati-pan-na-, 7 apa-śliṣ-ṭa-, 8 pra-śliṣ-ṭa-, 9 upa-hi-ta-, 10 upa-sthi-ta-, 11 #saṁ-hi-tā=a-gav-i#.

20. ā-hi-ta=agni=āday-aḥ

[2.2.37 vā ā-hi-ta=agni=ādi-ṣu]

1 ā-hi-ta=agni-, 2 jā-ta-put-ra-, 3 jāta-danta-, 4 jāta-śmaśru-, 5 taila-pīta-, 6 ghṛta-pīta-, 7 (madya-pīta-), 8 ūḍha-bhārya-, 9 gata=artha-; *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

21. indra-janana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.88 śiśu-kranda-yama-sabha-dvandva=indra-janana=ādi-bhyaś chaḥ]

ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇ-ḥ ayam.

22. iṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.88 iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 86)]

1 iṣ-ṭa-, 2 pūr-ta-, 3 upa=ā-sad-i-ta-, 4 ni-gad-i-ta-, 5 pari-gad-i-ta-, 6 pari-vad-i-ta-, 7 ni-kath-i-ta-, 8 ni-ṣād-i-ta-, 9 ni-paṭh-i-ta-, 10 saṁ-kal-i-ta-, 11 pari-kal-i-ta-, 12 saṁ-rakṣ-i-ta-, 13 pari-rakṣ-i-ta-, 14 arc-i-ta-, 15 gaṇ-i-ta-, 16 ava-kīr-ṇa-, 17 ā-yuk-ta, 18 gṛh-ī-ta-, 19 ā-mnā-ta-, 20 śru-ta-, 21 adh-ī-ta-, 22 (ava-dhā-na-), 23 ā-sev-i-ta-, 24 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 25 ava-kalp-i-ta-, 26 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 27 upa-kṛ-ta-, 28 up-ā-kṛ-ta-, 29 anu-yuk-ta-, 30 anu-gaṇ-i-ta-, 31 anu-paṭh-i-ta-, 32 vy-ā-kul-i-ta-.

23. uktha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.60 kratu=uktha=ādi-sūtra=ant-aṭ ṭhaK]

1 uktha-, 2 lok-ā-yata-, 3 ny-āy-a-, 4 ny-ās-a-, 5 punar-uk-ta-, 6 nir-uk-ta-, 7 ni-mitta-, 8 dvi-pad-ā, 9 jyot-iṣ-a-, 10 anu-pada-, 11 anu-kalpa-, 12 yaj-ña-, 13 dharma-, 14 carcā, 15 kram-e-tara-, 16 ślakṣa-(ślakṣṇa-), 17 saṁ-hi-tā, 18 pada-krama-, 19 saṁ-ghāt-a- (saṁ-ghaṭṭa-), 20 vr̥t-ti-, 21 pari-ṣad-, 22 saṁ-grah-a-, 23 gaṇa-, 24 guṇa-, 25 āyur-veda.

24. uñcha=āday-aḥ

[6.1.160 uñcha=ādī-n-āṁ ca (anta-ḥ udātta-ḥ 159)]

1 uñch-á-, 2 mlecch-á-, 3 jañj-á-, 4 jalp-á-, 5 jap-á-, 6 vadh-á-, 7 #yug-á kāla-vi-śeṣ-e ratha=ādi=upa-kar-aṇ-e ca#; 8 #gar-á-ḥ dūṣ-ye (dūṣ-ye)#; aP=anta-ḥ; 9 #[1]ved-á-[2]vegá-[3]veṣṭá-[4]bandh-āḥ kar-aṇ-e#; 10 #[1]stu-[2]yu-[3]druv-aś chand-as-i#; 11 #vart-aní-ḥ sto-tre#; 12 #śvabhr-e dar-á-ḥ#; 13 #[1]sāmbá-[2]tāp-aú bhāva-garhā-y-ām#; 14 #[1]ut-tamá-[2]śaśvat-tam-aú sarva-tra#; 15 #[1]bhakṣ-á-[2]manth-á-[3]bhog-á-[4]deh-āḥ#.

25. ut-kar-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.90 ut-kar-a=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 ut-kar-a-, 2 sam-phal-a-, 3 śapha-ra-, 4 pippala-, 5 pippalī-mūla-, 6 aśman-, 7 su-varṇa-, 8 khal-ā-jina-, 9 tika-, 10 kitava-, 11 aṇaka-, 12 traivaṇa-, 13 picuka-, 14 aśvattha-, 15 kāśa-, 16 kṣud-ra-, 17 bhastrā, 18 śāla-, 19 jan-yā, 20 ajira-, 21 carman-, 22 ut-kroś-a-, 23 kṣān-ta-, 24 khadira-, 25 śūrpa-ṇāy-a-, 26 śyāva-nāy-a-, 27 nai-vākav-a-, 28 tr̥ṇa-, 29 vr̥kṣa-, 30 śāka-, 31 palāśa-, 32 vi-ji-gī-ṣā, 33 an-eka-, 34 ā-tap-a-, 35 phala-, 36 sam-para-, 37 arka-, 38 garta-, 39 agni, 40 vairāṇaka-, 41 iḍā, 42 araṇya-, 43 ni-śān-ta-, 44 parṇa-, 45 nī-cāy-aka-, 46 śaṁ-kar-a-, 47 ava-roh-i-ta-, 48 kṣā-ra-, 49 vi-śāla-, 50 vetra-, 51 arīhaṇa-, 52 khaṇḍa-, 53 vātā-gāra-, 54 mantr-aṇa=arha-, 55 indra-vr̥kṣa-, 56 ni-tān-ta-vr̥kṣa-, 57 ārdra-vr̥kṣa-.

26. utsa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.86 utsa=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 utsa-, 2 uda-pā-na-, 3 vi-kar-a-, 4 vi-nad-a-, 5 mahā-nada-, 6 mahā-nasa-, 7 mahā-prā-ṇa-, 8 taruṇa-, 9 taluna-, 10 #baṣkaya ase#; 11 pṛthivī, 12 dhenu-, 13 paṅk-ti-, 14 jag-at-ī, 15 tri-ṣṭubh-, 16 anu-ṣṭubh-, 17 jana-pada-, 18 bharata-, 19 uśī-nara-, 20 grīṣma-, 21 pīlu-kuṇa-, 22 #uda-sthāna deś-e#; 23 pṛṣad-aṁśa-, 24 bhallak-īya-, 25 rathaṁ-tara-, 26 madhyaṁ-dina-, 27 bṛh-at-, 28 mah-at-, 29 sat-t-vat-, 30 kuru-, 31 pañcāla-, 32 indr-āva-sā-na-, 33 uṣṇih-, 34 kakubh-, 35 su-varṇa-, 36 deva-, 37 #grīṣṁ-āt a=cchand-as-i ° #.

27. ut-saṅga=āday-aḥ

[4.4.15 har-a-ti=ut-saṅga=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaK 1)]

1 ut-saṅg-a-, 2 (uḍupa-), 3 ut-puta-, 4 ut-pan-na-, 5 ut-puṭa-, 6 piṭaka-, 7 piṭāka-.

28. ud-gātṛ=āday-aḥ

[5.1.129 [1]prāṇa-bhṛt=jāti-[2]vayo-vac-ana=[3]ud-gātṛ=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 ud-gā-tṛ-, 2 un-ne-tṛ, 3 prati-har-tṛ-, 4 pra-śās-tṛ-, 5 ho-tṛ-, 6 po-tṛ-, 7 har-tṛ-, 8 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 9 pat-ti-gaṇ-aka-, 10 su-ṣṭh-u-, 11 duṣṭhu-, 12 adhvar-yu-, 13 vadhū, 14 #su-bhaga mantre#.

29. upaka=āday-aḥ

[2.4.69 upaka=ādi=bhyaḥ=anya-tara-syām a-dvaṁdve (luK 58)]

1 upaka-, 2 lamaka-, 3 bhraṣṭaka-, 4 kapi-ṣṭhala-, 5 kṛṣṇ-ā-jina-, 6 kṛṣṇa-sundara-, 7 cūḍāraka-, 8 āḍāraka-, 9 gaḍu-ka-, 10 ud-aṅka-, 11 sudhāyuka-, 12 a-bandh-aka-, 13 piṅgalaka-, 14 piṣ-ṭa-ka-, 15 su-piṣ-ṭa-(supiṣṭha-), 16 mayūra-karṇa-, 17 khārī-jaṅgha-, 18 śalāthala-, 19 patañjala-, 20 padañjala-, 21 kaṭheraṇi-, 22 kuṣītaka-, 23 kāśa-kṛtsna-, 24 ni-dāgh-a, 25 kalaśī-kaṇṭha-, 26 dāma-kaṇṭha-, 27 kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-, 28 karṇaka-, 29 parṇaka-, 30 jaṭilaka-, 31 badhiraka-, 32 jantuka-, 33 anu-loma-, 34 anu-pad-a-, 35 prati-loma-, 36 apa-jagha-, 37 pra-tāna-, 38 an-abhi-hi-ta-, 39 kamaka-, 40 varāṭka- (vaṭāraka*), 41 lekhābhra-, 42 kamandaka-, 43 piñjūlaka-, 44 varṇaka-, 45 masūra-karṇa-, 46 madāgha-, 47 kavantaka-, 48 kamantaka-, 49 kadā-matta-, 50 dāma-kaṇṭha-.

30. uras=pra-bhr̥-tay-aḥ

[5.4.151 uras=kpra-bhr̥-ti-bhyaḥ kaP]

1 ur-as-, 2 sarp-is, 3 upā-nah-, 4 pumān, 5 anaḍvān, 6 payas-, 7 nau-, 8 lakṣmī, 9 dadhi-, 10 madhu-, 11 śāli-, 12 #arth-āt=naÑ-aḥ#.

31. ūrī=āday-aḥ

[1.4.61 ūrī-ādi-Cvi-ḌāC-aś ca (kriyā-yoge 59 gatiś=ca 60)]

1 ūrī, 2 urarī, 3 tanthī, 4 tālī, 5 ā-tālī, 6 vetālī, 7 dhūlī, 8 dhūsī, 9 śakalā, 10 saṁ-śakalā, 11 dhvaṁsakalā, 12 bhraṁsakalā, 13 gulugudhā, 14 sajuṣ, 15 phala, 16 phalī, 17 viklī, 18 āklī, 19 ā-loṣṭhī, 20 kevālī, 21 kevāsī, 22 sevāsī, 23 paryālī, 24 śevālī, 25 varṣālī, 26 atyūmaśā, 27 vaśmaśā, 28 masmasā, 29 masamasā, 30 auṣaṭ, 31 vauṣaṭ, 32 vaṣaṭ, 33 svāhā, 34 svadhā, 35 bandhā, 36 prādus, 37 āt, 38 āvis.

32. r̥g-ay-ana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.73 aṆ r̥g-ay-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 r̥g-ay-ana-, 2 pada-vy-ā-khyāna-, 3 chando-māna-, 4 chando-bhāṣā, 5 chando-vi-ci-ti-, 6 ny-āy-a-, 7 punar-uk-ta-, 8 nir-uk-ta-, 9 vy-ā-kar-aṇa-, 10 ni-gam-a-, 11 vāstu-vidyā, 12 kṣatra-vidyā, 13 aṅga-vidyā, 14 vid-yā, 15 ut-pāt-a-, 16 ut-pād-a-, 17 ud-yāv-a-, 18 saṁ-vat-sara-, 19 muhūrta-, 20 upa-ni-ṣad-, 21 nimitta-, 22 śikṣā, 23 bhikṣā.

33. r̥śya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ka]

1 r̥śya-, 2 nyag-rodha-, 3 śara-, 4 ni-lī-na-, 5 ni-vās-a-, 6 ni-vā-ta-, 7 ni-dhāna-, 8 ni-bandh-a- (ni-bandh-ana-), 9 vi-bad-dha-, 10 pari-gū-ḍha-, 11 upa-gū-ḍha-, 12 as-ani-, 13 si-ta-, 14 ma-ta-, 15 veś-man-, 16 uttara=aśman-, 17 aśman-, 18 sthū-la-, 19 bahu-, 20 khadira-, 21 śarkarā, 22 anaḍuh-, 23 araḍu-, 24 pari-vaṁśa-, 25 veṇu-, 26 vīraṇa-, 27 khaṇḍa-, 28 daṇḍa-, 29 pari-vr̥t-ta-, 30 kardama-, 31 aṁśu-.

34. aiṣu-kār-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 bhauriki=ādi=aiṣu-kari=ādi-bhyaḥ vidhaL-bhaktaL-au]

1 aiṣu-kār-i-, 2 sārasy-āyana-, 3 cāndr-āyaṇa-, 4 dvy-ākṣ-āyaṇa-, 5 try-ākṣ-āyaṇa-, 6 auḍ-āyana-, 7 jaul-āyana-, 8 khāḍ-āyana-, 9 dāsa-mitr-i-, 10 dāsa-mitr-āyaṇa-, 11 śaudr-āyaṇa-, 12 dākṣ-āyaṇa-, 13 śāpaṇḍ-āyana- (śayaṇḍ-āyana-), 14 tārkṣy-āyaṇa-, 15 śaubhr-āyaṇa-, 16 sau-vīra-, 17 sau-vīr-āyaṇa-, 18 śapaṇḍa- (śayaṇḍa-), 19 sauṇḍa-, 20 śayāṇḍa-(śayāṇḍi-), 21 vaiśva-mānava-, 22 vaiśva-dhenav-a-, 23 naḍa-, 24 tuṇḍa-deva-, 25 viśva-deva-, 26 sāpiṇḍ-i.

35. kaccha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.133 kaccha-ādi-bhyaś=ca (aṆ 132)]

1 kaccha-, 2 sindhu-, 3 varṇu-, 4 gandhāra-, 5 madhu-mat-, 6 kamboja-, 7 kaśmīra-, 8 sālva-, 9 kuru-, 10 anu-ṣaṇḍa-, 11 dvīpa-, 12 anūpa-, 13 aja-vāh-a-, 14 vi-jāp-aka-, 15 kalū-tara-, 16 raṅku-.

36. kaḍār-āḥ

[2.2.38 kaḍār-āḥ karma-dhāray-e]

1 kaḍāra-, 2 gaḍula-, 3 khañja-, 4 khoḍa-, 5 kaṇa-, 6 kuṇṭha-, 7 khalati-, 8 gaura-, 9 vṛd-dha-, 10 bhikṣ-uka-, 11 piṅga-, 12 piṅgala-(piṅgula-), 13 taḍa-, 14 tanu-, 15 jaṭhara-, 16 badhira-, 17 maṭhara-, 18 kañja-, 19 barbara-.

37. kaṇḍū=āday-aḥ

[3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaK]

1 kaṇḍūÑ-, 2 mantu-, 3 hṛ-ṇī-Ṅ, 4 valgu-, 5 asu-, 6 man-as-, 7 mahīṄ-, 8 lāṭ-, 9 leṭ-, 10 iras-, 11 iraj-, 12 iraÑ-, 13 duvas-, 14 uṣas-, 15 veṭ-, 16 medhā-, 17 kuṣubha-, 18 namas-, 19 magadha-, 20 tantas-, 21 pampas- (papas-), 22 sukha-, 23 duḥ-kha-, 24 (bhikṣa-), 25 (car-aṇa-), 26 (carama-), 27 (avara-), 28 sapara-, 29 arara- (arar-), 30 bhiṣaj-, 31 bhiṣṇuj- (bhiṣṇaj-), 32 (apara-), 33 (āra-), 34 iṣudha-, 35 var-aṇa-, 36 curaṇa-, 37 turaṇa-, 38 bhuraṇa-, 39 gadgada-, 40 elā-, 41 kelā-, 42 khelā-, 43 (velā-), 44 (śelā-), 45 liṭ-, 46 loṭ-, 47 lekhā-, 48 lekha-, 49 rekhā-, 50 dravas-, 51 tiras-, 52 agada-, 53 uras-, 54 taraṇa- (tariṇa-), 55 payas-, 56 sam-bhūyas-, 57 sambara-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ=ayam*.

38. kaṇva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.111 kaṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-e (aṆ 110)]
See under 71 garga=āday-aḥ.

39. kat-tri=āday-aḥ

[4.2.95 kat-tri-ādi-bhyaḥ ḍhakaÑ]
1 kat-tri-, 2 umbhi-, 3 puṣkara-. 4 puṣkala-, 5 mod-ana-, 6 kumbhī, 7 kuṇḍina-, 8 nagarī, 9 māhiṣ-mat-ī, 10 varmatī, 11 ukhyā, 12 grāma-, 13 #kuḍyā-y-āḥ=ya-lopaś ca#.

40. kathā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.102 kathā=adi-bhyaṣ ṭhaK]
1 kathā, 2 vi-kathā-, 3 viśva-kathā, 4 saṁ-kathā, 5 vi-taṇḍā, 6 kuṣṭa-vid- (kuṣṭha-vid-), 7 jana-vād-a-, 8 jane-vād-a-, 9 jano-vād-a-, 10 vṛt-ti-, 11 saṁ-grah-a-, 12 guṇa-, 13 gaṇa-, 14 āyur-veda-.

41. karkī=āday-aḥ

[6.2.87 prasth-e=a-vṛd-dham a-karkī=ādī-n-ām]
1 karkī, 2 maghnī, 3 makarī, 4 karkandhu-, 5 śamī, 6 karīra- (karīri-), 7 kanduka-, 8 kuvala- (kavala-), 9 badarī.

42. [1]karṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phiÑ]
1 karṇa- 2 vas-iṣṭha-, 3 arka-, 4 arka-lūṣa-, 5 dru-pada-, 6 ānaḍuh-ya-, 7 pāñca-jan-ya-, 8 sphiga- (sphij-), 9 kumbhī, 10 kuntī, 11 ji-t-van-, 12 jīv-anta-, 13 kuliśa-, 14 āṇḍī-vat- (āṇḍī-vata-), 15 java-, 16 jaitra-, 17 ānaka- (ākana-).

43. [2]karṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya [1]pāka-[2]mūle [1]pīlu=adi-[2]karṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]kuṇaP-[2]jāhaC-au]
1 karṇa-, 2 akṣi-, 3 nakha-, 4 mukha-, 5 keśa-, 6 pād-a, 7 gulpha-, 8 bhrū, 9 śṛṅga-, 10 danta-, 11 oṣṭha-, 12 pṛṣṭha-.

44. kalyāṇī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.126 kalyāṇī=ādī-nām inaṄ ca (ḍhaK 120)]

kalyāṇ-ī, 2 su-bhag-ā, 3 dur-bhag-ā, 4 bandhak-ī, 5 anu-dr̥ṣ-ṭi-, 6 anu-sr̥ṣ-ṭi-, 7 jar-at-ī, 8 balīvard-ī, 9 jy-e-ṣṭh-ā, 10 kan-iṣṭh-ā, 11 madhya-m-ā, 12 para-strī.

45. kaska=āday-aḥ

[8.3.48 kaska=ādi-ṣu ca]

1 kaska-ḥ, 2 kautaska-ḥ, 3 bhrātuṣ-putra-ḥ; 4 śun-as-karṇa-ḥ, 5 sadyas-kāla-ḥ, 6 sadyas-krī-ḥ 7 sadyas-ka-ḥ, 8 kāṁ-s-kān, 9 sarpiṣ-kuṇḍ-ik-ā, 10 dhanuṣ-kapāla-m, 11 bahiṣ-pala-m (barhiṣ-pala-m), 12 yajuṣ-pātra-m, 13 ayas-kānta-ḥ, 14 tamas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 15 ayas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 16 medas-piṇḍa-ḥ, 17 bhās-kara-ḥ, 18 ahas-kara-ḥ.

46. kārta-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.37 kārta-kaujapa=āday-aś ca]

1 kārta=kaujap-au, 2 sāvarṇi-māṇḍūk-ey-au, 3 avanti=aśmak=āḥ, 4 paila-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 5 kapi-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 6 śaitikākṣa-pāñcāl-ey-āḥ; 7 kaṭuka-vādhūl-ey-āḥ, 8 śākala-śunak-āḥ, 9 śākala-saṇak-āḥ, 10 śaṇaka-bābhrav-āḥ, 11 ārcābhi-maudgal-āḥ, 12 kunti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 13 cinti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 14 taṇḍa-vataṇḍ-āḥ, 15 a-vi-mat-ta-kāma-vid-dh-āḥ, 16 bābhrava-śālaṅk-āyan-āḥ, 17 bābhrava-dāna-cyu-t-āḥ, 18 kaṭha-kālāp-āḥ, 19 kaṭha-kauthum-āḥ, 20 kauthuma-laukākṣ-āḥ, 21 strī-kumāra-m, 22 maudga-paippl-ād-āḥ, 23 vatsa-jar-ant-aḥ, 24 sauśruta-pārthav-āḥ, 25 jarā-mr̥tyū, 26 yājya=anuvāk-y-e.

47. kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ilaC]

1 kāśa-, 2 pāśa-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 palāśa-, 5 piyūkṣā, 6 car-aṇa-, 7 vās-a-, 8 naḍa-, 9 vana-, 10 kardama-, 11 kacchūla-, 12 kaṅkaṭa-, 13 guhā, 14 bisa-, 15 tr̥ṇa-, 16 karpūra-, 17 bar-bara-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 graha-, 20 kapi-ttha-, 21 jatu-, 22 śīpāla-.

48. kāśī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.116 kāśī=adi-bhyaṣ [1]ṭhaÑ=[2]Ñiṭh-au]

1 kāśī, 2 cedi- (vedi-), 3 sāṁ-yā-ti, 4 saṁ-vāh-a-, 5 a-cyu-ta-, 6 mod-a-māna-, 7 śakul-ād-a-, 8 hasti-karṣū, 9 ku-nāman-, 10 hiraṇya-, 11 kar-aṇa-, 12 go-vās-ana-, 13 bhāraṅg-ī, 14 ari-ṁ-dama-, 15 ar-itra-, 16 deva-datta-, 17 daśa-grāma-, 18 śauc-āva-tā-n-a-, 19 yuva-rāja-, 20 upa-rāja-, 21 deva-rāja-, 22 mod-ana-, 23 sindhu-mitra-, 24 dāsa-mitra-, 25 sudhā-mitra-, 26 soma-mitra-, 27 chāga-mitra-, 28 sādha-mitra- (sadha-mitra-), 29 #ā-pad-ādi-pūrva-pad-āt kāla=ant-āt# (ā-pad-, ūrdhva-, tad-).

49. kāṣṭha=āday-aḥ

[8.1.67 pūj-an-āt pūj-i-ta-m anudātta-ṁ kāṣṭha=ādi=bhyaḥ]

1 kāṣṭha-, 2 dāruṇa-, 3 a-mātā-putra-, 4 veśa-, 5 an-ā-jñā-ta-, 6 anu-jñā-ta-, 7 a-putra-, 8 a-yu-ta-, 9 adbhuta-, 10 an-uk-ta-, 11 bhr̥śa-, 12 ghora-, 13 sukha-, 14 para-ma-, 15 su-, 16 ati-.

50. kiṁśulaka=(kiṁśuluka)=āday-ḥ

[6.3.117 [1]vana-[2]gir-yoḥ saṁjñā-yāṁ [1]koṭara-[2]kiṁśuluka=ādī-nāṁ (dīrghaḥ 111)]

1 kiṁśuluka- (kiṁśulaka-), 2 śālva-, 3 naḍa-, 4 añj-ana-, 5 bhañj-ana-, 6 loh-ita-, 7 kukkuṭa-.

51. kir=aday-aḥ

[7.2.75 kir-aś ca pañca-bhyaḥ (saN-i 74 iṬ 35)]

Dhp VI 116 kr̥̄ vi-kṣép-e; 117 gr̥̄ ni-gár-aṇ-e; 118 dr̥Ṅ ā-dar-é (án-ā-dar-e); 119 dhr̥Ṅ ava-sthā́n-e (án-ava-sthān-e); 120 prachA jñīpsā́-y-ām.

52. kiśara=(kisara=)āday-aḥ

[4.4.53 kiśara=ādi-bhyas ṢṭhaN]

1 kiśara- (kisara-), 2 narada-, 3 nalada-, 4 sthāgala-, 5 tagara-, 6 guggulu-, 7 uśīra-, 8 hari-drā, 9 haridru-, 10 parṇī (pargī).

53. kuñja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.98 go-tr-e kuñja=ādi-bhyaś CphaÑ]

1 kuñja-, 2 bradhna-, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 bhas-man-, 5 gaṇa-, 6 lo-man-, 7 śaṭha-, 8 śāka-, 9 śuṇḍā, 10 śubha-, 11 vi-pāś-, 12 skanda-, 13 skambha-.

54. kuṭ=āday-aḥ

[1.2.1 [1]gāṄ[2]kútÁ=ādi-bhyaḥ a-Ñ-Ṇ-IT Ṅ-IT]

Dhp VI 73 kútÁ kaúṭil-y-e; 74 púṭÁ saṁ-śleṣ-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ śábd-e; 77 gúḍÁ rakṣā-y-ām; 78 ḍípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphúṭA vi-kás-an-e; 81 múṭÁ [1]ā-kṣép-a-[2]pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trúṭÁ chéd-an-e; 83 túṭÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i; 84 cúṭÁ chúṭÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júḍÁ bándh-an-e; 86 káḍÁ mad-é; 87 lúṭÁ saṁ-śléṣ-aṇ-e; 88 kṝḍÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúḍÁ bā́ly-e; 90 púḍÁ ut-sárg-e; 91 ghuṭA prati-ghāt-é; 92 túḍÁ tóḍ-an-e; 93 thúḍÁ 94 sthúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ; 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-ane; 97 sphúḍÁ; 98 cúḍÁ; 99 vrúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; (100 krúḍÁ 101 bhṝ̥ḍÁ ni-májj-an-e); (102 húḍÁ saṁ-ghāt-é); 103 gúrī ud-yam-an-e; 104 ṇū́ stáv-ane; 105 dhū́ vi-dhū́n-an-e; 106 gu purīṣa=ut-sárg-e; 107 dhru [1]gáti-[2]sthaíryay-oḥ.

55. [1]kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaC]

1 kumuda-, 2 śarkarā, 3 nyag-rodh-a-, 4 ikkaṭa-, 5 saṁ-kaṭa-, 6 kaṅkaṭa-, 7 garta-, 8 bīja-, 9 pari-vāp-a-, 10 nir-yās-a-, 11 śakaṭa-, 12 kaca-, 13 madhu, 14 śirīṣa-, 15 aśva-, 16 aśvattha-, 17 balba-ja-, 18 yavāṣa-, 19 kūpa-, 20 vi-kaṅkata-, 21 daśa-grāma-.

56. [2]kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaK]

1 kumuda-, 2 go-maya-, 3 ratha-kār-a-, 4 daśa-grāma-, 5 aśvattha-, 6 śālmali-, 7 śirīṣa-, 8 muni-sthala-, 9 kuṇḍala-, 10 kūṭa-, 11 madhu-karṇa-, 12 ghāsa-kunda-, 13 śuci-karṇa-.

57. kumbha-pady-aḥ

[5.4.139 kumbha-padī-ṣu ca (pāda-sya lopa-ḥ 138)]

1 kumbha-pad-í, 2 eka-pad-í, 3 jala-pad-í, 4 (śūla-pad-í), 5 muni-pad-í, 6 guṇa-pad-í, 7 śata-pad-í, 8 sūtra-pad-í, 9 godhā-pad-í, 10 kalaśī-pad-í, 11 vi-pad-í 12 (tṛṇa-pad-í), 13 dvi-pad-í, 14 tri-pad-í, 15 ṣaṭ-pad-í, 16 dāsī-pad-í, 17 śiti-pad-í, 18 viṣṇu-pad-í, 20 niṣ-pad-í, 21 ārdra-pad-í, 22 kuṇi-pad-í, 23 kṛṣṇa-pad-í, 24 śuci-pad-í, 25 droṇī-pad-í (droṇa-pad-í), 26 dru-pad-í, 27 sūkara-pad-í, 28 śakṛt-pad-í, 29 aṣṭā-pad-í, 30 sthūṇā-pad-í, 31 a-pad-í, 32 sūcī-pad-í.

58. kuru=āday-aḥ

[4.1.151 kuru=adi-bhyaḥ=Ṇya-ḥ]

1 kuru-, 2 gargara-, 3 maṅguṣa-, 4 aja-mār-a-, 5 ratha-kāra-, 6 vāvad-ūka-, 7 #sam-āj-a-ḥ kṣatriy-e#; 8 kavi-, 9 vi-ma-ti-, 10 kāpiñjala=ādi-, 11 vāk, 12 vāma-ratha-, 13 pitṛ-mat-, 14 indra-jālī (indra-lāji), 15 ej-i, 16 vātaki-, 17 dāmoṣṇīṣi-, 18 gaṇa-kār-i-, 19 kaiśor-i-, 20 kuṭa-, 21 śalākā (śālākā), 22 mura-, 23 pura-, 24 erakā, 25 śubh-ra-, 26 abhra-, 27 darbha-, 28 keś-in-ī; 29 #ven-āt=chand-as-i#; 30 śūrpa-ṇāy-a-, 31 śyāva-nāy-a-, 32 śyāva-ratha-, 33 śyāva-putra-, 34 satyaṁ-kār-a-, 35 vaḍabhī-kār-a-, 36 pathi-kār-a-, 37 mū-ḍha-, 38 śakandhu-, 39 śaṅku-, 40 śaka-, 41 śāl-in-, 42 śāl-īna-, 43 kar-tṛ-, 44 har-tṛ-, 45 ina-, 46 piṇḍ-ī, 47 takṣan-, 48 #vāma-ratha-sya kaṇva=ādi-vat svara-varjam#.

59. kulāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.118 kulāl=ādi-bhyaḥ vuÑ]

1 kulāla-, 2 varuḍa-, 3 caṇḍāla-, 4 ni-ṣād-a-, 5 karmāra-, 6 senā, 7 sirindhra- (siridhra-), 8 sairindhra-, 9 deva-rāja-, 10 parṣad- (pari-ṣad-), 11 vadhū, 12 madhu-, 13 ruru-, 14 rud-ra-, 15 anaḍuh- (anaḍuha-), 16 brah-man-, 17 kumbha-kār-a-, 18 śva-pāk-a-.

60. kṛ-ta=āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi=āday-aḥ kṛ-ta=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 kṛ-ta-, 2 mi-ta-, 3 ma-ta-, 4 bhū-ta-, 5 uk-ta-, 6 (yuk-ta-), 7 sam-ā-jñā-ta-, 8 sam-ā-mnā-ta-, 9 sam-ā-khyā-ta-, 10 sam-bhāv-i-ta-, 11

(saṁ-sev-i-ta-), 12 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 13 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 14 upa-kṛ-ta-, 19 (ud-ā-hṛ-ta-), 20 (vi-śru-ta-), 21 (ud-i-ta-). *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

61. kṛśa=aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +chaṆ]

1 krśa=aśva-, 2 a-riṣ-ṭa-, 3 a-riśma-, 4 veś-man-, 5 vi-śāla-, 6 loma-śa-, 7 roma-śa-, 8 roma-ka-, 9 loma-ka-, 10 śabala-, 11 kūṭa-, 12 varcala-, 13 su-varcala-, 14 su-kar-a-, 15 sūkar-a-, 16 pratara- (prā-tara-), 17 sa-dṛś-a-, 18 pura-ga-, 19 purā-ga-, 20 su-kha-, 21 dhūma-, 22 ajina-, 23 vi-na-ta-, 24 ava-na-ta-, 25 kuvidyāsa- (vi-kuṭyāsa/kuviṭyāsa-), 26 parā-śara-, 27 arus-, 28 ayas-, 29 maudgalyākara- (maudgalya-, yukara-).

62. koṭara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.117 vana-giry-oḥ saṁjñā-y-āṁ koṭara-kiṁśuluka-ādī-nam (dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 koṭara-, 2 misra-ka-, 3 sidhraka-, 4 pura-ga-, 5 śārika- (sārika-).

63. kratu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.118 kratu=āday-aś ca]

1 kratu-, 2 dṛśīka-, 3 pratīka-, 4 pra-tūr-ti, 5 hav-ya-, 6 bhav-ya-, 7 bhaga-.

64. krama=āday-aḥ

[4.2.61 krama=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN]

1 krama-, 2 pada-, 3 śikṣā, 4 mīmāṁsā, 5 sāman-.

65. krī=aday-ah

= Dhp IX 1-61.

66. kroḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.56 na kroḍa=ādi-bahv=aC-aḥ (ṄīṢ 40)]

1 kroḍa-, 2 nakha-, 3 khura-, 4 gokhā, 5 ukhā, 6 śikhā, 7 vāla-, 8 śapha-, 9 guda-. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

67. krauḍi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.80 krauḍi=ādi-bhyaś ca (striyām 3 ṢyaṄ 78)]

1 krauḍ-i-, 2 lāḍ-i, 3 vyāḍ-i-, 4 āpi-śal-i-, 5 āpa-kṣit-i-, 6 caupayat-a-, 7 caitayat-a- (vaitayat-a-), 8 śaikayat-a-, 9 bailva-yat-a, 10 saudhātak-i, 11 #sū-ta yuvaty-ām#; 12 #bhoja kṣatriy-e#; 13 yautak-i-, 14 kauṭ-i-, 15 bhaurik-i-, 16 bhaulik-i-, 17 śāl-mal-i-, 18 śālā-sthal-i-, 19 kapi-ṣṭhal-i-, 20 gau-kakṣ-ya-.

68. kṣubh-nā=āday-aḥ

[8.4.39 kṣubh-nā=ādi-ṣu ca (na 34 na-ḥ ṇa-ḥ 1)]

1 kṣubh-nā-, 2 nr̥-nam-ana-, 3 nand-in-, 4 nand-ana-, 5 nagara-: etā-n-i uttara-padā-n-i saṁjñā-y-ām pra-yoj-ay-anti; 6 hari-nand-ī, 7 hari-nand-ana-, 8 giri-nagara-m, 9 #nr̥t-i-r yaṄ-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#; 10 nart-ana-, 11 gahana-, 12 nand-ana-, 13 ni-veś-a-, 14 ni-vās-a-, 15 ag-ni-, 16 anūpa- : #etā-n-i uttara-pāda-n-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#, 17 pari-nart-ana-m, 18 pari-gah-ana-m, 19 pari-nand-ana-m, 20 śara-ni-vesa-ḥ, 21 śara-ni-vāsa-ḥ, 22 śar-ā-gni-ḥ, 23 darbh-ā-nūpa-ḥ, 24 #ā-cār-y-āt a-ṇa-tva-ṁ ca: ā-cār-ya-bhog-īna-ḥ#. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

69. khaṇḍika=āday-aḥ

[4.2.45 khaṇḍika=ādi-bhyaś ca (aÑ 44)]

1 khaṇḍika- (khaṇḍikā), 2 vaḍavā, 3 #kṣudraka-mālav-āt senā saṁjñā-y-ām#; 4 bhikṣ-u-ka-, 5 śuka-, 6 ulūka-, 7 śvan-, 8 ahan-, 9 yuga-varatrā (yuga-varatra-), 10 hala-bandha (hala-bandhā).

70. gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[3.3.3 bhav-i-ṣyat-i gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ]

1 gam-ī, 2 ā-gam-ī, 3 bhāv-ī, 4 pra-sthā-y-ī, 5 prati-rodh-ī, 6 prati-bodh-ī, 7 prati-yā-y-ī, 8 prati-yog-ī.

71. garga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.105 garga=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaÑ]

1 garga-, 2 vatsa-, 3 #vāja-a-se#; 4 saṁ-kr̥-ti-, 5 aja-, 6 vyāghra-pād-, 7 vida-bhr̥-t-, 9 prāc-īna-yog-a-, 9 agasti-, 10 pulasti-, 11 camasa-, 12 rebha-, 13 agni-veśa-, 14 śaṅkha-, 15 śaṭa-, 16 śaka-, 17 eka-, 18 dhūma-, 19 avaṭa-, 20 manas-, 21 dhanaṁ-jay-a-, 22 vr̥kṣa-, 23 viśvā-vasu-, 24 jara-m-āṇa-;

loh-ita=āday-aḥ (q.v. 202 below)

25 loh-ita-, 26 saṁś-i-ta-, 27 babhru-, 28 valgu-, 29 maṇḍu-, 30 gaṇḍu-, 31 śaṅku-, 32 ligu-, 33 guhalu-, 34 mantu-, 35 maṅkṣu-, 36 aligu-, 37 jigīṣ-u-, 38 manu-, 39 tantu-, 40 manāyī, 41 sūnu-, 42 kath-aka-, 43 kanthaka-, 44 r̥kṣa-, 45 tr̥kṣa- (vr̥kṣa-), 46 (tanu-), 47 tarukṣa-, 48 talukṣa-, 49 taṇḍa-, 50 vataṇḍa-, 51 kapi-, 52 kata- (kapi-kata-), 53 kuru-kata-, 54 anaḍuh-;

kaṇva=āday-aḥ (cf. 38 above)

55 kaṇva-, 56 śakala-, 56 go-kakṣa-, 57 agastya-, 58 kuṇḍ-in-ī, 59 yajña-valka-, 60 parṇa-valka-, 61 a-bhaya-jā-ta-, 62 vi-roh-i-ta-, 63 vr̥ṣa-gaṇa-, 64 rahū-gaṇa-, 65 śaṇḍila-, 66 varṇaka- (caṇaka), 67 culuka-, 68 mudgala-, 69 musala-, 70 jam-ad-ag-ni-, 71 parāśara-, 72 jatū-karṇa- (jātū-karṇa-), 73 mah-i-ta-, 74 mantr-i-ta-, 75 aśma-ratha-, 76 śarkar-ā-kṣa-, 77 pū-ti-māṣa-, 78 sthū-rā, 79 a-dar-aka- (araraka-), 80 elāka-, 81 piṅgala-, 82 kr̥ṣ-ṇa-, 83 golanda-, 84 ulūka-, 85 titikṣa-, 86 bhiṣaj- (bhi-ṣaja), 87 (bhiṣṇaja-), 88 bhaḍ-i-ta-, 89 bhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 90 dalbha-, 91 cekit-a-, 92 cikit-s-i-ta-, 93 deva-hū, 94 indra-hū, 95 eka-lū, 96 pippalū, 97 br̥h-ad-ag-ni-, 98 (su-loh-in-), 99 su-lābh-in-, 100 uktha-, 101 kuṭīgu.

72. gav=āday-aḥ

[5.1.2 u-gav=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]

1 go-, 2 hav-is-, 3 akṣara-, 4 viṣa-, 5 barhis-, 6 aṣṭakā, 7 skhadā (svada), 8 yuga-, 9 medhā, 10 sruc-, 11 #nābhi nabha-ṁ ca#; 12 #śun-aḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-ṁ vā ca dīrgha-tvaṁ tat-saṁ-ni-yog-ena ca=anta=udātta-tvam#; 13 #ūdhas-aḥ=anaṄ ca#; 14 kūpa-, 15 khada-, 16 dara- (udara-), 17 khara-, 18 asura-, 19 adhvan-, (adhvan-a-), 20 kṣara-, 21 ved-a-, 22 bīja-, 23 dīp-ta- (dīsa-).

73. gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.3.11 gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca (eka-vac-ana-m 1)]

1 gava=aśva-m, 2 gava=avika-m, 3 gava=eḍaka-m, 4 aja=avika-m, 5 aja=eḍaka-m, 6 kubja-vāmana-m, 7 kubja-kirāta-m, 8 putra-pautra-m, 9 śva-caṇḍāla-m, 10 strī-kumāra-m, 11 dāsī-māṇavaka-m, 12 śāṭī-paṭīra-m, 13 śāṭī-pracchada-m, 14 śāṭī-paṭṭika-m, 15 uṣṭra-khara-m, 16 uṣṭra-śaśa-m, 17 mūtra-śakṛt, 18 mūtra-purīṣa-m, 19 yakṛt=medaḥ, 20 māṁsa-śoṇita-m, 21 darbha-śara-m, 22 darbha-pūtīka-m, 23 arjuna-śirīṣa-m, 24 arjuna-puruṣa-m, 25 tṛṇ=ulapa-m (tṛṇa=upala-m), 26 dāsī-dāsa-m, 27 kuṭī-kuṭa-m, 28 bhāgavatī-bhāgavata-m.

74. gaha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyaś ca (cha-ḥ 137)]

1 gaha-, 2 anta-stha-, 3 sama-, 4 vi-ṣama-, 5 #madhya madhya-ma-ṁ ca aṆ car-aṇ-e#; 6 uttama-, 7 aṅga-, 8 vaṅga-, 9 magadha-, 10 pūrva-pakṣa-, 11 apara-pakṣa-, 12 adhama-śākha-, 13 uttama-śākha-, 14 eka-śākha-, 15 samāna-śākha-, 16 samāna-grāma-, 17 eka-grāma-, 18 eka-vṛkṣa-, 19 eka-palāśa-, 20 iṣu=agra-, 21 iṣu=anīka-, 22 ava-syand-ana-, 23 kāma-pra-stha-, 24 khāḍ-āyana- (śāḍikāḍ-āyani-/khāḍ-āyani-), 25 kāṭherani-, 26 lāve-rani-, 27 saumitri-, 28 śaiśiri-, 29 ā-su-t-, 30 daiva-śarm-i-, 31 śraut-i-, 32 ā-hiṁs-i-, 33 ā-mitr-i- 34 vyāḍ-i-, 35 baij-i-, 36 ādhyaśv-i-, 37 ā-nṛ-śaṁs-i-, 38 śauṅg-i-, 39 āgni-śarm-i-, 40 bhauj-i-, 41 vārāṭak-i-, 42 vākmīk-i-, 43 kṣaima-vṛd-dh-i-, 44 āśvatth-i-, 45 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 46 aik-a-, 47 bindav-i-, 48 danta=agra-, 49 haṁsa-, 50 tantu=agra-, 51 uttara-, 52 an-antara-, 53 #mukha-pārśva-tas-or lopa-ḥ#; 54 #jana-paray-or kuK ca#; 55 #deva-sya ca#; 56 #veṇuka=ādi-bhyaś chaṆ#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

75. guḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.103 guḍa=ādi-bhyaṣ ṭhaÑ]

1 guḍa-, 2 kulmāṣa-, 3 sak-tu-, 4 apūpa-, 5 māṁsa=odana-, 6 ikṣu-, 7 veṇu-, 8 saṁ-grāma-, 9 saṁ-ghāt-a-, 10 (saṁ-krām-a-), 11 (saṁ-vāh-a-), 12 pra-vās-a-, 13 ni-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-.

76. guṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.176 na guṇa=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-āḥ]
1 guṇa-, 2 akṣara-, 3 adhy-āy-a-, 4 sūkta-, 5 chando-māna-. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

77. gr̥ṣṭi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭi=ādi-bhyaś ca (ḍhaÑ 135)]
1 gr̥ṣṭi-, 2 hr̥ṣ-ṭi-, 3 bali-, 4 hali-, 5 aja-vasti-, 6 mitra-yu.

78. go-tra=ādī-n-i

[8.1.27 tiṄ-aḥ go-tra=ādī-n-i kuts-ana=ābhīkṣṇyay-oḥ]
1 go-tra-, 2 bruva-, 3 pra-vac-ana-, 4 pra-has-ana-, 5 pra-kath-ana-, 6 praty-ay-ana-, 7 pra-pañca-, 8 pr-ā-ya-, 9 ny-āy-a-, 10 pra-cakṣ-aṇa-, 11 vi-cakṣ-aṇa-, 12 ava-cakṣ-aṇa-, 13 sv-ā-dhy-āy-a-, 14 bhū-y-iṣṭha-, 15 #vā nāma#. [Cf. 8.1.69].

79. go-pav-ana=āday-aḥ

[2.4.67 na go-pav-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ luK 58]
1 go-pav-ana-, 2 śigru-, 3 bindu-, 4 bhāj-ana-, 5 aśva=ava-tān-a- (aśva-, ava-tān-a-), 6 śyāmāka-, 7 śyāmaka-, 8 śyā-parṇa-.

80. go-ṣad-āday-aḥ

[5.2.62 go-ṣad-ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN]
1 go-ṣad-, 2 iṣ-e tvā, 3 mātari-śvan-, 4 deva-sya tvā, 5 devī-r āp-aḥ, 6 kr̥ṣṇo'-sya=ākhare-ṣṭha-ḥ, 7 devī-ṁ dhiya (daivī-ṁdhiya), 8 rakṣo-haṇ-a, 9 yuñj-āna-, 10 añj-ana-, 11 pra-bhū-ta-, 12 pra-tūr-ta-, 13 kr̥śānu-.

81. [1]gaura=āday-aḥ

[4.1.41 Ṣ-it=gaura=ādi-bhyaś ca (ṄīṢ 40)]
1 gaur-a-, 2 matsya-, 3 manuṣya-, 4 śr̥ṅga-, 5 piṅga-la-, 6 haya-, 7 gavaya-, 8 mukaya-, 9 r̥śya-, 10 (puṭa), 11 (tūṇa-), 12 dru-ṇa-, 13 droṇa-, 14 hariṇa-, 15 kokaṇa- (kākaṇa-), 16 paṭara-, 17 uṇaka-, 18 āmalaka- (āmala-), 19 kuvala-, 20 bimba-, 21 badara-, 22 pharkaraka-

(karkaraka-), 23 tarkāra-, 24 śarkāra-, 25 puṣkara-, 26 śikhaṇḍa-, 27 salada-, 28 śaṣkaṇḍa-, 29 sananda-, 30 su-ṣama-, 31 su-ṣav-a-, 32 alinda-, 33 gaḍula-, 34 ṣāṇḍaśa-, 35 āḍhaka-, 36 ā-nand-a-, 37 āśvattha-, 38 sṛpāṭa-, 39 ākhaka- (āpaccika-), 40 śaṣ-kula-, 41 sūrya- (sūrma-), 42 śūrpa-, 43 sūca-, 44 yūṣa- (pūṣa-), 45 yūtha-, 46 sūpa-, 47 metha-, 48 vallaka-, 49 dhātaka- (ghāt-aka-), 50 sallaka, 51 mālaka-, 52 mālata-, 53 sālvaka-, 54 vetasa-, 55 vṛkṣa- (vṛsa-), 56 atasa-, 57 ubhaya-, 58 bhṛṅga-, 59 maha-, 60 maṭha-, 61 ched-a-, 62 peś-a-, 63 med-a-, 64 śvan-, 65 takṣan-, 66 anaḍuhī, 67 anaḍvāhī, 68 #eṣ-aṇa-ḥ kar-aṇ-e#; 69 deha-, 70 deha-la-, 71 kāk-ā-d-ana-, 72 gava=ad-ana-, 73 tej-ana-, 74 raj-ana-, 75 lav-aṇa-, 76 aud-gāh-a-mān-i-, 77 gautama- (go-tama-), 78 (pāraka-), 79 ayaḥ-sthūṇa- (āyasthūṇa-), 80 bhaurik-i-, 81 bhaulik-i-, 82 bhau-liṅg-i-, 83 yāna- (pāna-), 84 medh-a-, 85 ā-lamb-i-, 86 ā-laj-i-, 87 ā-lab-dh-i, 88 ā-lakṣ-i-, 89 kevāla-, 90 āpaka-, 91 ā-raṭ-a-, 92 naṭa-, 93 ṭoṭa-, 94 noṭa-, 95 mūlāṭa-, 96 śāt-ana-, 97 (pot-ana-), 98 pāt-ana-, 99 pāṭ-ana- (pānaṭa-), 100 ā-star-aṇa-, 101 adhi-kar-aṇa-, 102 adhi-kār-a-, 103 āgra-hāy-aṇ-ī, 104 prati=ava-roh-iṇ-ī, 105 (sec-ana-), 106 #su-maṅgal-āt saṁjñā-y-ām#; 107 aṇḍara-, 108 sundara-, 109 maṇḍala-, 110 manthara-, 111 maṅgala-, 112 paṭa-, 113 piṇḍa-, 114 (ṣaṇḍa-), 115 ūrda-, 116 gurda-, 117 śama-, 118 sūda-, 119 auḍa- (ārdra-), 120 hṛda- (hṛd-), 121 pāṇḍa-, 122 bhāṇḍa- (bhāṇḍala-), 123 (loha=aṇḍa-), 124 kadara-, 125 kandara-, 126 kadala-, 127 taruṇa-, 128 taluna-, 129 kalmāṣa-, 130 bṛh-at-, 131 mah-at-, 132 (soma-), 133 sau-dharma-, 134 #roh-iṇ-ī nakṣatr-e#; 135 #re-vat-ī nakṣatr-e#; 136 vi-kala-, 137 niṣ-kala-, 138 puṣ-kala-, 139 #kaṭ-āt=śroṇi-vac-an-e#; 140 #pippalī=āday-aś ca#: pippal-ī, 141 harītak-ī, 142 kośātak-ī, 143 Śam=ī, 144 var-ī, 145 śar-ī, 146 pṛthiv-ī, 147 kroṣ-ṭu-, 148 mātāmaha-, 149 pitāmaha-.

82. [2]gaura=āday-aḥ

[6.2.194 up-āt [1]dvy=aC=[2]ajinam a-gaura=āday-aḥ (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-h 64)]

1 gaur-a-, 2 taiṣ-a-, 3 tail-a-, 4 leṭa-, 5 loṭa-, 6 jihvā, 7 kṛṣ-ṇā, 8 kanyā, 9 gudh-a-, 10 kalpa-, 11 pād-a-.

83. graha=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 [1]nand-i=[2]grah-i-[3]paca=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]Lyu-[2]Ṇini̲=[3]aC-aḥ]

1 grāh-ī, 2 ut-sāh-ī, 3 ud-dās-ī, 4 ud-bhās-ī, 5 sthā-y-ī, 6 mantr-ī, 7 sam-mard-ī, 8 #rakṣa-śru-vapa̲-ś-ām n-au#: ni-rakṣ-ī, 9 ni-śrāv-ī, 10 ni-vāp-ī, 11 ni-śa-y-ī; 12 #[1]yācR̥-[2]vy-ā-hr̥-[3]saṁ-vy-ā-hr̥-[4]vraja̲-[5]vada̲-[6]vas-ām prati-ṣid-dhā-n-ām#; 13 a-yāc-ī, 14 a-vy-ā-hār-ī, 15 a-saṁ-vy-ā-hār-ī, 16 a-vrāj-ī, 17 a-vād-ī, 18 a-vās-ī; #aC-ām a-cit-ta-kar-tr̥-kā-ṇ-ām (prati-ṣid-dhā-n-ām)#: 19 a-kār-ī, 20 a-hār-ī, 21 a-vi-nā-y-ī; 22 vi-śā-y-ī (*a-vi-śā-y-i), 23 vi-ṣā-y-ī (*a-vi-ṣā-y-ī): #vi-śay-ī vi-ṣa-y-ī deś-e#: 24 vi-śa-y-ī, 25 vi-ṣa-y-ī; 26 abhi-bhāv-ī bhū-t-e; 27 apa-rādh-ī, 28 upa-rodh-ī, 29 pari-bhav-ī, 30 pari-bhāv-ī.

84. ghoṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.85 ghoṣa=ādi-ṣu ca (pūrva-padam 1 ādi=udātta-m 64)]

1 ghoṣ-a-, 2 ghaṭ-a- (kaṭa-), 3 vallabha-, 4 hrada-, 5 badarī, 6 piṅgala-, 7 piśaṅga-, 8 mālā, 9 rakṣā, 10 śālā, 11 kūṭa-, 12 śālmalī, 13 aśvattha-, 14 tr̥ṇa-, 15 (silp-ī), 15 muni-, 16 prekṣākū (prekṣā).

85. ca=āday-aḥ

[1.4.57 ca=āday-aḥ a-sat-tv-e (nipāt-āḥ 56)]

1 ca, 2 vā, 3 ha, 4 aha, 5 eva, 6 evam, 7 nūnam, 8 śaśvat, 9 yugapat, 10 (bhūyas), 11 sūpat, 12 kūpat, 13 kuvit, 14 net, 15 cet, 16 caṆ, 17 kac-cit, 18 ya-tra, 19 ta-tra, 20 naha, 21 hanta, 22 mākim, 23 mākīm, 24 mākir, 25 nakim, 26 nakīm, 27 nakir, 28 (ākīm), 29 māṄ, 31 tā-vat, 32 yā-vat, 33 tvā, 34 tve 35 tvai, 36 (dvai), 37 rai, 38 re, 39 śrauṣaṭ, 40 vauṣaṭ, 41 vaṣaṭ, 42 svāhā, 43 svadhā, 44 om, 45 tathāhi, 46 khalu, 47 kila, 48 atha, 49 su, 50 suṣṭhu, 51 sma, 52 a, 53 i, 54 u, 55 r̥, 56 l̥, 57 e, 58 ai, 59 o, 60 au, 61 adaha (daha), 62 uÑ, 63 ukaÑ, 64 velā-y-ām, 65 mātrā-y-ām, 66 ya-thā, 67 yat, 68 tat, 69 kim, 70 purā, 71 vadhā (vadhvā), 72 dhik, 73 hāhā, 74 hehai (hahe), 75 pāṭ, 76 pyāṭ, 77 āho, 78 utāho, 79 ho, 80 aho, 81 no (nau), 82 atho, 83 nanu, 84 man-y-e, 85 mithyā, 86 a-si, 87 brū-hi, 88 tu, 89 nu, 90 iti, 91 iva, 92 vat, 93 vāt, 94 cana, 95 bata, 96 sam, 97 vaśam, 98 śikam, 99 dikam (hikam), 100 sanukam, 101 chambaṭ (chaṁvaṭ, chaṁvaṭa), 102 śaṅk-e, 103 śukam, 104 kham, 105 sanāt, 106 sanutar, 107 nahikam, 108 satyam, 109 r̥tam, 110 iddhā, 111 addhā, 112 nocet, 113 nacet, 114 nahi, 115 jātu, 116 ka-

tham, 117 ku-taḥ, 118 ku-tra, 119 ava, 120 anu, 121 ha, 122 he, 123 (hai), 124 āhosvit, 125 śam, 126 kam, 127 kham, 128 diṣ-ṭy-ā, 129 paśu, 130 vaṭ, 131 saha, 132 (anu-ṣaṭ), 133 ānu-ṣak, 134 aṅga, 135 phaṭ, 136 tā-jaka (bhājak), 137 aye, 138 are, 139 vāt (cāṭu), 140 kum, 141 khum, 142 ghum, 143 am, 144 īm, 145 sīm, 146 sim, 147 si, 148 vai; 149 #^{1}upa-sarga-^{2}vi-bhak-ti-^{3}svara-prati-rūpak-āś ca nipāt-āḥ#.

86. cāru=āday-aḥ

[6.2.160 ^{1}kṛtya=^{2}uka=^{3}iṣṇuC-^{4}cāru=āday-aś ca]

1 cāru-, 2 sādhu-, 3 yaúdhaki (yaudhika-), 4 an-aṅga-m-ej-aya-, 5 vadānya-, 6 a-ka-smāt, 7 #^{1}varta-māna-^{2}vardha-māna-^{3}tvar-a-māṇa-^{4}dhri-ya-māṇa-^{5}krī-ya-māṇa-^{6}roc-a-māna-^{7}śobh-a-mān-āḥ saṁjñā-y-ām#; 8 #^{1}vi-kār-a-^{2}sa-dṛś-e vy-as-t-e sam-as-t-e#; 9 gṛha-pati-, 10 gṛha-pati-ka-; 11 #^{1}rāja(n)=^{2}ahn-oś chand-as-i#.

87. cihaṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.125 ādi-ś cihaṇa=ādī-nām]

1 cihaṇa-, 2 madura- (maḍara-), 3 madrumara- (madgura-/madu-ra-), 4 vaitula-, 5 paṭatka-, 6 baiḍāl-i-karṇaka-, 7 baiḍāli-karṇ-i-, 8 kukkuṭa-, 9 cikkaṇa-, 10 citkaṇa-.

88. curA=āday-aḥ

[3.1.25 ^{1}satyāpa-^{2}pāśa- . . . ^{13}curA=ādi-bhyaḥ ṆaC]

See under Dhp X 1-395.

89. cūrṇa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.134 cūrṇa=ādī-n-i=a-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ]

1 cūrṇa-, 2 kariva-, 3 karipa-, 4 śākina-, 5 śākaṭa-, 6 drākṣā, 7 tūsta-, 8 kunduma-, 9 dalapa-, 10 camas-ī, 11 cakkana-, 12 caul-a.

90. chat-tra=ādī-n-i

[4.4.62 chat-tra=ādi-bhyah Ṇa-ḥ]

1 chat-tra-, 2 śikṣā, 3 pra-roh-a-, 4 sthā, 5 bubhukṣ-ā, 6 cur-ā, 7 titikṣ-ā, 8 upa-sthāna-, 9 kṛṣ-i-, 10 kar-man-, 11 viśva-dhā, 12 tap-as-, 13

satya-, 14 an-ṛ-ta-, 15 vi-śikhā, 16 bhakṣ-ā, 17 uda-sthāna-, 19 puroḍā, 20 vikṣā, 21 cukṣā, 22 mandra-.

91. chāttri=āday-aḥ

[6.2.86 chāttri=āday-aḥ śālā-y-ām]
1 chāttri-, 2 peli-, 3 bhāṇḍ-i-, 4 vyāḍ-i-, 5 ā-khaṇḍ-i-, 6 āṭ-i-, 7 gom-i.

92. ched-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.64 ched-a=ādi-bhyaḥ=ni-t-yam]
1 ched-a-, 2 bhed-a-, 3 droh-a-, 4 doh-a-, 5 nart-i (nart-a), 6 karṣa-, 7 (tīrtha-), 8 sam-pra-yog-a-, 9 vi-pra-yog-a-, 10 pra-yog-a-, 11 (vi-pra-karṣ-a-), 12 pr-eṣ-aṇa-, 13 sam-praś-na-, 14 vi-praś-na-, 15 vi-karṣ-a-, 16 pra-karṣ-a-, 17 #vi-rāg-a vi-raṅga-ṁ ca#.

93. jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.1.6 jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ (abhy-as-ta-m 5)]
Dhp II 62 jákṣÁ [1]bhakṣa-[2]hás-anay-oḥ; 63 jā́gṛ nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dáridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cákāsṚ dī́p-t-au; 66 śā́sÚ anu-śiṣ-ṭ-au; 67 dī́dhiṄ [1]dī́p-ti-[2]dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīṄ vé-ti-nā túl-y-e.

94. ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ

[2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=ādī-bhyaḥ Ślu-ḥ]
See Dhp III 1-25

95. jválÁ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.140 jvál-iti-kás=ante-bhyaḥ Ṇa-ḥ]
See Dhp I 884-913.

96. Ḍatara=āday-aḥ

[7.1.25 adḌ Ḍatara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyaḥ]
See under 241 below: 5 Ḍatara-, 6 Ḍatama-, 7 itara-, 8 anya-, 9 anya-tara-.

97. takṣa-śilā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 sindhu-takṣa-silā=ādi-bhya=[1]aṆ=[2]aÑ-au]

1 takṣa-śilā, 2 vatsa=ud-dhar-aṇa-, 3 kair-med-ura-, 4 grāma-ṇī-, 5 chagala-, 6 kroṣṭu-karṇa-, 7 siṁha-karṇa-, 8 saṁ-kuc-i-ta-, 9 kiṁ-nara-, 10 kāṇḍa-dhār-a-, 11 parvata-, 12 ava-sāna-, 13 barbara-, 14 kaṁsa-.

98. tan=āday-aḥ

[3.1.79 tan=ādi-kr̥Ñ=bhyaḥ u-ḥ]
See under Dhp VIII 1-9. Cf. 2.4.79.

99. tan-ó-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.4.37 anudātta=upadeśa-van-a-ti-tan-o-ti=ādi-n-ām . . .]
See under Dhp VIII 1-9, with the exception of 2 ṣánÙ dān-e. Cf. 6.4.42,43.

100. tasiL-āday-aḥ

[6.3.35 tasiL-ādi-ṣu a-kr̥tvasuC-aḥ]
Listed under 6.3.35 above.

101. tārakā=āday-aḥ

[5.2.36 tad a-sya saṁ-jā-ta-ṁ tārakā=ādi-bhyaḥ itaC]

1 tārakā, 2 puṣ-pa-, 3 karṇa-ka-, 4 mañjarī, 5 r̥jīsa-, 6 (kṣaṇa-), 7 (sūca-), 8 mūtra-, 9 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 10 purīṣa-, 11 uc-cār-a-, 12 pra-cār-a-, 13 vi-cār-a-, 14 kuḍmala-, 15 kaṇṭ-aka-, 16 musala-, 17 mukula-, 18 kusuma-, 19 kutūhala-, 20 stabaka-, 21 kisalaya-, 22 pallava-, 23 (khaṇḍa-), 24 vega-, 25 nidrā, 26 mudrā, 27 bubhukṣ-ā, 28 dhenuṣyā, 29 pipāsā, 30 śraddhā, 31 abhra-, 32 pulaka-, 33 aṅgāraka-, 34 varṇaka-, 35 droh-a-, 36 doh-a-, 37 su-kha-, 38 duḥ-kha-, 39 ut-kaṇṭh-ā, 40 bhar-a-, 41 vy-ā-dh-i-, 42 var-man-, 43 vraṇa-, 44 gaurav-a-, 45 śās-tra-, 46 taraṁ-ga-, 47 tilaka-, 48 candra-ka-, 49 andha-kār-a-, 50 garva-, 51 kumura- (mukura-), 52 harṣ-a-, 53 ut-karṣ-a-, 54 (raṇa-), 55 kuvalaya-, 56 gardha-, 57 kṣudh-, 58 sīmanta-, 59 jvar-a-, 60 gar-a-, 61 rog-a-, 62 romāñca-, 63 paṇḍā, 64 kaj-jal-a-, 65 tr̥ṣ-, 66 koraka-, 67 kal-lol-a-, 68 stha-puṭ-a-, 69 phala-, 70 kañcuka-, 71 śr̥ṅgāra-, 72 aṅkura-, 73 śevala-,

74 bakula-, 75 śvabhra-, 76 ārāla-, 77 kalaṅka-, 78 kardama-, 79 kandala-, 80 mūrchā, 81 aṅgāra-, 82 hasta-ka-, 83 prati-bimba-, 84 vighna-tantra-, 85 praty-ay-a-, 86 dīkṣā, 87 garj-a-, 88 #garbh-āt a-prāṇ-in-i#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

102. tāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṆ]

1 #tāl-āt=dhanuṣ-i#; 2 bārhiṇ-a-, 3 indrāliśa-, 4 indrā-dṛś-a-, 5 indr-ā-yudh-a, 6 cay-a-, 7 śyāmāka-, 8 pīyūkṣā.

103. tika=āday-aḥ

[4.1.154 tika=ādi-bhyaḥ phiÑ]

1 tika-, 2 kitava-, 3 saṁ-jñ-ā, 4 bālā, 5 śikhā, 6 uras- (uraśa-), 7 sāṭh-ya-, 8 saindhav-a-, 9 yamunda-, 10 rūpya-, 11 grām-ya-, 12 nīla-, 13 a-mi-tra-, 14 gau-kakṣ-ya-, 15 kuru-, 16 deva-ratha-, 17 taittala-, 18 aurasa- (auraśa-), 19 kaurav-ya-, 20 bhaurik-i-, 21 bhaulik-i-, 22 caupayat-a-, 23 caitayat-a-, 24 śīkayat-a- (śaikayat-a-), 25 kṣaitayat-a-, 26 vājavat-a-, 27 candra-mas-, 28 śubha-, 29 gaṅgā, 30 var-eṇya-, 31 su-pāman-, 32 ā-raṭav-a (ā-rab-dha-), 33 vahyakā, 34 khalyā (khalyakā), 35 vṛṣ-a-, 36 lomaka-, 37 udanya-, 38 yaj-ña-.

104. tika-kitava=āday-aḥ

[2.4.68 tika-kitava=ādi-bhyaḥ dvaṁdv-e]

1 tika-kitav-āḥ, 2 vaṅkhara-bhaṇḍī-rath-āḥ, 3 upaka-lamak-āḥ, 4 paphaka-narak-āḥ, 5 baka-nakha-guda-pari-ṇad-dh-āḥ, 6 ubja-kaku-bh-āḥ, 7 laṅka-śān-ta-mukh-āḥ, 8 uttara-śalánkaṭ-āḥ, 9 kṛṣṇa=ajina=kṛṣṇa-sundar-āḥ, 10 bhraṣṭa-ka-kapi-ṣṭhal-āḥ, 11 agni-veśa-daśeruk-āḥ.

105. tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.4.17 tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca]

1 tiṣṭh-ad-gu, 2 vah-ad-gu, 3 ā-yat-ī-gav-am, 4 khale-yav-am, 5 khale-bus-am, 6 lū-na-yav-am, 7 lū-ya-māna-yav-am, 8 pū-ta-yav-am, 9 pū-ya-māna-yav-am, 10 saṁ-hṛ-ta-yav-am, 11 saṁ-hri-ya-māṇa-yav-am, 12 saṁ-hṛ-ta-bus-am, 13 saṁ-hri-ya-māṇa-bus-am, 14 sama-bhūmi, 15 sama-padāti, 16 su-ṣam-am, 17 vi-ṣam-am, 18 duḥ-ṣam-am, 19

niḥ-ṣam-am, 20 apa-sam-am, 21 āyatī-sam-am, 22 (proḍh-am), 23 pāpa-sam-am, 24 puṇya-sam-am, 25 prāhṇ-am, 26 pra-rath-am, 27 pra-mṛg-am, 28 pra-dakṣiṇ-am, 29 (apara-dakṣiṇ-am), 30 sam-prati, 31 a-sam-prati; 32 #iC-praty-aya-ḥ samāsa=anta-ḥ#.

106. tuj-āday-aḥ

[6.1.7 tuj-ādī-naṁ dīrgha-ḥ abhy-āsa-sya]

No list given. Examples cited in Kāśika from Vedic: tū-tuj-āna-, mā-mah-ānna-, dā-dhār-a, mī-māy-a.

107. tudÀ=āday-ah

[3.1.77 tudÀ=ādi-bhya-ḥ Śa-ḥ]

See Dhp VI 1-143.

108. tunda=āday-aḥ

[5.2.117 tunda=ādi-bhyaḥ=ilaC ca]

1 tunda-, 2 udara-, 3 picaṇḍa-, 4 yav-a, 5 vrīhi-, 6 #sva=aṅg-āt vi-vṛd-dh-au#.

109. tṛṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Śa-]

1 tṛṇa-, 2 naḍa-, 3 mūla-, 4 vana-, 5 parṇa-, 6 varṇa-, 7 varāṇa-, 8 bila-, 9 pula-, 10 phala-, 11 arjuna-, 12 arṇa-, 13 su-varṇa-, 14 bala-, 15 car-aṇa-, 16 busa-.

110. taulvali=āday-aḥ

[2.4.61 na taulvali-bhyaḥ]

1 taulval-i-, 2 dhāraṇ-i-, 3 pāraṇ-i-, 4 rāvaṇ-i-, 5 dai-līp-i-, 6 kaivat-i-, 7 vārkal-i-, 8 naivat-i- (naivak-i-), 9 daiva-mitr-i- (daiva-mat-i-), 10 daiva-yaj-ñ-i-, 11 cāphaṭṭak-i-, 12 bailvak-i-, 13 vaik-i- (vaiṅk-i-) 14 ānu-hārat-i- (ānu-rāhat-i-), 15 pauṣkara-sād-i-, 16 ānu-roh-a-t-i-, 17 ānut-i-, 18 prā-doh-an-i-, 19 naimiśr-i-, 20 prāḍāhat-i-, 21 dāndhak-i-, 22 vaiśīt-i-, 23 āsinās-i-, 24 ā-hiṁs-i-, 25 āsur-i-, 26 naimiṣ-i-, 27 āsi-bandh-ak-i-, 28 pauṣp-i-, 29 kāreṇu-pāl-i-, 30 vaikarṇ-i-, 31 vairak-i-, 32 vaihat-i-.

111. tyad=āday-aḥ

See under 241: 1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.80; 7.2.102.

112. daṇḍa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.66 daṇḍa=ādi-bhyaḥ (yaT 65)]

1 daṇḍa-, 2 musala-, 3 madhu-park-a-, 4 kaśā, 5 argha-, 6 megha-, 7 medhā, 8 su-varṇa-, 9 udaka-, 10 vadha-, 11 yuga-, 12 guhā, 13 bhāg-a-, 14 ibha-, 15 bhaṅg-a-.

113. dadhi-paya=ādī-n-i

[2.4.14 na dadhi-paya-ādī-n-i (eka-vac-anā-ni 1)]

1 dadhi-payas-ī, 2 sarpir-madhu-n-ī, 3 madhu-sarpiṣ-ī, 4 brahma-praja-pat-ī, 5 śiva-vaiśravaṇ-au 6 skanda-vi-śākh-au, 7 pari-vrāj-aka-kauśik-au (parivrāṭ-kauśik-au), 8 pra-varg-ya=upa-sad-au, 9 śukla-kṛṣṇ-au, 10 idhma-barhiṣ-ī, 11 dīkṣā-tapas-ī́, 12 śraddhā-tapas-ī, 13 medhā-tapas-ī, 14 adhy-ay-ana-tapas-ī, 15 ulūkhala-musal-e, 16 ādi=av-sān-e, 17 śraddhā-medh-e, 18 ṛk-sām-e, 19 vāṅ-manas-e.

114. dāmani=āday-aḥ

[5.3.116 dāmani=ādi-tri-garta-ṣaṣṭh-āt=cha-ḥ]

1. dāman-i, 2 aulap-i-, 3 baija-vāp-i-, 4 audak-i-, 5 audaṅk-i, 6 ā-cyutant-i- (acyutant-i), 7 ā-cyu-ta-dant-i- (a-cyu-ta-dant-i), 8 śākuntak-i-, 9 ākidant-i- (āktidant-i), 10 auḍav-i-, 11 kāka-dant-i-, 12 śātruṁ-tap-i-, 13 sārva-sen-i-, 14 bindu-, 15 baindav-i-, 16 tulabha-, 17 mauñj-āyana-, 18 kākandi-, 19 sāvitrī-putra-.

115. dāsī-bhār-āḥ

[6.2.42 [1]kuru-gārh-pata-[2]rik-ta-guru- . . . [7]dāsī-bhārā-ṇām ca]

1 dāsī-bhāra-ḥ, 2 deva-hū-ti-ḥ, 3 deva-bhī-ti-ḥ, 4 deva-lā-ti-h, 5 vasu-nī-ti-ḥ, 6 auṣadhi-ḥ, 7 candra-māḥ.

116. diś=āday-aḥ (= dig-āday-aḥ)

[4.3.54 diś=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]
1 diś-.
várgya=āday-aḥ (cf. 208 below and 6.2.131)
2 varga-, 3 pūga-, 4 gaṇa-, 5 pakṣa-, 6 dhāyya-, 7 mi-tra-, 8 medhā, 9 antara-, 10 pathin-, 11 rahas-, 12 alīka-, 13 ukhā, 14 sākṣin-, 15 deś-a-, 16 ādi-, 17 anta-, 18 mukha-, 19 jaghana-, 20 megha-, 21 yūtha-, 22 #udak-āt saṁjñā-y-ām#; 23 ny-āy-a-, 24 vaṁśa-, 25 veśa-, 26 kāla-, 27 ā-kāś-a-.

117. div=āday-aḥ

[3.1.69 div-ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN]
See Dhp IV 1-137.

118. dr̥-ḍha=āday-aḥ

[5.1.123 [1]varṇa-[2]dr̥-ḍha=ādibhyaḥ ṢyaN=ca]
1 dr̥-ḍha-, 2 vr̥-ḍha-, 3 pari-vr̥-ḍha-, 4 bhr̥śa-, 5 kr̥ś-a-, 6 (vakra-), 7 śukra-, 8 cukra-, 9 āmra-, 10 kr̥ṣ-ṭa-, 11 lav-aṇa-, 12 tāmra-, 13 śī-ta-, 14 uṣ-ṇa-, 15 jaḍa-, 16 badhira-, 17 paṇḍ-ita-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 mūrkha-, 20 mūka-, 21 #ve-r [1]yā-ta-[2]lā-ta-[3]ma-ti-[4]manas=[5]śāradā-nām#; 22 #sam-aḥ [1]ma-ti-[2]manas-oḥ#; 23 jav-ana-.

119. deva-patha=āday-aḥ

[5.3.100 deva-patha=ādi-bhyaś ca (kaN-aḥ 95 luP 98)]
1 deva-path-a-, 2 haṁsa-path-a-, 3 vāri-path-a-, 4 ratha-path-a-, 5 sthala-path-a-, 6 kari-path-a-, 7 aja-path-a-, 8 rāja-path-a-, 9 śata-path-a-, 10 śaṅku-path-a-, 11 sindhu-path-a-, 12 sid-dha-ga-ti, 13 uṣṭra-griva-, 14 vāma-rajju-, 15 hasta-, 16 indra-, 17 daṇḍa-, 18 puṣpa-, 19 matsya-. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

120. dyútA=āday-aḥ

See under Dhp I 777-799. Cf. 1.3.91; 3.1.55.

121. dvāra=āday-aḥ

[7.3.4 dvāra=ādī-nāṁ ca]

1 dvāra-, 2 svar-a-, 3 sva-grāma- (sva=adhy-āy-a-), 4 vyalka-śa-, 5 sv-as-ti, 6 svar-, 7 sphyā-kr̥-t- (sphyākr̥-ta-), 8 svādu-mr̥du-, 9 śvas-, 10 śva-.

122. dvi-daṇḍ-i=āday-aḥ

[5.4.128 dvi-daṇḍ-i=ādi-bhiś ca (iC 127)]

1 dvi-daṇḍ-i, 2 dvi-musal-i, 3 uhba=añjal-i, 4 ubha-ya=añjal-i, 5 ubha-dant-i, 6 ubha-ya-dant-i, 7 ubha-hast-i, 8 ubha-ya-hast-i, 9 ubha-karṇ-i, 10 ubha-ya-karṇ=i, 11 ubha-pāṇi, 12 ubha-ya-pāṇi, 13 ubha-bāhu, 14 ubha-ya-bāhu, 15 eka-pad-i, 16 proṣṭha-pad-i, 17 āḍhya-pad-i (ācya-pad-i), 18 sa-pad-i, 19 ni-kuc-ya-karṇ-i, 20 saṁ-ha-ta-pucch-i, 21 ante-vās-i.

123. dvi=āday-aḥ

[5.3.2 [1]kiṁ-[2]sarva-nāma-[3]bahu-bhyaḥ a-dvi=ādi-bhyaḥ]

See under 241: 25 dvi-, 26 yuṣmad-, 27 asmad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim-.

124. dhūma=āday-aḥ

[4.2.127 dhūma=adi-bhyaś ca (vuÑ 121)]

1 dhūma-, 2 ṣaḍ-aṇḍa-, 3 śaśa=ad-ana-, 4 arjunāva-, 5 māhaka-sthalī, 6 ānaka-sthalī, 7 māhiṣa-sthalī, 8 māna-sthalī, 9 aṭṭa-sthalī, 10 madruka-sthalī, 11 samudra-sthalī, 12 dāṇḍ-āyana-sthalī, 13 rāja-sthalī, 14 vi-deh-a-, 15 rāja-gr̥ha-, 16 sātrā-sāha-, 17 śaṣpa-, 18 mitra-vardhra- (mitra-vardha-), 19 bhakṣālī, 20 mad-ra-kūla-, 21 ājī-kūla-, 22 dvi=ā-hāv-a-, 23 tri=ā=hāv-a-, 24 saṁ-sphī-ya-, 25 barbara-, 26 varj-ya-, 27 garta-, 28 ā-nart-a, 29 māṭhara-, 30 pāth-eya-, 31 ghoṣ-a-, 32 pallī, 33 ā-rājñ-ī, 34 dhārta-rājñ-ī, 35 ā-vay-a-, 36 tīrtha-, 37 #kul-āt sauvīre-ṣu#; 38 #samudr-āt nāv-i manuṣy-e ca#; 39 kukṣi-, 40 antar-īpa-, 41 dvī-pa-, 42 aruṇa-, 43 uj-jay-an-ī, 44 paṭṭāra-, 45 dakṣiṇa=ay-ana-, 46 sāketa-.

125. [1]naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.99 naḍa=ādi-bhyaḥ phaK]

1 naḍa-, 2 cara-, 3 baka-, 4 muñja-, 5 itika-, 6 itiśa-, 7 upaka-, 8 eka-, 9 lamaka-, 10 #śalaṅku śalaṅka-ṁ ca#; 11 sapta-la-, 12 vājapya-, 13 tika-, 14 #agni-śarman-vṛṣa-gaṇ-e#; 15 pr-ā-ṇa-, 16 nara-, 17 sāyaka-, 18 dāsa-, 19 mi-tra-, 20 dvīpa-, 21 piṅgara-, 22 piṅgala-, 23 kiṁ-kar-a-, 24 kiṁ-kal-a-, 25 kātara-, 26 kātala-, 27 kāśyapa-, 28 kāśya-, 29 kālya- (kāvya-), 30 aja-, 31 amu-ṣya-, 32 #kṛṣ-ṇa-raṇ-au brāhmaṇa-vāsiṣṭh-e#; 33 a-mi-tra-, 34 ligu-, 35 citra-, 36 kumāra-, 37 #kroṣṭu kroṣṭa-ṁ ca#; 38 loha-, 39 durga-, 40 stam-bha-, 41 śiṁśapā, 42 agra-, 43 tṛṇa-, 44 śakaṭa-, 45 su-man-as-, 46 su-ma-ta-, 47 mimata-, 48 ṛc-, 49 jalaṁ-dhar-a-, 50 adhvara-, 51 yugaṁ-dhara-, 52 haṁsaka-, 53 daṇḍ-in-, 54 hast-in-, 55 piṇḍa-, 56 pañcāla-, 57 camas-in-, 58 su-kṛt-ya-, 59 sthiraka-, 60 brāhmaṇa-, 61 caṭaka-, 62 badara-, 63 aśvala-, 64 kharapa-, 65 laṅka-, 66 indha-, 67 astra-, 68 kāmuka-, 69 brahma-dat-ta-, 70 udumbara-, 71 śoṇa-, 72 a-loha-, 73 daṇḍapa-.

126. [2]naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.91 naḍa=ādī-nāṁ kuK ca (cha-ḥ ca90)]

1 naḍa-, 2 plakṣa-.

bilva-ka=āday-aḥ (cf. 165 below and 6.4.153)

3 bilva-, 4 veṇu-, 5 vetra-, 6 vetasa-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 kāṣṭha-, 9 kapota-, 10 tṛṇa-, 11 #kruñcā hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 12 #takṣan na-lopa-ś ca#.

127. nadī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.97 nadī=ādi-bhyaḥ ḍhaK]

1 nad-ī, 2 mah-ī, 3 vārāṇas-ī, 4 śrāvast-ī, 5 kauśāmb-ī, 6 vana-kauśāmb-ī, 7 kāśapar-ī, 8 kāśaphar-ī, 9 khādir-ī, 10 pūrva-nagar-ī, 11 pāṭhā, 12 māyā, 13 śālvā, 14 dārvā, 15 setak-ī, 16 #vaḍavā-y-āḥ vṛṣ-e#.

128. nand-i̱=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134. [1]nand-i̱-[2]grah-i̱-[3]pac=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]Lyu-[2]Ṇini̱=[3]aC-aḥ]

#[1]nand-i-[2]vāś-i̱-[3]mad-i̱-[4]dūṣ-i̱-[5]sādh-i̱-[6]vardh-i̱-[7]śobh-i̱-[8]roc-i̱-bhyaḥ=Ṇi=ante-bhyaḥ saṁjñā-y-ām#: 1 nánd-ana-ḥ, 2 vā́s-ana-h, 3

mád-ana-ḥ, 4 dū́s-aṇa-ḥ, 5 sā́dh-ana-ḥ, 6 várdh-ana-ḥ, 7 śóbh-ana-ḥ, 8 róc-ana-ḥ; #^{1}sah-i̱-^{2}tap-i̱-^{3}dam-aḥ saṁjñā-y-ām#: 9 sáh-ana-ḥ, 10 táp-ana-ḥ, 11 dám-ana-ḥ, 12 jálp-ana-ḥ, 13 rám-aṇa-ḥ, 14 dárp-aṇa-ḥ, 15 saṁ-kránd-ana-ḥ, 16 saṁ-kárṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 17 saṁ-harṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 18 jana=árd-ana-ḥ, 19 yáv-ana-ḥ, 20 madhu-sū́d-ana-ḥ, 21 vi-bhī́ṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 22 láv-aṇa-ḥ, 23 cit-ta-vi-nā́s-ana-ḥ, 24 kula-dám-ana-ḥ, 25 (śatru-dám-ana-ḥ).

129. nir-udaka=ādī-n-i

[6.2.184 nir-udaka=ādī-n-i ca (anta=79=udāttā-n-i 1)]

1 nir-udaká-, 2 nir-upalá- (nir-ulapá-), 3 nir-makṣiká-, 4 nir-maśaká-, 5 niṣ-kāl-aká-, 6 niṣ-kāl-iká-, 7 niṣ-peṣá-, 8 dus-tar-īpá-, 9 nis-tar-īpá-, 10 nis-tarīká-, 11 nir-ajiná-, 12 ud-ajiná-, 13 upa=ajiná-, 14 #pare-r ^{1}hasta-^{2}pāda-^{3}keśa-^{4}karṣ-āḥ-#.

130. niṣka=āday-aḥ

[5.1.20 a-sam-ās-e niṣka=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaK 19)]

1 niṣka-, 2 paṇa-, 3 pāda-, 4 māṣa-, 5 vāha-, 6 droṇa-, 7 ṣaṣṭi-.

131. nyaṅku=āday-aḥ

[7.3.53 nyaṅku=ādī-nāṁ ca (ca-j-oḥ kU-ḥ 52)]

1 nyaṅku-, 2 madgu-, 3 bhr̥gu-, 4 dūre-pāk-a-, 5 phale-pāk-a-, 6 kṣaṇe-pāk-a-, 7 dūre-pāk-ā-, 8 phale-pāk-ā-, 9 dūre-pāk-u-, 10 phale-pāk-u-, 11 takra-, 12 vakra- (cakra-), 13 vy-ati-ṣaṅg-a-, 14 anu-ṣaṅg-a-, 15 ava-sarg-a-, 16 upa-sarg-a-, 17 śva-pāk-a-, 18 māṁsa-pāk-a-, 19 mūla-pāk-a-, 20 kapota-pāk-a-, 21 ulūka-pāk-a-, 22 #saṁjñā-y-ām ^{1}megha-^{2}ni-dāgha=^{3}ava-dāgha=^{4}argh-āḥ#; 23 nyag-rodha-.

132. pakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phaK]

1 pakṣa-, 2 tukṣa-, 3 tuṣa-, 4 kuṇḍa-, 5 aṇḍa-, 6 kamba-likā, 7 valika-, 8 citra-, 9 as-ti-, 10 #path-in pantha ca#; 11 kumbha-, 12 sīraka-, 13 sar-aka-, 14 sakala-, 15 sarasa-, 16 samala-, 17 ati-śvan-, 18 roman-, 19 loman-, 20 hastin-, 21 makara-, 22 lomaka-, 23 śīrṣa-, 24

ni-vā-ta-, 25 pāk-a-, 26 siṁha-ka- (sahaka-), 27 aṅkuśa-, 28 su-varṇa-ka-, 29 haṁsaka-, 30 hiṁs-aka-, 31 kutsa-, 32 bila-, 33 khila-, 34 yamala-, 35 hasta-, 36 kalā, 37 sa-karṇa-ka-.

133. pac-á=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 [1]nand-i-[2]grah-i-[3]pacá=ādibhyaḥ [1]Lyu-[2]Ṇini=[3]áC-aḥ]

1 pac-á-, 2 vac-á-, 3 vap-á-, 4 vad-á-, 5 cal-á-, 6 pat-á-, 7 nad-áṬ, 8 bhaṣ-áT, 9 plav-áṬ, 10 car-áṬ, 11 gar-áṬ, 12 tar-áṬ, 13 car-áṬ, 14 gāh-áṬ, 15 sūr-áṬ, 16 dev-áṬ, 17 doṣ-áṬ, 18 raj-á- (jar-á-), 19 mar-á-, 20 kṣam-á- (kṣap-á-), 21 sev-á-, 22 meṣ-á-, 23 kop-á- (koṣá-/krodh-á-), 24 medh-á-, 25 nart-á-, 26 vraṇ-á-, 27 darś-á-, 28 sarp-á-, 29 dambh-á-, 30 darp-á-, 31 jār-a-bhar-á-, 32 śva-pac-á-. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

134. pad=āday-aḥ

[6.1.63, 161]

1 pad-, 2 dat-, 3 nas-, 4 mās-, 5 hr̥d-, 6 niś-, 7 asan-, 8 yūṣan-, 9 doṣan-, 10 yakan-, 11 śakan-, 12 udan-, 13 āsan-.

135. parpa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.10 parpa=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṢṭhaN]

1 parpa-, 2 aśva-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 ratha-, 5 jāla-, 6 ny-ās-a-, 7 vy-āl-a-, 8 pād-a-.

136. parśu-āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 [1]parśu=ādi-[2]yaudheya=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]aṆ=[2]aÑ-au]

1 parśu-, 2 asura-, 3 rakṣ-as-, 4 bāhlīka-, 5 vasyas-, 6 vasu-, 7 marut-, 8 satvat-, 9 daśārha-, 10 piśāca-, 11 aśani-, 12 kārṣāpaṇa-.

136a. paladi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.110 pra-stha=uttara-pada-paladī=ādi-k-opadhāt aṆ]

1 paladī, 2 pari-ṣad-, 3 romaka- 4 vāhīka-, 5 kala-kīṭa-, 6 bahu-kīṭa-, 7 jala-kīṭa-, 8 kamala-kīṭa-, 9 kamala-kīkara-, 10 kamala-bhid-ā, 11 gauṣṭhī, 12 naikatī, 13 pari-khā-, 14 śūra-sena-, 15 go-mat-ī, 16 paṭac-cara-, 17 uda-pāna-, 18 yakr̥t=loma-.

137. palāśa-āday-aḥ

[4.1.141 palāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ vā (aṆ 139)]

1 palāśa-, 2 khadira-, 3 śiṁśapā, 4 spand-ana- (syand-ana-), 5 pūlāka-, 6 karīra-, 8 śirīṣa-, 9 yavāsa-, 10 vi-kaṅkata-.

138. pā́tre-samita=āday-aḥ

[2.1.48 pātre-samita=ādayaś=ca (tatpuruṣāḥ 22)]

1 pā́tre-samit-āḥ (pā́tre-sam-mit-āḥ), 2 pā́tre-bahul-āḥ, 3 údumbara-maśaka-ḥ (údumbara-maśak-āḥ), 4 údumbara-kr̥mi-ḥ, 5 kū́pa-kacchapa-ḥ, 6 ávaṭa-kacchapa-ḥ, 7 kū́pa-maṇḍūka-ḥ, 8 kúmbha-maṇḍū-ka-ḥ, 9 úda-pāna-maṇḍūka-ḥ, 10 nágara-kāka-ḥ, 11 nágara-vāyasa-ḥ 12 mā́tari-puruṣa-ḥ, 13 piṇḍī-śura-ḥ (pijī-śura-ḥ), 14 pitar-i-śūra-ḥ, 15 gehe-śūra-ḥ, 16 géhe-nardī, 17 géhe-kṣveḍī, 18 géhe-vi-jitī, 19 géhe-vy-āḍa-ḥ, 20 géhe-mehī, 21 géhe-dāhī, 22 géhe-dr̥p-ta-ḥ, 23 géhe-dhr̥ṣ-ṭa-ḥ, 24 gárbhe-tr̥p-ta-ḥ, 25 ā́-khanika-baka-ḥ, 26 góṣṭhe-śūra-ḥ, 27 góṣṭhe-vi-ji-tī, 28 góṣṭhe-kṣveḍī, 29 góṣṭthe-paṭu-ḥ, 30 góṣṭhe-paṇḍ-ita-ḥ, 31 góṣṭhe-pra-galbha-ḥ, 32 kárṇe-ṭiriṭirā, 33 kárṇe-curucurā. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*. Cf. 187 yúkt-ā-rohī=āday-aḥ.

139. pāma (n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 [1]lom=ādi-[2]pām=ādi-[3]piccha=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]śa-[2]na=[3]ilaC-aḥ]

1 pāman-, 2 vāman-, 3 veman-, 4 heman-, 5 śleṣman-, 6 kadrū- (kadru-), 7 bali-, 8 sāman-, 9 ūṣman-, 10 kr̥mi-, 11 #aṅg-āt kalyāṇ-e #; 12 #śākī-palālī-dadrū-ṇāṁ hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 13 #visv-ag iti=uttara-pada-lopa-ś ca=a-kr̥-ta-saṁdhe-ḥ#; 14 #lakṣmy-āḥ=aT=ca#.

140. pāras-kara-pra-bhr̥-tī-n-i

[6.1.157 pāra-s-kar-a-pra-bhr̥-bhr̥-tī-ni ca saṁjñā-y-ām]

1 pāra-s-kara-ḥ deśa-ḥ; 2 kāra-s-kara-ḥ vr̥kṣa-ḥ; 3 rath-s-pā nadī; 4 kiṣku-ḥ pra-māṇa-m, 5 kiṣkindhā nagarī, 6 #[1]tad-[2]br̥h-at-oḥ [1]kara-[2]paty-oḥ [1]cora-[2]deva-tay-oḥ suṬ ta-lopa-ś ca# (ta-s-kara-ḥ cora-ḥ, br̥h-as-pati-ḥ deva-tā); 7 #pr-āt tump-a-t-au gav-i kar-tar-i# (pra-stump-a-ti-ḥ gau-ḥ).

141. pāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.49 pāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ ya-ḥ]

1 pāśa-, 2 tr̥ṇa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 vā-ta-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 (pā-ṭala-), 7 pota-, 8 gala-, 9 piṭaka-, 10 śakaṭa-, 11 hala-, 12 (naṭa-), 13 vana-.

142. piccha=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 [1]loma=ādi=[2]pāma=ādi-[3]piccha=ādibhyaḥ śa-na=ilaC-aḥ]

1 picchā- (piccha-), 2 uras-, 3 dhuvaka-, 4 dhruvaka-, 5 #jaṭā-ghaṭa-kāl-āḥ kṣep-e#; 6 varṇa-, 7 udaka-, 8 paṅka-, 9 prajñā.

143. pīlu=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya [1]pāka-[2]mūl-e [1]pīlu=ādi-[2]karṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]kuṇaP-[2]jāhaC-au]

1 pīlu-, 2 karkandhu- (karkandhū-), 3 śamī, 4 karīra-, 5 kuvala-, 6 badara-, 7 aśvattha-, 8 khadira-.

144. puro-hita=āday-aḥ

[5.1.128 [1]pati=anta=[2]puro-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ yaK]

1 puro-hita-, 2 #rāja=a-se#; 3 grām-ika-, 4 piṇḍ-ika-, 5 su-hi-ta-, 6 bāla-, 7 manda- (bāla-manda-), 8 khaṇḍ-ika-, 9 daṇḍ-ika-, 10 varm-ika-, 11 karm-ika-, 12 dharm-ika-, 13 sit-ika (sīlika-), 14 sūt-ika-, 15 mūl-ika-, 16 tilaka-, 17 añjal-ika-, 18(antal-ika-, añjanika-), 19 rūp-ika- (r̥ṣika-), 20 putr-ika-, 21 avika-, 22 chattr-ika-, 23 parṣ-ika-, 24 pathi-ka-, 25 carm-ika-, 26 pratīka-, 27 sārathi-, 28 āstika-, 29 sūc-ika-, 30 saṁ-rakṣa-, 31 sūc-aka- (saṁ-rakṣa-sūc-aka-), 32 nāsti-ka-, 33 a-jān-ika-, 34 śākvara-, 35 nagara-, 36 cūḍ-ika-.

145. puṣÁ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.55 puṣÁ=ādi-dyútA=ādi-L̥T=IT-aḥ parasmai-padeṣu (Cle-ḥ 44 aṄ 52)]

See Dhp IV 73-137.

146. puṣkara=āday-aḥ

[5.2.135 puṣkara=ādi-bhyaḥ deś-e (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 puṣkara-, 2 padma-, 3 ut-pala-, 4 tamāla-, 5 kumuda-, 6 naḍa-, 7 kapittha-, 8 bisa-, 9 mṛṇāla-, 10 kardama-, 11 śālūka-, 12 vi-garha-, 13 karīṣa-, 14 śi-rīṣa-, 15 yavāsa-, 16 (pra-vāsa-/pra-vāha-), 17 hiraṇya-, 18 kairava-, 19 kallola-, 20 taṭa-, 21 taraṁ-ga, 22 paṅka-ja-, 23 saro-ja-, 24 rājīva-, 25 nālīka-, 26 saro-ruh-a-, 27 puṭaka-, 28 aravinda-, 29 ambho-ja-, 30 ab-ja-, 31 kamala- (kallola-), 32 payas-.

147. pṛthu=āday-aḥ

[5.1.122 pṛthu=ādi-bhyaḥ imániC vā]

1 pṛth-u-, 2 mṛd-u-, 3 mah-at-, 4 paṭ-u-, 5 tan-u-, 6 lagh-u-, 7 bah-u-, 8 sādh-u-, 9 āś-u-, 10 ur-u, 11 gur-u-, 12 bah-u-la-, 13 khaṇḍ-a-, 14 daṇḍ-a-, 15 caṇḍ-a-, 16 a-kiṁ-cana-, 17 bāl-a-, 18 hoḍ-a-, 19 pāk-a-, 20 vat-sa-, 21 mand-a-, 22 svād-u-, 23 hras-va-, 24 dīrgh-a-, 25 priy-a-, 26 vṛṣ-a-, 27 ṛj-u-, 28 kṣip-ra-, 29 kṣud-ra-, 30 aṇ-u-.

148. pṛṣodara=ādī-n-i

[6.3.109 pṛṣodara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-ṭa-m]

1 pṛṣodara-, 3 pṛṣ-ot-thāna-, 3 balāhaka-, 4 jīmūta-, 5 śmaśāna-, 6 ulūkhala-, 7 piśāca-, 8 bṛsī, 9 mayūra-. *ā-kṛ-ti-haṇa-ḥ ayam*.

149. paila=āday-aḥ

[2.5.59 paila=ādi-bhyaś ca (yūn-i luK 58)]

1 pail-a-, 2 śālaṅk-i-, 3 sātyak-i-, 4 sātyaṁ-kām-i- (sātya-kām-i-), 5 rāhav-i-, 6 rāvaṇ-i-, 7 audañc-i-, 8 auda-vraj-i-, 9 auda-megh-i-, 10 auda-majj-i- (auda-vyajr-i-), 11 auda-bhṛjj-i-, 12 daiva-sthān-i-, 13 paiṅgal-aud-āyani- (paiṅgal-āyani-), 14 rāha-kṣati- (rāha-, kṣati-), 15 bhauliṅg-i-, 16 rāṇ-i-, 17 audany-i-, 18 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 19 auj-jih-ān-i-, 20 auda-śud-dh-i- (auda-buddh-i-), 21 #tad-rāj-āt=ca aṆ-aḥ#. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

150. pragadi(n)=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Ñya]

1 pra-gad-in, 2 magad-in-, 3 madad-in, 4 kavila- (kaliva-), 5 dhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 6 gad-i-ta-, 7 cūḍāra-, 8 maḍāra-, 9 mandara-, 10 kovidāra-.

151. pra-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.4.38 pra-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (áṆ 36)]

1 pra-jña-, 2 vaṇij-, 3 uśi̥j-, 4 uṣṇij- (for uṣṇih-), 5 praty-akṣ-a, 6 (vid-vas-), 7 vid-an, 8 ṣoḍ-an-, 9 vid-yā, 10 man-as-, 11 #śro-traṁ śarīr-e#; 12 juh-v-at-, 13 #kr̥ṣṇa mr̥g-e#; 14 ci-kīr-ṣ-at-, 15 cor-a-, 16 śatru-, 17 yodh-a-, 18 cakṣ-us-, 19 vas-u-, 20 (en-as-), 21 marut-, 22 kruñc-a-, 23 sat-vant-U-, 24 daśārha-, 25 vay-as-, 26 vy-ā-kr̥-ta-, 27 asura-, 28 rakṣ-as 29 piśāca-, 30 aśani-, 31 kārṣāpaṇa-, 32 deva-tā, 33 bandh-u-.

152. prati-jana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.99 prati-jana=ādi-bhyaḥ khaÑ]

1 prati-jana-, 2 idaṁ-yuga-, 3 saṁ-yuga-, 4 sama-yuga-, 5 para-yuga-, 6 para-kula-, 7 para-sya-kula-, 8 amu-ṣya-kula-, 9 sarva-jana-, 10 viśva-jana-, 11 mahā-jana-, 12 pañca-jana-.

153. pra-vr̥d-dha=āday-aḥ

[6.2.147 pra=vr̥d-dha=ādī-nāṁ ca (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 pra-vr̥-d-dhá-m yāna-m; 2 pra-vr̥d-dhá-ḥ vr̥ṣala-ḥ; 3 pra-yutā́(ḥ) su=uṣṇav-aḥ (pra-yuk-t-ā́ḥ saktav-aḥ); 4 #ā-karṣ-e ava-hi-tá-ḥ#; 5 #ava-hi-tá-ḥ bhog-e-ṣu#; 6 khaṭvā=ā-rū-ḍhá-h; 7 kavi-śas-tá-ḥ.

154. pra=āday-aḥ

[1.4.58 pra=āday-aḥ (a-sat-tve 57 nipāt-āḥ 56)]

1 prá-, 2 párā-, 3 ápa-, 4 sám-, 5 ánu-, 6 áva-, 7 nís-, 8 nír-, 9 dús-, 10 dúr-, 11 vī-, 12 ā́Ṅ-, 13 ní-, 14 ádhi-, 15 ápi-, 16 áti-, 17 sú-, 18úd-, 19 abhí-, 20 práti-, 21 pári-, 22 úpa-.

155. pri-yā=āday-aḥ

[6.3.34 striy-āḥ puṁ-vat . . . a-pūraṇī-priya=ādi-ṣu]

1 priyā, 2 manojñā, 3 kalyāṇī, 4 su-bhagā, 5 dur-bhagā, 6 bhak-ti-ḥ, 7 sacivā, 8 (svā), 9 kān-tā, 10 (kṣān-tā), 11 samā, 12 capalā, 13 duhitā, 14 vāmanā, 15 (tanayā).

156. pr-e-kṣā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ini]

1 pr-e-kṣā, 2 phalakā (halakā), 3 bandhu-kā, 4 dhruva-kā, 5 kṣip-akā, 6 nyag-rodha-, 7 ikkaṭa-, 8 kaṅkaṭa-, 9 saṁ-kaṭa-, 10 kaṭa-, 11 kūpa-, 12 buka-, 13 puka-, 14 puṭa-, 15 maha-, 16 pari-vāp-a-, 17 yavāṣa- (yavāsa-), 18 dhruva-kā, 19 garta-, 20 kūpa-ka-, 21 hiraṇya-.

157. plakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.3.164 plakṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṆ]

1 plakṣa-, 2 nyag-rodh-a-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 iṅgud-ī, 5 śigru-, 6 (ruru-), 7 kakṣatu-, 8 bṛh-at-ī.

158. pū=āday-aḥ

[7.3.80 pū=ādī-nāṁ hrasva-ḥ]

See under Dhp IX 12-32.

159. phaṇA=āday-aḥ

[6.4.125 phaṇ-āṁ ca saptā-nām]

See under Dhp I 873-79.

160. [1]bala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ya-]

1 bala-, 2 cula-, 3 nala-, 4 dala-, 5 vaṭa-, 6 lakula-, 7 urala-, 8 pula- (pukha-), 9 mūla-, 10 ula-, 11 ḍula- (ula-ḍula-), 12 vana-, 13 kula.

161. ²bala=āday-aḥ

[5.2.136 bala=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP anya-tara-syām]

1 bala-, 2 ut-sāh-a-, 3 ud-bhās-a- (ud-bhāv-a-), 4 (ud-vās-a-), 5 ud-dās-a-, 6 śikhā, 7 kula-, 8 cūḍā, 9 sula-, 10 kūla-, 11 ā-yām-a-, 12 vy-ā-yām-a-, 13 upa-yām-a-, 14 ā-roh-a-, 15 ava-roh-a-, 16 pari-ṇāh-a-, 17 (yud-dha-).

162. bahu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.45 bahu=ādi-bhyaś ca (striy-ām 3 ṄīṢ 40)]

1 bah-u-, 2 pad-dha-ti-, 3 añc-ati-, 4 aṅk-ati-, 5 aṁhati-, 6 śakaṭi-, 7 #śak-ti-ḥ śas-tr-e#; 8 śāri-, 9 vāri-, 10 rā-ti-, 11 rā-dhi-, 12 śā-dhi-, 13 ah-i-, 14 kap-i-, 15 yaṣ-ṭi-, 16 mun-i-, 17 #iT-aḥ prāṇi=aṅg-āt#; 18 #kr̥t=i-kār-āt a-KtiN-aḥ#; 19 #sarva-taḥ a-KtiNn arth-āt ity anye#; 20 caṇḍa-, 21 arāla-, 22 kr̥paṇa-, 23 kamala-, 24 vi-kaṭá-, 25 vi-śālá-, 26 vi-śaṅkaṭá-, 27 bharuja-, 28 dhvaja-, 29 #candra-bhāgā nady-ām#; 30 kalyāṇa-, 31 udāra-, 32 purāṇa-, 33 ahan-, 34 kroḍa-, 35 nakha-, 36 khura-, 37 śikhā, 38 vāla-, 39 śapha-, 40 gu-da-. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

163. bāhu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.96 bāhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (iÑ 95)]

1 bāh-u-, 2 upa-bāh-u-, 3 upa-vāk-u-, 4 ni-vāk-u-, 5 śivāku-, 6 vaṭāku-, 7 upa-nind-u- (upa-vind-u-), 8 vr̥ṣalī, 9 vr̥kalā, 10 cūḍā, 11 balākā, 12 mūṣikā, 13 kuśalā, 14 chagalā, 15 dhruvakā, 16 dhuvakā, 17 su-mitrā, 18 dur-mitrā, 19 puṣkara-sad-, 20 anu-har-at-, 21 deva-śar-man-, 22 agni-śar-man-, 23 bhadra-śar-man-, 24 su-śar-man-, 25 ku-nām-an-, 26 su-nām-an-, 27 pañcan-, 28 saptan-, 29 aṣṭan-, 30 #a-mita=ojas-aḥ sa-lop-a-ś ca#; 31 sudhā-vat-, 32 ud-añc-u-, 33 śiras-, 34 māṣa-, 35 śarā-vin-, 36 marīcī, 37 kṣema-vr̥d-dh-in-, 38 śr̥ṅkhala-tod-in-, 39 khara-nād-in-, 40 nagara-mard-in-, 41 prā-kāra-mard-in-, 42 loman-, 43 ajī-garta-, 44 kr̥ṣṇa-, 45 yudhi-ṣṭhira-, 46 arjuna-, 47 sāmba-, 48 gada-, 49 pra-dyumna-, 50 rām-a-, 51 (ud-aṅka-), 52 #udaka-ḥ saṁ-jñā-y-ām#; 53 #¹sam-bhū-yas=²ambh-as-oḥ sa-lop-a-ś ca#. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

164. bida=āday-aḥ

[4.1.104 an=ṛsi=ān-antar-ye bida=ādi-bhya=aÑ]

1 bida-, 2 urva-, 3 kaśyapa-, 4 kuśika-, 5 bharad-vāja-, 6 upa-man-yu-, 7 kilāta-, 8 kandarpa- (kim-darbha-), 9 viśvā-nara-, 10 ṛṣṭi-ṣeṇa- (ṛṣi-ṣeṇa-), 11 ṛta-bhāga-, 12 hary-aśva-, 13 pri-ya-ka-, 14 āpastamba-, 15 kūrca-vāra-, 16 śarad-vat-, 17 śunaka-, 18 dhe-nu-, 19 go-pav-ana-, 20 śigru-, 21 bind-u- (vind-u-), 22 (bhog-aka-), 23 bhaj-ana-, 24 (śam-ika-), 25 aśva=ava-tāna-, 26 śyāmāka-, 27 śyāmaka-, 28 (śyāvali-), 29 śyā-parṇa-;

harita=āday-aḥ (4.1.100); cf. 259 below

30 harita-, 31 kiṁ-dāsa-, 32 bahyāska-, 33 arka-jūṣa- (arka-juṣa-) (arka-lūṣa-), 34 badhyoga- (vadhyoga-), 35 viṣṇu-, 36 vṛd-dha- (viṣṇu-vṛd-dha-), 37 prati-bodh-a-, 38 rathī-tara-, 39 rathaṁ-tara-, 40 gavi-ṣṭhira-, 41 ni-ṣād-a-, 42 (śabara-), 43 (a-las-a-), 44 maṭhara-, 45 (mṛḍāku-), 46 (sṛpāku-), 47 mṛd-u-, 48 punar-bhū, 49 pu-tra-, 50 duh-i-tṛ-, 51 nanāndṛ-, 52 #para-strī para-śuṁ ca#.

165. bilva-ka=āday-aḥ

[6.4.153 bilva-ka=ādi-bhyaś cha-sya luK]

See under 126: naḍa=āday-ah 3.12.

166. bilva=āday-aḥ

[4.3.136 bilva=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 bilva-, 2 vrīhi-, 3 kāṇḍa-, 4 mudga-, 5 masūra-, 6 go-dhūma-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 veṇu-, 9 gavedhuka, 10 karpāsī, 11 pāṭalī, 12 karkandhū, 13 kuṭīra-.

167. brāhmaṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.124 guṇa-vac-ana-brāhmaṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-maṇ-i ca (bhāve 119 ṢyaÑ 123)]

1 brāhmaṇa-, 2 vāḍava-, 3 māṇava-, 4 #arh-at-aḥ nuM ca#; 5 cor-a-, 6 dhūrta-, 7 ā-rādh-ay-a-, 8 vi-rādhay-a-, 9 apa-rādh-ay-a-, 10 upa-rādh-ay-a-, 11 eka-bhāv-a-, 12 dvi-bhāv-a-, 13 tri-bhāv-a-, 14 anya-bhāv-a-, 15 a-kṣe-tra-jña-, 16 saṁ-vād-in-, 17 saṁ-veś-in-, 18 sam-bhāṣ-in-, 19 bahu-bhāṣ-in-, 20 śīrṣa-ghāt-in-, 21 vi-ghāt-in-, 22

sama-stha-, 23 vi-ṣama-stha-, 24 parama-stha-, 25 madhya-ma-stha-, 26 an-īś-vara-, 27 kuśa-la-, 28 capala-, 29 nipuṇa-, 30 piśuna-, 31 kutūhala-, 32 kṣe-tra-jña-, 33 niśna-, 34 bāliśa-, 35 a-las-a-, 36 duṣ-puruṣa-, 37 kā-puru-ṣa-, 38 rāj-an-, 39 gaṇa-pati-, 40 adhi-pati-, 41 gaḍula-, 42 dāyāda-, 43 vi-śas-ti-, 44 vi-ṣama-, 45 vi-pāt-a-, 46 ni-pāt-a-, 47 #sarva-veda=ādi-bhyaḥ sva=arth-e#; 48 #catur-veda-sya=ubha-ya-pada-vṛ̊d-dhi-ś ca#; 49 śauṭīra-. *ā-kṛ̊-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

168. bharga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na prāc-ya-bharga=ādi-yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca]

1 bharg-a-, 2 karuśa-, 3 kekaya-, 4 kaśmīra-, 5 sālva-, 6 su-sthāla-, 7 uras- (urasa-), 8 kaurav-ya-.

169. bhastrā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.16 bhastrā=ādi-bhyaṣ ṢthaN]

1 bhastrā, 2 bharaṭa-, 3 bhar-aṇa-, 4 śīrṣa-bhār-a-, 5 śīrṣe-bhār-a-, 6 aṁsa-bhār-a-, 7 aṁse-bhār-a-.

170. bhikṣ-ā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.38 bhikṣ-ā=ādi-bhyah=áṆ]

1 bhikṣ-ā, 2 garbh-iṇ-ī, 3 kṣe-tra-, 4 karīṣa-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 car-man- (carm-in-), 7 sahasra-, 8 yuva-ti-, 9 padāti-, 10 pad-dha-ti-, 11 atharvan-, 12 dakṣiṇā, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 vi-ṣay-a-, 15 śro-tra-.

171. bhidā=āday-aḥ

[3.3.104 [1]Ṣ=it=[2]bhidā=ādi-bhyaḥ áṄ]

1 bhid-ā vi-dār-aṇ-e; 2 chid-ā dvaidhī-kar-aṇ-e; 3 vid-ā, 4 kṣip-ā, 5 #guh-ā [1]giri=[2]oṣadhy-oḥ#; 6 srad-dh-ā, 7 medh-ā, 8 go-dh-ā, 9 #ār-ā śastry-ām#; 10 hār-ā, 11 #kār-ā bandh-an-e#; 12 kṣiy-ā, 13 #tār-ā jyot-iṣ-i#; 14 #dhār-ā pra-pat-an-e#; 15 rekh-ā, 16 cūḍ-ā, 17 pīḍ-ā, 18 vap-ā, 19 vas-ā, 20 vajj-ā, 21 #krapeḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-ṁ ca# : kṛ̊p-ā.

172. bhī-ma=āday-aḥ

[3.4.74 bhī-ma=āday-aḥ=ap-ā-dān-e]

1 bhī-ma-, 2 bhīṣ-ma-, 3 bhayānaka-, 4 vaha-, 5 caru- (vaha-caru-), 6 pra-skand-ana-, 7 pra-pat-ana- (pra-tap-ana-), 8 sam-ud-ra-, 9 sruva-, 10 sruk (sruc-), 11 (sr̥ṣ-ṭi-), 12 rakṣ-as-, 13 (śaṅku-), 14 (suka-/ śaṁku-suka-), 15 mūrkha-, 16 khalati-.

173. bhū-v=āday-aḥ

[1.3.1 bhū-v-āday-aḥ dhātav-aḥ]

See Dhp I 1-1059.

174. bhr̥śa=āday-aḥ

[3.1.12 bhr̥śa=ādi-bhyaḥ bhuv-i a-Cve-r lopa-ś ca haL-aḥ]

1 bhr̥śa-, 2 śīghra-, 3 capala-, 4 manda-, 5 paṇḍ-ita-, 6 ut-suka-, 7 su-man-as-, 8 dur-man-as, 9 abhi-man-as, 10 un-man-as-, 11 rah-as-, 12 roh-at-, 13 reh-at-, 14 saṁ-ścat-, 15 tr̥p-at-, 16 śaśvat-, 17 bhram-at-, 18 veh-at-, 19 śuc-is-, 20 śuci-varc-as-, 21 aṇḍa-ra-, 22 varc-as- (aṇḍa-ra-varc-as-), 23 oj-as-, 24 su-raj-as-, 25 a-raj-as-.

175. bhaurik-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 [1]bhaurik-i=ādi=[2]yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaḥ [1]vidhaL-[2]bhaktaL-au]

1 bhaurik-i-, 2 bhaulik-i-, 3 caupayata-, 4 caitayata- (cautayata-), 5 kāṇ-eya-, 6 vāṇijaka-, 7 vāṇikājya- (vālikājya-), 8 saikayata-, 9 vaikayata-.

176. madhu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.86 madhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 85)]

1 madhu-, 2 bisa-, 3 sthāṇu-, 4 veṇu-, 5 karkandhu-, 6 śamī, 7 karīra-, 8 hima-, 9 kiśarā, 10 śaryāṇa-, 11 marut-, 12 vārdālī, 13 śara-, 14 iṣṭakā, 15 ā-su-ti-, 16 śak-ti-, 17 āsandī, 18 śakala-, 19 śalākā, 20 āmiṣī, 21 ikṣu-, 22 roman-, 23 ruṣ-ṭi-, 24 ruṣ-ya-, 25 takṣa-śilā, 26 khaḍa-, 27 vaṭa-, 28 veṭa.

177. mano-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.1.133 dvaṁdva-mano-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (vuÑ 132)]

1 mano-jña-, 2 pri-ya-rūpa-, 3 abhi-rūpa-, 4 kalyāṇa-, 5 medhā-vin-, 6 āḍhya-, 7 kula-putra-, 8 chāndas-a, 9 chāttra-, 10 śrotr-iya-, 11 cor-a-, 12 dhūrta-, 13 viśva-deva-, 14 yuvan-, 15 ku-putra-, 16 grāma-putra-, 17 grāma-kulāla-, 18 grāma-ṣaṇḍa-, 19 grāma-kumāra-, 20 su-kumāra-, 21 bahu-la-, 22 (avaśya-putra-), 23 amu-ṣya-putra-, 24 amu-ṣya-kula-, 25 sāra-putra-, 26 śata-putra-.

178. mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=āday-aḥ

[2.1.72 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=ādayaś ca (tat-puruṣ-āḥ 22 sam-as-āḥ 3)]

1 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka-, 2 chāttra-vy-aṁsaka-, 3 kamboja-muṇḍa-, 4 yavana-muṇḍa-, 5 #chand-as-i haste-gr̥h-ya- (hasta-gr̥h-ya-)#; 6 pāde-gr̥h-ya- (pāda-gr̥h-ya-), 7 lāṅgula-gr̥h-ya- (lāṅgule-gr̥h-ya-), 8 punar-dā-ya-, 9 #ehi=īḍa=āday-aḥ anya-pad-ā-rth-e#, 10 ehi=īḍa-ṁ vart-a-te, 11 ehi-yava-ṁ vart-a-te; 12 ehi-vāṇijā kri-yā, 13 apa=ihi-vāṇijā, 14 pra=ihi-vāṇijā, 15 ehi-svāgatā, 16 apa=ihi-svāgatā, 17 ehi-dvi-tīyā, 18 apehi-dvi-tīyā, 19 prehi-dvi-tīyā, 20 ehi-kaṭā, 21 apehi-kaṭā, 22 prehi-kaṭā; 23 ā-hara-kaṭā, 24 prehi-kardamā, 25 proha-kardamā, 26 vi-dhama-cūḍā, 27 ud-dhama-cūḍā (ud-dhara-cūḍā), 28 ā-hara-celā, 29 ā-hara-vasanā, 30 (ā-hara-senā), 31 ā-hara-van-itā (ā-hara-vi-na-tā), 32 kr̥n-ta-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 33 ud-dhara=ut-sr̥jā, 34 ud-dhara=ava-sr̥jā, 35 ud-dhama-vi-dhamā, 36 ut-paca-ni-pacā, 37 ut-pata-ni-patā, 38 uccā-vaca-m, 39 ucca-nīca-m, 40 āca=upaca-m, 41 āca-parāca-m, 42 nakha-praca-m, 43 niśca-praca-m, 44 a-kiṁ-cana-, 45 snā-tvā-kālaka-, 46 pī-tvā-sthiraka-, 47 bhuk-tvā-su-hi-ta-, 48 proṣ-ya-pap-īyān, 49 ut-pat-ya-pākalā, 50 ni-pat-ya-roh-iṇī, 51 ni-ṣaṇ-ṇa-śyāmā, 52 apehi-pra-ghasā, 53 ehi-vighasā, 54 iha-pañca-m-ī, 55 iha-dvi-tīyā, 56 #ja-hi kar-maṇ-ā bahu-lam ābhīkṣṇ-ye kar-tār-aṁ ca abhi-da-dhā-ti#; 57 jahi-joḍa-ḥ (°-joḍam), 58 jahi-stambam (°-stamba-ḥ), 59 uj-jahi-stamba-m, 60 #ā-khyā-ta-m ā-khyā-tena kri-yā-sātat-y-e#; 61 aś-nī-ta-pib-a-tā, 62 pac-a-ta-bhr̥jj-a-tā; 63 khād-a-ta-mod-a-tā, 64 khād-a-ta-vam-a-tā (°-cam-a-tā), 65 ā-hara-ni-vap-ā, 66 ā-vap-a-niṣ-kir-ā (ā-hara-niṣ-kir-ā), 67 ut-pac-a-ni-pac-ā, 68 bhin-dhi-lavaṇā, 69 kr̥n-dhi-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 70 pac-a-lav-aṇā, 71 pa-ca-pra-kūṭ-ā. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

179. mahiṣī=āday-aḥ

[4.4.48 áṆ mahiṣī=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 mahiṣ-ī, 2 prajā-pati, 3 prajā-vat-ī, 4 pra-lep-ik-ā, 5 vi-lep-ik-ā, 6 anu-lep-ik-ā, 7 puro-hita-, 8 maṇi-pāl-ā, 9 anu-cār-aka- (anu-vār-akak-), 10 ho-tr̥-, 11 yaj-a-māna-.

180. mālā=āday-aḥ

[6.2.88 mālā=ādī-nāṁ ca (ādir udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 mālā, 2 śālā, 3 śoṇā (śoṇa-), 4 drākṣā, 5 srākṣā, 6 kṣāmā, 7 kāñcī, 8 eka-, 9 kāma-.

181. muc=āday-aḥ

[7.1.59 Śe muc=ādi-nām (nuM 58)]

See under Dhp VI 136-143.

182. yajA=āday-aḥ

[6.1.15 ^{1}vaci-^{2}svapi-^{3}yajA=ādī-nāṁ K-IT-i (sam-pra-sār-aṇam 13)]

See under Dhp I 1051-1059.

183. yava=āday-aḥ

[8.2.9 ^{1}m-^{2}a=āt upa-dhāyāś ca matOr va-ḥ=a-yava=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 yav-a-, 2 dalmi-, 3 ūrmi-, 4 bhūmi-, 5 kr̥mi-, 6 kruñcā, 7 vaśā, 8 drākṣā-, 9 dhrākṣā, 10 dhraji-, 11 dhvaji, 12 niji-, 13 siji-, 14 sañji-, 15 harit-, 16 kakud-, 17 marut-, 18 garut-, 19 ikṣu-, 20 dru-, 21 madhu. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

184. yaska=āday-aḥ

[2.3.63 yaska=ādi-bhyaḥ go-tr-e (luK 58)]

1 yaska-, 2 lah-ya- (labh-ya-), 3 druh-ya-, 4 (ayaḥ-sthūṇa-), 5 tr̥ṇa-karṇa-, 6 sadā-matta-, 7 kambala-hāra- (°-bhāra-), 8 bahir-yog-a-, 9 karṇāḍhaka- (karṇāṭaka-), 13 vi-śri-, 14 ku-dri-, 15 aja-basti-, 16 mitra-yu-, 17 rakṣo-mukha-, 18 jaṅghā-ratha-, 19 ut-kās-a-, 20 kaṭuka-, 21 manthaka- (math-aka-kaṭuka-manth-aka-), 22 puṣkara-sad-, 23

viṣa-puṭa-, 24 upari-mekhala-, 25 kroṣṭu-māna-, 26 kroṣṭu-pāda-, 27 kroṣṭu-māya-, 28 śīrṣa-māya-, 29 kharapa-, 30 padaka-, 31 varṣuka-, 32 bhalandana-, 33 bhaḍila-, 34 bhaṇḍila-, 35 bhaḍita-, 36 bhaṇḍita-.

185. yāj-aka=āday-aḥ

[2.2.9 yāj-aka=ādi-bhiś ca (ṣaṣṭhī 8)]

1 yāj-aka-, 2 pūj-aka-, 3 pari-cār-aka-, 4 pari-veṣ-aka- (pari-ṣec-aka-), 5 snā-p-aka-, 6 adhy-ā-p-aka-, 7 ut-sāh-aka-, 8 ud-vart-aka-. 9 ho-tṛ-, 10 bhar-tṛ-, 11 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 12 patti-gaṇ-aka-.

186. yāva=āday-aḥ

[5.4.29 yāva=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 yāva-, 2 maṇi-, 3 asthi-, 4 (tālu-), 5 jānu-, 6 sāndra-, 7 pī-ta-, 8 stamba-, 9 #ṛt-au [1]uṣ-ṇa-[2]śī-te#; 10 #paś-au [1]lū-na-[2]vi-pā-t-e#; 11 #aṇu ni-puṇ-e#; 12 #putra kṛ-trim-e#; 13 #snā-ta veda-sam-āp-t-au#; 14 #śūnya rik-te#; 15 #dāna kuts-it-e#; 16 #tanu sūtr-e#; 17 #īyas-aś ca#; 18 jñā-ta-, 19 a-jñā-ta-, 20 #kumārī-krīḍ-anā-ni ca (°-krīḍ-anakā-ni ca)#.

187. yuk-ta=ā-roh-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[6.2.81 (adi=udatt-āḥ 64)]

1 yúk-ta=ā=roh-ī, 2 ā́-ga-ta-roh-ī, 3 ā́-ga-ta-yodh-ī, 4 ā́-ga-ta-vañc-ī, 5 ā́-ga-ta-nand-ī (°-nard-ī), 6 ā́-g-ta-pra-hār-ī, 7 ā́-ga-ta-matsya-ḥ 8 kṣī́ra-ho-tā, 9 bháginī-bhar-tā, 10 grā́ma-go-dhuk, 11 áśva-tri-rātra-ḥ, 12 gárga-tri-rātra-ḥ, 13 vy-áṣ-ṭi-tri-rātra-ḥ, 14 gáṇa-pāda-ḥ, 15 éka-śiti-pād, 16 #pā́tre-samita=āday-aś ca#.

188. yuva(n)-āday-aḥ

[5.1.130 hā-y-ana=anta=yuva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 yuvan-, 2 sthav-ira-, 3 ho-tṛ-, 4 yaj-a-māna-, 5 #puruṣa a-se#, 6 bhrā-tṛ, 7 kutuka-, 8 śram-aṇa- (śraṇama-), 9 kaṭuka-, 10 kamaṇḍalu-, 11 ku-strī, 12 su-strī, 13 duḥ-strī, 14 su-hṛd-aya-, 15 dur-hṛd-aya-, 16 su-hṛd-, 17 dur-hṛd-, 18 su-bhrā-tṛ-, 19 dur-bhrā-tṛ-, 20 vṛṣala-, 21 pari-vrāj-aka-, 22 sa-brahma-cār-in-, 23 a-nṛ-śaṁsa-, 24 #hṛd-aya a-se#; 25 kuśala-, 26 capala-, 27 nipuṇa-, 28 piśuna-, 29 kutūhala-, 30 kṣetr-jña-, 31 #kṣetr-iya-sya ya-lopa-ś ca#.

189. ¹yaudh-eya-āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na ¹prāc-ya-²bharga=ādi-³yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca (luK 175)]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 śaukr-eya-, 3 śaubhr-eya-, 4 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya- (dhaurt-eya-), 6 tri-garta-, 7 bharata-, 8 uśī-nara-.

190. ²yaudh-eya=āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 ¹parśu=ādi-²yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyām ¹aṆ=²aÑ-au]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 kauś-eya-, 3 śaukr-eya-, 4 śaubhr-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya-, 6 ghārt-eya-, 7 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 8 tri-garta-, 9 bhar-a-ta, 10 uśī-nara-.

191. rajata=āday-aḥ

[4.3.154 prāṇi(n)=rajata=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 rajata-, 2 sīsa-, 3 loha-, 4 udumbara-, 5 nīpa-, 6 dāru-, 7 rohitaka-, 8 vibhītaka-, 9 pīta-dāru-, 10 tīvra-dāru-, 11 tri-kaṇṭaka-, 12 kaṇṭakāra-.

192. radhÁ=āday-aḥ

[7.2.45 radhÁ=ādi-bhyaś ca (ārdha-dhatuka-sya iṬ=vaL-āde-ḥ 35 vā 44)]

See under Dhp IV 84-91.

193. rasa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.95 rasa=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 94)]

1 rasa-, 2 rūpa-, 3 varṇa-, 4 gandha-, 5 sparśa-, 6 śabda-, 7 sneh-a-, 8 bhāv-a-, 9 #guṇ-āt#, 10 #eka=aC-aḥ#.

194. rāja-danta=āday-aḥ

[2.2.31 rāja-danta=ādi-ṣu para-m]

1 rāja-dantá-ḥ, 2 agre-vaṇá-m, 3 lip-ta=ava-si-tá-m, 4 nag-na-muṣ-i-tá-m, 5 sik-ta-sam-mr̥ṣ-ṭá-m, 6 mr̥ṣ-ṭa-luñc-i-tá-m, 7 ava-klin-na-pakvá-m, 8 arp-i-ta=up-tá-m, 9 up-ta-gā-ḍhá-m, 10 *ulūkhala-musalá-m*, 11 *taṇḍula-kiṇvá-m*, 12 dr̥ṣad-upalá-m, 13 ārag-vāy-ana-bandhakī́ (āraḍ-vāy-aní-), 14 citra-ratha-bālhīká-m, 15 avanti=aśma-ká-m, 16 śūdra=āryá-m, 17 snā-ta-ka-rājān-aú, 18

viṣvak-sena=arjun-aú, 19 akṣi-bhruvá-m, 20 dā́ra-gavá-m, 21 śabda=arth-aú, 22 dharma=arth-aú, 23 kāma=arth-aú, 24 artha-śabd-aú, 25 artha-kām-aú, 26 vaikāri-ma-tá-m, 27 gaja-vājá-m, 28 go-pāla-dhānī-pūlāsá-m (go-pāli-dhāna-pūlāsá-m), 29 pūlāsaka-kuraṇḍá-m (pūlāsa-kāraṇḍá-m), 30 sthūla-pūlāsá-m (sthūlāsá-m), 31 uśīra-bījá-m, 32 (jijñāsthí-), 3 siñja=aśvatthá-m (siñjāsthá-m), 34 citrā-svāt-ī́, 35 bhār-yā-pat-ī́, 36 dam-pat-ī́, 37 jam-pat-ī́, 38 jāyā-pat-ī́, 39 putra-pat-ī́, 40 putra-paśū́, 41 keśa-śmaśrū́, 42 śiro-bījá-m (° bījú-), 43 śiro-jānú-, 44 sarpir-madhu-n-ī́, 45 madhu-sarpiṣ-ī́, 46 ādy=ant-aú, 47 anta=ad-ī́, 48 guṇa-vṛd-dh-ī́, 49 vṛd-dhi-guṇ-aú.

195. rājan-ya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.53 rājan-ya=ādi-bhyaḥ vuÑ]

1 rājan-ya-, 2 an-ṛta-, 3 bābhrav-ya-, 4 śālaṅk-āyana-, 5 daiva-yā-ta- (daiva-yātava-), 6 (a-vrīḍa-), 7 (varatrā), 8 jā-laṁ-dhar-āyaṇa-, 9 (rājāyana-), 10 telu-, 11 ātma-kām-eya-, 12 ambarīṣa-putra-, 13 vasāti-, 14 bailva-vana-, 15 śailūṣa-, 16 udumbara-, 17 tīvra-, 18 bailva-ja-, 19 ārjun-āyana-, 20 sam-pri-ya-, 21 dākṣ-i-, 22 ūrṇa-nābh-a-.

196. rúd=āday-aḥ

[7.2.76 rúd=ādi-bhyaḥ sārva-dhātuk-e (iṬ **vaL-āde-ḥ 35**)]

See under Dhp II 58-62; cf. 7.3.98ff.

197. rudh=āday-aḥ

[3.1.78 rudh=ādi-bhyaḥ ŚnaM]

See under Dhp VII 1-25.

198. re-vat-ī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.146 re-vat-ī=ādi-bhyaṣ ṭhaK]

1 re-vat-ī, 2 aśva-pāl-ī, 3 maṇi-pāl-ī, 4 dvāra-pāl-ī, 5 vṛka-vañc-in-, 6 vṛka-bandhu-, 7 vṛka-grāh-a-, 8 karṇa-grāh-a-, 9 daṇḍa-grāh-a-, 10 kukkuṭa=akṣa-, 11 (cāmara-grāh-a-).

199. raivat-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.131 raivat-ika=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 raivat-ika-, 2 svāpiś-i-, 3 kṣaima-vr̥d-dh-i-, 4 gaura-grīva- (°-grīv-i-), 5 auda-megh-i-, 6 auda-vāp-i-, 7 baija-vāp-i-.

200. loma(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 [1]loma(n)=ādi-[2]pāma(n)=ādi-[3]piccha-ādi-bhyaḥ [1]śá-[2]ná=[3]iláC-aḥ]

1 loman-, 2 roman-, 3 babhru-, 4 hari-, 5 giri-, 6 karka-, 7 kapi-, 8 muni-, 9 taru-.

201. [1]lohita=āday-aḥ

[3.1.13 lohita=ādi-ḌāC=bhyaḥ KyáṢ]

1 lohita-, 2 car-ita-, 3 nīla-, 4 phena-, 5 madra-, 6 har-i-ta-, 7 dāsa-, 8 manda-.

202. [2]lohita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.18 sarva-tra [1]lohita=ādi-[2]kata=ante-bhyaḥ (striy-ām 3 Ṣpha-ḥ 17)]

See under 71: garga=āday-aḥ, 25-52.

203. lū́=āday-aḥ

[8.2.44 lū́=ādi-bhyaḥ (niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-ḥ 42)]

See under Dhp IX 13-32.

204. vaṁśa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.50 tad=[1]har-a-ti-[2]vah-a-ti=[3]ā-vah-a-ti bhār-āt=vaṁśa=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 vaṁśa-, 2 kuṭa-ja-, 3 balva-ja-, 4 mūla-, 5 sthūṇā (sthūṇa-), 6 akṣa-,7 aśman-, 8 aśva-, 9 ślakṣna-, 10 ikṣu-, 11 khaṭvā.

205. vánas-páti-āday-aḥ

[6.2.140 ubh-e vánas-páti=ādi-ṣu yagapat (pra-kṛ-ty-ā 137)]

1 ván-as-páti-ḥ, 2 bṛ́h-as-pátiḥ, 3 śácī-páti-ḥ, 4 tánū-nápāt, 5 nárā-śáṁsa-ḥ, 6 śún-aḥ-śépha-ḥ, 7 śáṇḍā-márk-au, 8 tṛ́ṣṇā-varutr-í, 9 lambā́-viśvá-vayas-au, 10 már-mṛtyú-ḥ.

206. var-aṇā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.82 var-aṇā=ā-di-bhyaś ca (luP 81)]

1 var-aṇ-ā, 2 śṛṅg-ī, 3 śālmali-, 4 śuṇḍ-ī, 5 śayāṇḍ-ī, 6 parṇ-ī, 7 tāmra-parṇ-ī, 8 go-da-, 9 ā-liṅg-y-āyana-, 10 jāna-pad-ī (jāla-pad-ī), 11 jambū, 12 puṣkara-, 13 campā, 14 pampā, 15 valgu-, 16 uj-jay-in-ī (uj-jay-an-ī), 17 gayā, 18 mathurā, 19 takṣa-śilā, 20 uras-ā, 21 go-mat-ī, 22 valabh-ī.

207. varāha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +kaK]

1 varāha-, 2 palāśa-, 3 śirīṣa-, 4 pi-nad-dha-, 5 ni-bad-dha-, 6 balāha-, 7 sthū-la-, 8 vi-dag-dha-, 9 vi-jag-dha-, 10 vi-bhag-na-, 11 vi-mag-na-, 12 bāhu-, 13 khadira-, 14 śarkarā.

208. varg-ya=āday-aḥ

[6.2.131 varg-ya=āday-aḥ (uttara-pada=ādi-ḥ 111 udātta-ḥ 64)]

See under 116 above: 2-27.

209. vas-anta=āday-aḥ

[4.2.63 vas-anta=ādi-bhyaṣ=ṭhaK]

1 vas-ant-a-, 2 grīṣma-, 3 varṣā, 4 śarad-, 5 hemanta-, 6 śiśira-, 7 prathama-, 8 guṇa-, 9 carama-, 10 anu-guṇa-, 11 athar-van-, 12 ātharvaṇ-a-.

210. vākina=āday-aḥ

[4.1.158 vākina=ādī-nāṁ kuK ca]

1 vākina-, 2 gaudh-era-, 3 kārkaṣ-a-, 4 kāka-, 5 laṅkā, 6 #[1]carmi(n)=[2]varm-iṇ-or na-lopa-ś ca#.

211. vi-nay-a=āday-aḥ

[5.4.34 vi-nay-a=ādi-bhyaṣ ṭhaK]

1 vi-nay-a-, 2 sam-ay-a-, 3 #up-ā-y-āt hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 4 sam-prati-, 5 saṁ-ga-ti-, 6 kathaṁ-cit-, 7 a-ka-smāt-, 8 sam-ā-cār-a-, 9 upa-cār-a-, 10 samaya=ā=cār-a-, 11 vy-ava-hār-a-, 12 sam-pra-dāna-, 13 sam-ut-karṣ-a-, 14 sam-ūh-a-, 15 vi-śeṣ-a, 16 aty-ay-a-.

212. vi-muk-ta=āday-aḥ

[5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 vi-muk-ta-, 2 deva=asura-, 3 rakso'sura-, 4 upa-sad-, 5 su-varṇa-, 6 pari-sār-aka-, 7 sad-asad-, 8 vas-u-, 9 marut-, 10 patnī-vat-, 11 vasu-mat-, 12 mahīyatva-, 13 sat-vat-, 14 barha-vat-, 15 daśārṇa-, 16 daśārha-, 17 vayas-, 18 havir-dhāna-, 19 patatr-in-, 20 mahitr-ī, 21 asy-a-ha-t-ya, 22 somā-pūṣan-, 23 iḍā, 24 agnā-viṣṇ-u, 25 urvaś-ī, 26 vr̥tra-han-.

213. vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.94 vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i guṇa-vac-ane-ṣu (tatpuruṣ-e 2 pra-kr̥-ty-ā 1)]

1 vi-spaṣ-ṭa-, 2 vi-citra-, 3 vi-cit-ta-, 4 vy-ak-ta-, 5 sam-pan-na-, 6 paṭ-u-, 7 paṇḍ-ita-, 8 kuśala-, 9 capala-, 10 nipuṇa-.

214. vŕ̥t

[1.3.92 vŕ̥t=bhyaḥ sya-saN-oḥ (vā 90 kar-tar-i parasmaipadam 78)]

See Dhp I 795-799. Cf. 7.2.59.

215. vŕ̥ṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.1.203 vŕ̥ṣ-a=ādī-nāṁ ca (ādi-ḥ 197 udātta-ḥ 159)]

1 vŕ̥ṣ-a-ḥ, 2 ján-a-ḥ, 3 jvár-a-ḥ, 4 gráh-a-ḥ, 5 háy-a-ḥ, 6 gáy-a-ḥ, 7 náy-a-ḥ, 8 tā́y-a-ḥ, 9 táy-a-ḥ, 10 cáy-a-ḥ, 11 ám-a-ḥ, 12 véd-a-ḥ, sū́d-a-ḥ, 14 áṁś-a-ḥ, 15 gúh-ā, 16 #[1]śám-a-[2]rán̩-au saṁ-jñā-y-āṁ sam-ma-t-au [1]bhāv-a-[2]kar-man-oḥ#; 17 mán-tra-ḥ, 18 śā́n-ti-ḥ, 19 kā́m-a-ḥ, 20 grā́m-a-ḥ, 21 ā́r-ā, 22 dhā́r-ā-, 23 kā́r-ā, 24 vā́h-a-ḥ, 25 kálp-a-ḥ, 26 pā́d-a-ḥ. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

216. vetana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.12 vetana=ādi-bhyaḥ jīv-a-ti (+ṭhaK 1)]

1 vetana-, 2 vāh-ana-, 3 ardha-vāh-ana-, 4 dhanur-daṇḍa-, 5 jāl-a-, 6 veś-a-, 7 upa-véś-a-, 8 pr-eṣ-aṇa-, 9 upa-vas-ti-, 10 su-kha-, 11 śay-yā, 12 śak-ti-, 13 upa-ni-ṣad-, 14 upa-deś-a-, 15 sphij- (sphija-), 16 pād-a-, 17 upa-stha-, 18 upa-sthāna-, 19 ups-has-ta-.

217. vy-ā-ghra=āday-aḥ

[2.1.56 upa-mi-ta-ṁ vy-ā-ghra=ādi-bhiḥ sāmānya=a-pra-yog-e]

1 vy-ā-ghra-, 2 siṁha-, 3 ṛkṣa-, 4 ṛṣabha-, 5 cand-ana-, 6 vṛka-, 7 vṛṣ-a-, 8 varāha-, 9 hast-in-, 10 tar-u-, 11 kuñjara-, 12 ruru-, 13 pṛṣ-at-, 14 puṇḍarīka-, 15 palāśa-, 16 kitava-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ayam*.

218. vy-uṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.97 vy-uṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 vy-uṣ-ṭa-, 2 ni-tya-, 3 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 4 pra-veś-ana-, 5 (upa-saṁ-kram-aṇa-), 6 tīrtha-, 7 (ā-star-aṇa-), 8 saṁ-grāma-, 9 saṁ-ghāt-a-.

219. vrīhi=āday-aḥ

[5.2.116 vrīhi=ādi-bhiś ca (ini-ṭhaN-au 115)]

1 vrīhi-, 2 māyā, 3 (śālā), 4 śikhā, 5 mālā, 6 mekhalā, 7 kekā, 8 aṣṭakā, 9 patākā, 10 car-man-, 11 kar-man-, 12 var-man-, 13 daṁṣ-ṭrā, 14 saṁ-jñā, 15 vaḍavā, 16 kumār-ī, 17 nau-, 18 vīṇā, 19 balākā, 20 yava-khada- (yava-khad-an-au*), 21 #śīrṣ-āt=naÑ-aḥ#.

220. śaṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.92 śaṇḍ-ika-ādi-bhyaḥ Ñya-ḥ]

1 saṇḍ-ika-, 2 sarva-sena-, 3 sarva-keśa-, 4 śaka-, 5 śaṭa, 6 raka-, 7 śaṅkha-, 8 bodha-.

221. śám=āday-aḥ

[3.2.141 śám-ity-aṣṭā-bhyaḥ GHinuṆ]

See under Dhp IV 92-99. Cf. 7.3.74 śám-ām aṣṭā-nām dīrgha-ḥ SyaN-i.

222. śarad=pra-bhr̥-tay-aḥ

[5.4.107 avyay ī-bhāv-e śarad=pra-bhr̥-ti-bhyaḥ (ṬáC 91)]

1 śarad-, 2 vi-pāś-, 3 an-as-, 4 man-as-, 5 upā-nah-, 6 anaḍ-uh-, 7 div-, 8 hima-vat-, 9 hiruk-, 10 vid-, 11 sad-, 12 diś-, 13 dr̥ś-, 14 viś-, 15 catur-, 16 tyad-, 17 tad-, 18 yad-, 19 k-iy-at-, 20 #jarā-y-āḥ jar-as=ca#; 21 #[1]prati-[2]para-[3]sam-[4]anu-bhyaḥ akṣṇ-aḥ#; 22 pathin-.

223. [1]śara=āday-aḥ

[4.3.144 ni-tya-ṁ vr̥d-dha-śara=ādi-bhyaḥ (mayaṬ 143)]

1 śar-a-, 2 darbha-, 3 mr̥d-, 4 kuṭ-ī, 5 tr̥ṇa-, 6 soma-, 7 balva-ja- (balba-ja-).

224. [2]śara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.120 śara=ādī-nāṁ ca (matAU 119 dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 śara-, 2 vaṁśa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 ah-i-, 5 kapi-, 6 maṇi-, 7 mun-i-, 8 śuc-i-, 9 tan-u-.

225. śarkarā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.107 śarakarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 śarkarā, 2 kapāl-ikā, 3 kapāṭ-ikā, 4 kan-iṣṭhikā (kapi-ṣṭh-ikā), 5 puṇḍarīka-, 6 śata-patra-, 7 go-loman-, 8 loman-, 9 go-puccha-, 10 narācī, 11 na-kula-, 12 sikatā.

226. śākhā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.103 śākhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yàT]

1 śākhā, 2 mukha-, 3 jaghana-, 4 śr̥ṅga-, 5 megha-, 6 abhra-, 7 car-aṇa-, 8 skandha-, 9 skanda- (skada-), 10 uras-, 11 śiras-, 12 agra-, 13 śar-aṇa- (śāṇa-).

227. śārṅgarava=āday-aḥ

[4.1.73 śārṅgarava=ādi=aÑ-aḥ ṄīN]

1 śārṅgarava-, 2 kāpaṭava-, 3 gauggulava-, 4 brāhmaṇa-, 5 baida-, 6 gautama-, 7 kāmaṇḍal-eya-, 8 brāhmaṇa-kr̥t-eya-, 9 (ā-ni-ce-ya-), 10 ā-ni-dhe-ya-, 11 āśok-eya-, 12 vātsy-āyana-, 13 maunj-āyana-, 14 kaikasa- (kaikas-eya-), 15 kāv-ya-, 16 śaib-ya-, 17 ehi-, 18 pary-ehi-, 19 āśma-rath-ya-, 20 auda-pā-na-, 21 a-rāla-, 22 caṇḍāla-, 23 vataṇda-, 24 #bhog-a-vad-gauri-mat-oḥ saṁ-jñā-yām GHA=ādi-ṣu nityaṁ hrasva=artham#; 25 #nr̥-naray-or vr̥ddhiś ca#.

228. śiva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.112 śiva=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṆ]

1 śiva-, 2 proṣṭha- (prauṣṭha-), 3 proṣṭh-ika-, 4 caṇḍa-, 5 jambha-, 6 bhūri-, 7 daṇḍa-, 8 kuṭhāra-, 9 kakubh-, 10 an-abhi-mlā-na-, 11 kohita-, 12 mukha-, 13 saṁ-dh-i-, 14 mun-i-, 14a kakut-stha-, 15 kahoḍa-, 16 kohaḍa-, 17 kahūya- (kahūṣa-), 18 kahaya-, 19 rodh-a-, 20 kapiñjala- (ku-piñjala-), 21 khañjana-, 22 vataṇḍa-, 23 tr̥ṇa-karṇa- (tūṇa-karṇa-), 24 kṣīra-hrada-, 25 jala-hrada-, 26 parila-, 27 (pathi-ka-), 28 piṣ-ṭa-, 29 haihaya-, 30 (pārṣikā), 31 gop-ikā, 32 kapil-ikā, 33 jaṭil-ikā, 34 badhir-ikā, 35 mañjīraka-, 36 (majiraka-), 37 vr̥ṣṇi-ka-, 38 khañjāra-, 39 khañjāla-, 40 karmāra-, 41 rekh-a-, 42 lekh-a-, 43 ā-lekh-ana-, 44 vi-śrav-aṇa-, 45 rav-aṇa-, 46 vart-ana=akṣa-, 47 grivākṣa-, 48 viṭapa-, 49 piṭaka-, 50 piṭāka-, 51 tr̥kṣāka-, 52 nabhāka-, 53 ūrṇa-nābha-, 54 jar-at-kār-u-, 55 pr̥thā, 56 ut-kṣep-a-, 57 puro-hit-ikā, 58 su-roh-it-ikā, 59 su-roh-ikā, 60 ārya-śveta-, 61 su-piṣ-ṭa-, 62 masura-karṇa- (masūra-karṇa-), 63 mayūra-karṇa-, 64 kharjura-karṇa- (kharjūra-karṇa-), 65 khadūraka-, 66 takṣan-, 67 r̥ṣṭi-ṣeṇa-, 68 gaṅgā, 69 vi-pāś- (vi-pāśā-), 70 yaska-, 71 lah-ya-, 72 druh-ay-, 73 ayaḥ-sthūṇa-, 74 tr̥ṇa-, 75 karṇa- (tr̥ṇa-karṇa-), 76 parṇa-, 77 bhalandana-, 78 vi-rūpa=akṣa-, 79 bhūmi-, 80 ilā, 81 sa-pat-n-ī, 82 #dvy=aC-aḥ=nady-aḥ#; 83 #tri-veṇī tri-vaṇaṁ ca#.

229. śuṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.76 śuṇḍ-ika-ādi-bhyaḥ=aṆ]

1 śuṇḍ-ika-, 2 kr̥kaṇa-, 3 sthaṇḍila-, 4 uda-pāna-, 5 upala-, 6 bhūmi-, 7 tr̥ṇa-, 8 parṇa-.

230. śubh-ra=āday-aḥ

[4.1.123 śubh-ra=ādi-bhyaś ca (ḍhaK 120)]

1 śubh-ra-, 2 viṣ-ṭa-, 3 pura- (viṣṭa-pura-), 4 brahma-kṛ-ta-, 5 śalāthala-, 6 śalākā-bhrū, 7 lekhā-bhrū- (lekhābhra-), 8 vi-kas-a- (vi-kas-ā-), 9 roh-iṇ-ī, 10 ruk-miṇ-ī, 11 dharm-iṇ-ī, 12 diś- (diśā-), 13 śālūka-, 14 aja-vas-ti-, 15 śakandhi-, 16 vi-mā-tṛ-, 17 vidhavā, 18 śuka-, 19 viśa-, 20 deva-tara-, 21 śakuni-, 22 śuk-ra-, 23 ug-ra-, 24 jñā-ta-la- (śāta-la-), 25 bandhakī, 26 sṛkaṇḍu-, 27 visri-, 28 atithi-, 29 go-danta-, 30 kuśāmba-, 31 sakaṣṭu-, 32 śātā-hara-, 33 pavaṣṭurika-, 34 su-nām-an-, 35 #[1]lakṣmaṇa-[2]śyāmay-or vāsiṣṭh-e#; 36 godhā, 37 kṛkalāsa-, 38 aṇīva-, 39 pra-vāh-aṇa-, 40 bhārata- (bharata-), 41 bharama- (bhārama-), 42 mṛkaṇḍu-, 43 karpūra-, 44 itara-, 45 any-atara-, 46 ā-lī-ḍha-, 47 su-danta-, 48 su-dakṣa-, 49 su-vakṣ-as- (su-cakṣas-), 50 su-dā-man-, 51 kadru-, 52 tud-a-, 53 aka-śāya-, 54 kumār-ikā, 55 kuṭhār-ikā, 56 kiśor-ikā, 57 amb-ikā, 58 jihma=āś-in-, 59 pari-dh-i-, 60 vāyu-dat-ta-, 61 śakala-, 62 śalākā, 63 khaḍūra-, 64 kuber-ikā, 65 aśokā, 66 gandha-piṅgalā, 67 khaḍa=un-mat-tā, 68 anu-dṛṣ-ṭ-in-(anu-dṛṣ-ṭi-), 69 jar-at-in-, 70 balī-vard-in-, 71 vigra-, 72 bīja-, 73 jīva-, 74 śvan-, 75 aś-man-, 76 ajira-. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

231. śauṇḍ-āḥ

[2.1.40 sapta-m-ī śauṇḍ-aiḥ]

1 śauṇḍa-, 2 dhūrta-, 3 kitava-, 4 vy-āḍa-, 5 pra-vīṇa-, 6 saṁ-vī-ta-, 7 antara-, 8 adhi-, 9 paṭ-u- (adhi-paṭ-u-), 10 paṇḍ-ita-, 11 kuśa-la-, 12 capala-, 13 nipuṇa-.

232. śaunaka=āday-aḥ

[4.3.106 śaunaka=ādi-bhyaś ca chandas-i (Ṇini-ḥ 106)]

1 śaunaka-, 2 vāja-san-eya-, 3 śārṅgarava-, 4 śāp-eya-, 5 śāṣp-eya-, 6 khāḍ-āyana-, 7 stambha- (skambha-), 8 skandha-, 9 deva-darś-ana-, 10 rajju-bhāra-, 11 rajju-kaṇṭha-, 12 kaṭha-śāṭha-, 13 kaśāya-, 14 tala-, 15 daṇḍa-, 16 puruṣa=aṁsaka-, 17 aśva-peja- (aśva-pe-ya-).

233. śramaṇā=āday-aḥ

[2.1.70 kumāra-ḥ śramaṇā=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śram-aṇ-ā, 2 pra-vraj-it-ā, 3 kulaṭ-ā, 4 garbh-iṇī, 5 tāpas-ī, 6 dās-ī, 7 bandh-ak-ī, 8 adhy-āp-aka-, 9 abhi-rūpaka-, 10 paṭ-u-, 11 mr̥d-u-, 12 paṇḍ-ita-, 13 kuśala-, 14 capala-, 15 nipuṇa-.

234. śreṇi-āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi-āday-aḥ kr̥-ta=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śreṇi-, 2 (ūka-/eka-), 3 pūga-, 4 kunduma- (mukunda-, kunda-), 5 rāśi-, 6 ni-cay-a-, 7 vi-śeṣ-a-, 8 nidhāna- (vi-dhāna-, nidhana-), 9 (para-), 10 indra-, 11 dev-a-, 12 muṇḍa-, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 śram-aṇa-, 15 vadānya-, 16 adhy-āp-aka-, 17 abhi-rūp-aka-, 18 brāhmaṇa-, 19 kṣatr-iya-, 20 vi-śiṣ-ṭa- (vi-śikha-), 21 paṭ-u-, 22 paṇḍ-ita-, 23 kuśa-la-, 24 capala-, 25 nipuṇa-.

235. sakhi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ḍhaÑ]

1 sa-kh-i-, 2 agni-datta-, 3 vāyu-dat-ta-, 4 sakhi-dat-ta-, 5 (gop-ila-/go-hi-ta-/goh-ila-), 6 bhalla-pāla- 7 (bhalla-, pāl-a-), 8 cakra-, 9 cakra-vāk-a-, 10 chagala-, 11 a-śok-a-, 12 kara-vira-, 13 vāsav-a-, 14 vīra-, 15 pūra-, 16 vajra-, 17 kuśīra-ka-, 18 sīhara-, 19 saraka- (sakara-), 20 sarasa-, 21 samara-, 22 samala-, 23 su-rasa-, 24 roh-a-, 25 tamāla-, 26 kadala-, 27 sapta-la-.

236. saṁ-kala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.75 saṁ-kala=ādi-bhiś ca (áṆ 71)]

1 saṁ-kal-a-, 2 puṣkala-, 3 uttama-, 4 uḍupa-, 5 ud-vep-a- (ud-vap-a-), 6 ut=puṭ-a-, 7 kumbha-, 8 ni-dhāna- (vi-dhāna-), 9 su-dakṣa-, 10 su-dat-ta-, 11 su-bhū-ta-, 12 su-pū-ta-, 13 su-ne-tra-, 14 su-maṅgala-, 15 su-piṅgala-, 16 sū-ta-, 17 sikata- (sikatā-), 18 pū-ti-ka (pū-ti-kā-, pū-ti-kī-), 19 pūlāsa-, 20 kū-lāsa-, 21 palāśa-, 22 ni-veś-a-, 23 gav-eṣa-, 24 gambhīra-, 25 itara-, 26 ān, 27 ahan-, 28 so-man-, 29 ve-man-, 30 varuṇa- (car-aṇa-), 31 bahu-la-, 32 sadyo-ja-, 33 abhi-ṣik-ta-, 34 go-bhr̥t-, 35 rāja-bhr̥t-, 36 bhalla-, 37 malla-, 38 māla.

237. saṁ-kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Ṇya]

1 saṁ-kāś-a-, 2 kapila-, 3 kaśmīra-, 4 (samīra-), 5 sūra-sena-(śūra-sena-), 6 saraka-, 7 sūra-, 8 #su-panth-in pantha ca#; 9 yūpa-(yūtha-), 10 aṁśa-, 11 aṅga-, 12 nāsā, 13 pal-ita-, 14 anu-nāś-a-, 15 aś-man-, 16 kūṭa-, 17 mal-ina-, 18 daśa-, 19 kumbha-, 20 śīrṣa-, 21 vi-ra-ta- (ciranta-), 22 samala-, 23 sīra-, 24 pañjara-, 25 mantha-, 26 nala-, 27 roman-, 28 loman-, 29 pulina-, 30 su-pari-, 31 kaṭipa-, 32 sa-karṇa-ka-, 33 vṛṣ-ṭi-, 34 tīrtha-, 35 agasti-, 36 vi-kar-a-, 37 nāsikā.

238. saṁ-tāp-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.101 ta-smai pra-bhav-a-ti saṁ-tāp-a=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaÑ 18)]

1 saṁ-tāp-a-, 2 saṁ-nāh-a-, 3 saṁ-grāma-, 4 saṁ-yog-a-, 5 sam-par-āy-a-, 6 (saṁ-veś-ana-), 7 sam-peṣ-a-, 8 niṣ-peṣ-a-, 9 sarg-a-, 10 ni-sarg-a-, 11 vi-sarg-a-, 12 upa-sarg-a-, 13 pra-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-, 15 saṁ-ghāt-a-, 16 saṁ-veṣ-a-, 17 saṁ-vās-a-, 18 sam-mod-ana-, 19 (sak-tu-), 20 #māṁsa=odan-āt vi gṛh-ī-t-ād api#.

239. saṁ-dhi-velā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.16 [1]saṁ-dhi-velā=ādi=[2]ṛtu=[3]nakṣatre-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 saṁ-dhi-velā, 2 saṁ-dhyā, 3 amā-vāsyā, 4 trayo-daś-ī, 5 catur-daś-ī, 6 pañca-daś-ī, 7 paurṇa-mās-ī, 8 prati-pad-, 9 #saṁ-vat-sar-āt [1]phala-[2]parvaṇ-oḥ#.

240. sa-pat-nī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.35 ni-tyaṁ sa-pat-nī=ādi-ṣu (na-ḥ 33)]

1 sa-māna-, 2 eka-, 3 vīra-, 4 piṇḍa-, 5 śva- (śirī-), 6 bhrā-tṛ-, 7 bhad-ra-, 8 putra-, 9 #dās-āt=chandas-i#.

241. sarva=ādīni

[1.1.27 sarva=ādī-n-i sarva-nāmā-n-i]

1 sarva-, 2 viśva-, 3 ubha-, 4 ubha-ya-;

Ḍatara=āday-ah (7.1.25); cf. 96 above

5 Ḍatara-, 6 Ḍatama-, 7 itara-, 8 anyatara-, 10 tvà-(tvaT-), 11 tva-,

12 nema-, 13 sama-, 14 sima-, 15 #[1]pūrva-[2]para=[3]avara=[4]dakṣiṇa=[5]uttara=[6]apara=[7]adharā-ṇ-i vy-ava-sthā-y-ām a-saṁ-jñā-y-ām (P. 1.1.34)#; 16 #svam a-[1]jñā-ti-[2]dhana=ākhyā-yām (P. 1.1.35)#; 17 #antaram [1]bahir-yoga=[2]upa-saṁ-vy-ānay-oḥ (P. 1.1.36)#;

tyad=āday-aḥ (1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.60; 7.2.102); cf. 111 above

18 tyad-, 19 tad-, 20 yad-, 21 etad-, 22 adas-, 23 idam, 24 eka-;

dvi=āday-aḥ (5.3.2); cf. 123 above

25 dvi-, 26 yuṣm-ad-, 27 asm-ad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim.

242. sav-ana=āday-aḥ

[8.3.110 na ra-para-sr̥pi̱-sr̥ji̱-spr̥śi̱-spr̥hi̱-sav-ana=ādī-nām (s 55)]

1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sū-te sū-te, 3 some some, 4 sav-ana-mukhe sav-ana-mukhe, 5 #kisa-ḥ kiṁsa-ḥ# kiṁsam kiṁsam, 6 anu-sav-anam anu-sav-anam, 7 go-san-im go-san-i-m, 8 aśva-sanim asva-sanim,

Alternate List: 1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sav-ana-mukhe sav-ana-mukhe, 3 anusav-anam anu-sav-anam, (anu-sv-ane anu-sav-ane), 4 #saṁ-jñā-y-ām br̥has-pati-sav-a-ḥ#; 5 śakuni-sav-anam, 6 some some, 7 sute sute (sū-te sū-te), 8 saṁ-vat-sare saṁ-vat-satre, 9 bisam bisam, 10 kisam kisam, 11 musalam musalam, 12 go-san-im, 13 aśva-samin.

243. sākṣāt-pra-bhr̥-tī-ni

[1.4.74 sākṣāt-pra-bhr̥-tī-n-i ca (gatay-aḥ 56)]

1 sākṣ-āt, 2 mithyā, 3 cintā, 4 bhad-rā, 5 roc-anā (loc-anā), 6 ā-sthā, 7 amā, 8 addhā, 9 prājaryā (prājāyā), 10 prājaruhā, 11 bījaryā, 12 bīja-ruhā, 13 saṁ-sar-yā, 14 arthe, 15 lav-aṇam, 16 uṣ-ṇam, 17 śī-tam, 18 uda-kam, 19 ārdram, 20 agn-au, 21 vaś-e, 22 vi-kas-an-e, 24 pra-sah-ane (pra-has-ane), 25 pra-tap-ane, 26 prādus, 27 namas. *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

244. sidhma=āday-aḥ

[5.2.97 sidhma=ādi-bhyaś ca (laC 96)]

1 sidhṃa-, 2 gaḍu-, 3 maṇi-, 4 nābhi-, 5 bīja- (jīva-), 6 (vīṇā), 7 kr̥ṣ-ṇa-, 8 niṣ-pāv-a-, 9 pāṁsu-, 10 pārśva-, 11 parśu- (paraśu-), 12 hanu-, 13 sak-tu-, 14 māṁsa- (māsa-), 15 #[1]pārṣṇi-[2]dham-any-oḥ dīrgha-ś ca#; 16 #[1]vā-ta-[2]danta-[3]bala-[4]lalāṭā-nām ūṄ ca#; vātū-la, dantū-la-, balū-la-lalāṭū-la-; 17 #[1]jaṭā-[2]ghaṭā-[3]kaṭā-[4]kāl-āḥ kṣep-e#; 18

parṇa-, 19 uda-ka-, 20 pra-jñā, 21 sak-thi, 22 karṇa-, 23 sneh-a-, 24 śī-ta-, 25 śyāma-, 26 piṅga-, 27 pitta-, 28 puṣka- (śuṣ-ka-), 29 pr̥th-u-, 30 mr̥d-u-, 31 mañju-, 32 (maṇḍa-), 33 pat-tra-, 34 caṭu-, 35 kapi-, 36 gaṇḍu- (kaṇḍu-), 37 granth-i-, 38 śrī, 39 kuśa-, 40 dhārā, 41 varṣ-man-, 42 pakṣ-man-, 43 śleṣ-man-, 44 peś-a-, 45 niṣ-pād-, 46 kuṇḍa-, 47 #[1]kṣud-ra-jantu=[2]upa-tāp-ay-oś ca#.

245. sindhu=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 [1]sindhu-[2]takṣa-śilā=ādi-bhyaḥ=[1]áṆ[2]aÑ-au]

1 sindhu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 madhu-mat-, 4 kamboja-, 5 sālva-, 6 kaśmīra-, 7 gandhāra-, 8 kiṣkindhā, 9 urasā (urasa-), 10 darada- (darad-), 11 gandika (gabdika).

246. [1]sukha=ādī-n-i

[3.1.18 sukha=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-tr̥-ved-anā-y-ām]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tr̥p-ta-, 4 kr̥cchra-, 5 asra-, 6 āsra-, 7 alīka-, 8 prat-ī-pa-, 9 karuṇa-, 10 kr̥paṇa-, 11 so-ḍha-. Cf. 6.2.170.

247. [2]sukha=ādī-n-i

[5.2.131 sukha=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tr̥p-ta- (tr̥p-ra-), 4 kr̥cchra-, 5 asra- (āśra-), 6 āsra- (asra-), 7 alīka-, 8 karuṇa-, 9 so-ḍha-, 10 prat-ī-pa-, 11 śīla-, 12 hala-, 13 #mālā kṣep-e#; 14 kr̥paṇa-, 15 pra-ṇāy-a- (pra-ṇay-a-), 16 dala-, 17 kakṣa-.

248. sutaṁ-gam-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +iÑ]

1 su-ta-ṁ-gam-a-, 2 muni-cit-ta-, 3 vi-pra-cit-ta-, 4 mahā-cit-ta-, 5 mahā-putra-, 6 svan-a-, 7 śvet-a-, 8 gaḍika- (khaḍika-), 9 śuk-ra-, 10 vigra-, 11 bīja-vāp-in-, 12 arjuna-, 13 śvan-, 14 ajira-, 15 jīv-a-, 16 khaṇḍ-i-ta-, 17 karṇa-, 18 vi-grah-a-.

249. su-vāstu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.77 su-vāstu=ādi-bhyaḥ=áṆ]

1 su-vāstu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 bhaṇḍ-u-, 4 khaṇḍ-u, 5 sevālin-, 6 karpūr-in-, 7 śikhaṇḍ-in-, 8 garta-, 9 karkaśa-, 10 śakaṭī-karṇa-, 11 kṛṣṇa-karṇa-, 12 karka-, 13 karkandhu-mat-ī, 14 goha-, 15 ahi-saktha-.

250. su-ṣāma(n)āday-aḥ

[8.3.98 su-ṣāma(n)=ādi-ṣu ca (s-aḥ 56 mūrdhanya-ḥ 55)]

1 su-ṣāmā, 2 niḥ-ṣāmā, 3 duḥ-ṣāmā, 4 su-ṣedh-a-ḥ, 5 ni-ṣedh-a-ḥ (niḥ-ṣedh-a-ḥ), 6 duḥ-ṣedh-a-ḥ, 7 su-ṣaṁ-dhi-ḥ, 8 niḥ-ṣaṁ-dh-i-ḥ (ni-ṣaṁ-dh-i-ḥ), 9 duḥ-ṣaṁ-dh-i-ḥ, 10 su-ṣṭhu- (su-ṣṭu-), 11 du-ṣṭhu- (du-ṣṭu-), 12 #gauri-ṣaktha-ḥ saṁ-jñā-y-ām#; 13 prati-ṣṇikā, 14 jalā-ṣāham, 15 nau-ṣec-anam (°-ṣev-anam), 16 dundubhi-ṣev-anam (°-ṣec-anam), 17 #eTi saṁ-jñā-y-ām a-g-āt# (P. 8.3.99): hari-ṣeṇa-ḥ; 18 #nakṣatr-āt=vā# (P. 8.3.100): rohiṇi-ṣeṇa-ḥ. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

251. sthū-la=āday-aḥ

[5.4.3 sthū-la=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kāra-vac-an-e kaN]

1 sthū-la-, 2 aṇu-, 3 māṣa-, 4 iṣu-, 5 #kṛṣ-ṇa tile-ṣu#; 6 #yav-a vrīhi-ṣu#; 7 #[1]ikṣu-[2]tila-[3]pād-ya-[4]kāla=[5]ava-dāt-āḥ surā-y-ām#; 8 #go-mūtra ācchād-an-e#; 9 #surā ah-au#; 10 #jīr-ṇa śāli-ṣu#; 11 #[1]pac-a-[2]mūl-e sam-as-ta-vy-as-t-e#; 12 kumārī-putra-, 13 kumārī-śvaśura-.

252. snā-tvī=āday-aḥ

[7.1.49 snā-tvī=āday-aś ca]

1 snā-tvī, 2 pī-tvī. *ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam*.

253. svápA=āday-aḥ

[6.1.188 svápA-hiṁs-ām aC-i an-iṬ-i]

See Dhp II 59-61.

254. svar=ādī-n-i

[1.1.37 svar-ādi-ni-pāt-am avyayam]

1 svár-, 2 antár-, 3 prātár- (anta=udātt-āḥ), 4 púnar-, 5 sánutar-, 6 úcc-ais-, 7 nī́c-ais-, 8 śán-ais-, 9 ŕ̥dhak, 10 ŕ̥te, 11 yúgapat-, 12 ā́rāt, 13 (ántik-āt-), 14 pŕ̥thak (ādy-udātt-āḥ), 15 hyás-, 16 śvás-, 17 div-ā́, 18 rātr-aú, 19 sāyám, 20 cirám, 21 manā́k, 22 īṣát, 23 śaśvát, 24 joṣám, 25 tūṣṇī́m, 26 bahís-, 27 adh-ás- (avás-), 28 samayā́, 29 nikaśā́, 30 svayám, 31 mr̥ṣā́, 32 naktám, 33 náÑ, 34 het-aú, 35 hé, 36 haí, 37 iddhā́, 38 addhā́, 39 sāmí (anta=udātt-āḥ), 40 vát, 41 báta-, 42 sánat-, 43 sánāt-, 44 tíras- (ādy-udatt-āḥ), 45 antarā́ (anta=udātta ḥ); 46 (ántar-eṇa), 47 mák, 48 jyók, 49 yók, 50 nák, 51 kám, 52 śám, 53 sánā, 54 sáhas-ā, 55 srád-dhā, 56 álam, 57 svá-dhā, 58 váṣaṭ, 59 ví-nā, 60 nā́-nā, 61 svásti, 62 ányad-, 63 ás-ti, 64 úpa=aṁśu-, 65 kṣámā, 66 víhāyas-ā, 67 dóṣā, 68 súdhā, 69 díṣ-ṭy-ā, 70 vŕ̥thā, 71 míthyā, 72 #[1]Ktvā-[2]tosuN-[3]kasuN-ah# (P. 1.1.40); 73 #[1]kr̥t=[2]ma-kāra-[3]saṁ-dhi=akṣara=anta-ḥ avyayī-bhāva-ś ca# (cf. 1.1.39,41); 74 púrā, 75 mítho, 76 míth-as-, 77 prā́yas-, 78 múhus-, 79 prá-vāh-ukam, 80 (prá-vāh-ikā), 81 ā́rya-halam, 82 ábhīkṣṇam, 83 sā́kam, 84 sā́rdham, 85 śatram, 86 sámam, 87 nám-as-, 88 híruk, 89 #tasiL=āday-as taddhit-āḥ edhāC-pary-ant-āḥ# (cf. P. 5.3.7-46); 89a #[1]śas-[2]tas-i-, kr̥tvasuC, suC [1]aC-[2]thaL-au Cvi=arth-āś ca#; 90 átha, 91 ám, 92 ā́m, 93 prátām, 94 (prá-tān), 95 práśān; *ā-kr̥-ti-gaṇ-aḥ ayam*; t-ena any-e api: tathā-hi: 96 máṄ, 97 śrám, 98 kā́man, 99 (prá-kāmam), 100 bhū́yas-, 101 páram, 102 sā́kṣāt, 103 sā́ci, 104 sátyam, 105 maṅkṣu, 106 sáṁ-vat-, 107 ávaśyam, 108 sápad-i, 109 prā́dus, 110 ā́vis-, 111 ániśam, 112 nítyam, 113 nítyadā-, 114 sádā, 115 ájasram, 116 sáṁ-ta-tam, 117 úṣā, 118 óm, 119 bhū́r-, 120 bhúvar-, 121 jháṭ-iti, 122 táras-ā, 123 sú-ṣṭhu, 124 kú, 125 áñjas-ā, 126 á, 127 míthu-, 128 víthak, 129 bhā́jak, 130 ánv-ak, 131 cír-āya, 132 círa-m, 133 círa-rātr-āya, 134 círa-sya, 135 cír-eṇa, 136 cír-āt, 137 ás-tam, 138 ā́nuṣak, 139 ánuṣak, 140 ánu-ṣaṭ, 141 ámnas-, 142 ámnar-, 143 sthā́n-e, 144 váram, 145 dúṣṭhu, 146 bál-āt, 147 sú, 148 árvāk, 149 súd-i-, 150 vád-i ity-ādi. tasiL-āday-aḥ prāk pāśaP-aḥ; śas-pra-bhr̥-tay-aḥ prāk samāsa=ante-bhyaḥ; ma=anta-ḥ kr̥tvas=artha-ḥ; [1]tasi-[2]vat-ī, nā-naÑ-au iti.

255. svasr̥=āday-aḥ

[4.1.10 na ṣaṭ=svasr̥=ādi-bhyaḥ]
1 svasr̥-, 2 duhitr̥-, 3 nanāndr̥-, 4 yātr̥-, 5 mātr̥- 6 tisr̥-, 7 catasr̥-.

256. svāgata=ādī-n-i

[7.3.7 svāgata=ādī-nāṁ ca]
1 sv-ā-ga-ta-, 2 sv-adhvara-, 3 sv-aṅga-, 4 vy-aṅga-, 5 vy-aḍa-, 6 vy-ava-hār-a-, 7 sva-pati-.

257. sU=āday-aḥ

[1.4.17 sU=ādi-ṣu=a-sarva-nāma-sthān-e]
All affixes beginning with sU (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.3.70).

258. su=āday-aḥ

[3.1.73 su=adi-bhyaḥ Śnu-ḥ]
See under Dhp V 1-34.

259. harita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.100 hárita=ādibyaḥ=aÑ-aḥ]
See under 164: bid=āday-aḥ, 30-55.

260. harītakī=āday-aḥ

[4.3.167 harītakī=ādi-bhyaś ca (luP 166)]
1 harītakī, 2 kośātakī, 3 nakha-raj-anī, 4 śaṣkaṇḍī, 5 dāḍī, 6 doḍī, 7 śveta-pākī, 8 arjuna-pākī, 9 drākṣā, 10 kālā, 11 dhvākṣā (dhvāṅkṣā), 12 gabhīkā, 13 kaṇṭakārikā, 14 pippalī, 15 cimpā (ciñcā), 16 śephālikā.

261. hasti(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.4.138 pāda-sya lopa-ḥ=a-hasti(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ]
1 hast-in-, 2 (kuddāla-), 3 (aśva-), 4 (kaśika), 5 (kuruta-), 6 kaṭola-, 7 kaṭolaka-, 8 gaṇḍola-, 9 gaṇḍolaka-, 10 kaṇḍola-, 11 kaṇḍolaka-, 12 aja-, 13 kapota-, 14 jāla-, 15 gaṇḍa-, 16 mahelā (mahilā), 17 dāsī, 18 gaṇ-ikā, 19 kusūla-.

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